ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

VOLUME VII

FASCICLE 1,2,3,4 : Mind - Sasanavamsa

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

Volume VII , Fascicle 1

2-CM 2707

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

Founder Editor-in Chief

G. P. Malalasekera, M. A. Ph. D., D. Litt., Professor Emeritus

Editor-in Chief

W. G. Weeraratne, M. A., Ph. D.

VOLUME VII

FASCICLE 1 : Mind - Nyāyapravesa

2003

PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA

Published by the Department of Buddhist Affairs,
Ministry of Buddhasasana,
Sri Lanka.

Printed at The Govt. Printing Dept. Sri Lanka.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. ... Aṅguttara Nikāya. I-VI ed. R. Morris. E. Hardy. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. *PTS.* 1885-1910

AA. ... Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, (Manorathapūrani), I-V, ed. M. Walleser, H. Kopp. *PTS.* 1924-56.

AAWG ... Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen

Abhk. ... Abhidharmakoṣa (Nāgari characters), ed. R. Sankrityayana, Banaras, 1930.

AbhKbh. ... Abhidharmakoṣabhāsya ed. Th. Stcherbatsky. *BB.* XX, 1930

AbhKk. ... Abhidharmakosakārikā, ed. L. de laValle Poussin, Paris, 1931

Abhkvy. ... Abhidharmakosavyākhya. ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-36

Abhs. ... Abhidhammatthasangaha, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1884- 1-84

Abhsy. ... Abhidharmasamuccaya, ed. P. Pradhan, *VBS.* 12, 1950.

Abhvt. ... Abhidhammāvatāra, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta. *BM.* I, 1915

ABIA. ... Annual Biliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute.

ABORI. ... Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona).

Abs Pus. ... Abhisamayālaṃkaraprajnāpāramitā upadesasāstra (Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation), ed. Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller, *BB,* XXIII, 1929

Abs Pvy. ... Abhisamayālamkārālokaprajnāpār-amitāvyākhyā, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1932-35

AdsP. ... Adhyardhasatikāprajnāpāramitā. ed. H. Leumann, Strassburg. 1912

Akanuma 1 ... Akanuma. C. : Indo-Bukkyo, Koyumeishi-Jiten (Dictionary of Buddhist Indian Proper Names), Nagoya, 1931

Akanuma 2 ... Akanuma, C : Kam-pa Shibu Agon Gosho roku (The Comparative Catalogue of Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas), Nagoya, 1929.

AKM. ... Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes heraus g. von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

AM. ... Asia Minor

AMG. ... Annales du Musee Guimet

Anagv. ... Anagatavamsa, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS.* 1886. 33 ff.

Anesaki. ... Anesaki, M. : The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese, 1908

AO. ... Archiv Orientalni : Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute

ApS. ... Apadāna, I-II, ed. M. E. Lilley *PTS.* 1925-27

APA. ... Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā (Visuddha-janavilāsini), ed. C. E. Godakumbura. *PTS.* 1954.

ArtA. ... Artibus Asiae (Ascona, Switzerland).

Arvs' ... Arthavinis'caya, ed. A. Ferrari. Rome. 1944.

AS. ... Aluvihāra Series (Colombo)

ASCAR. ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report

ASCI. ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Inscriptions.

ASCMem ... Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Memoir

ASIAR. ... Archaeological Survery of India. Annual Report

ASIMem. ... Archaeological Survey of India. Memoir

AsP. ... Aṣṭasāhas'rikāprajñāpāramitā. ed. R. mitra, Calcutta. 1888.

ASWI. ... Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India

Āṭā. ... Āṭānāṭiyasūtra, ed. H. Hoffmann (Bruchstucke des Āṭānāṭiyasūtra), KITurf. V. 1939.

Avk. ... Avadānakalpalatā, ed. S. C. Das. *Bl.* 1888-96

Avs' ... Avadāna'ataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* 19, 1958

BASR ... Bulletin de l' Academic des Sciences Russie

BB. ... Bibilotheca Buddhica (Leningrad)

Bbh ... Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930-36

Bc. ... Bodhicaryavatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, Calcutta, 1901-14

Bcp. ... Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, 1902

BD. ... Buddhist Dictionary, by Nyānatiloka (revised edition), Colombo 1956

Beal ... Beal, S. : The Buddhist Tripitaka, 1876

BEFEO ... Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient (Hanoi)

Bendall ... Bendall, C. : Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge 1883

Bhkāv. ... Bhadrakalpāvadāna, ed. S. Oldenbourg, 1884

BHS. ... Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary, F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953

Bksk. ... Bhavasamkrāntisutra (and commentary, reconstructed in Sanskrit from Tibetan translation), ed. N. Ariyswami Sastri, Adyar, 1938.

Bl. ... Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)

BiblB ... Bibliographie Bouddhique (Paris)

BIIMEO ... Bulletino dell' Instituto Indiano peril, Medio ed Estremo Orients (Rome)

BM. ... Buddhadatta's Manuals, I-II, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1915, 1927

BMFJ. ... Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise (Tokyo)

BnīPrāt ... Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke des Bhikṣuṇiprātimokṣa), *KITurf*, III, 1926

BOH. ... Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica (Budapest)

BPrāt. ... Bodhisattvaprātimoksasutra, ed. N. Dutt, *IHQ*, 7, 1931, 259 ff

BS. ... Buddhistic Studies, ed. B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1931

BSOAS. ... Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London

BSS. ... Bombay Sanskrit Series

BST. ... Buddhist Sanskrit Texts (Darbhanga)

Buc. ... Buddhacarita, ed. E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1935

Bup. ... Buddhaghosuppatti (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1892

Buv. ... Buddhavamsa, ed. R. Morris, *PTS* 1882

BuvA. ... Buddhavamsa *Aṭṭhakathā* (Madhuratthavilāsini) ed. I. B. Horner, *PTS. 1946*

Cabaton ... Cabaton, A. : Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pali, Paris, 1907

Catuś. ... Catuhs'ataka (Sanskrit and Tibetan texts reconstructed), ed. V. Bhattacha-ryya, Calcutta, 1931

CHJ. ... The Ceylon Historical Journal

CII. ... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

CJHSS. ... The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies

CJSc. ... Ceylon Journal of Science - Section G

Ckv. ... Chakesadhātuvamsa, ed. J. Minayeff. *JPTS.* 1885, 5-16

Cordier ... Cordier, P. : Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, II-III, 1909-15

Cp. ... Cariyapiṭaka, ed. B. C. Law, Lahore 1924

CpA. ... Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), ed. D. L. Barua, *PTS.* 1939

CPD. ... A Critical Pali Dictionary Copenhagen

Cvisp. ... Cittavis'uddhiprakarana, ed. P. B. Patel, *VBS.* 8, 1949

D. ... Digha Nikāya, I-III, ed. T. W. Rhys davids and J. E. Carpenter, *PTS*. 1890-1911

DA. ... Dighanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sumangalavilāsini), I-III, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids. J. E. Carpenter, W. Stede *PTS* 1886-1932

Dāṭhv. ... Dāṭhavamsa, ed. B. C. Law, PTS., 1925

Dbhg. ... Das'abhūmika-sūtra (Gāthā portion) ed. J. Rahder and S. Susa, Extract from the Eastern Buddhist, Vol. V., No. 4, 1931

Dbhs. ... Dasabhūmika-sutra, ed. J. Rahder, Louvain, 1926

DCBT. ... Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms. ed. W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, London, 1937

DeS. ... de Silva, W. A. : Catalogue of Palm-leaf Manuscripts I, *MCM*. series A. No. 4, 1938

DeZ. ... de Soysa, Louis : A catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon, Colombo, 1885

Dhk. ... Dhātukathā (with commentary), ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *PTS*. 1892

Dhmpr. ... Dharmottarapradipa, ed. D. Malvania, Patna, 1955

Dhp. ... Dhammapada, ed. S. Sumanagala *PTS*. 1914

DhpA. ... Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, I-V, ed H. Smith, H. C. Norman, L. S. Tailang, *PTS*. 1906-15

Dhpr. ... Dharmapradipikā(va), ed. Dharmakirti Sri Dharmārāma (sixth edition). Vidyalankara Press, Ceylon. 1951

Dhs. ... Dhammasangani, ed. E. Muller, *PTS*. 1885

DhsA. ... Dhammasangani Atthakathā (Atthasalini), ed. E. Muller, *PTS*. 1897

Dhscy. ... Dharmasamuccaya, ed. Lin Li-Kouang (first part of Sanskrit text with Tibetan and Chinese versions), Paris, 1946

Dhsmg. ... Dharmasamgraha, ed. F. Max Muller and H. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885

Divy. ... Divyāvadāna, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil. Cabridge, 1886

DPPN. ... Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, I-II, by G. P. Malalasekera, London, 1960

Dpv. ... Dipavamsa, ed. H. Oldenberg. London. 1879.

Dpv. 2. ... The Dipavamsa, ed. B. C. Law, *CHJ*. VIII, Nos. 1-4, Maharagama, Ceylon, 1959.

Dukap. ... Dukapṭṭhāna, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS*. 1906

EB. ... The Eastern Buddhist.

EI ... Epigraphia Indica (Calcutta, Government Press).

Ency Bsm. ... Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, Ceylon.

ERE ... Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, I-XIII, ed. J. Hastings, Edinburg, 1908-26

EW. ... East and West (Rome).

EWA. ... Encyclopaedia of World Art, I-VIII, McGrawHill.

EZ. ... Epigraphia Zeylanica (Ceylon Government Press).

Gg. ... Gaṇdistotragāthā (reconstructed in Sanskrit from the Chineses Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan) ed. Stael-Holstein *BB*. XV, 1913

GM. ... Gilgit Manuscripts, I-III, ed. N. Dutt, Srinagar and Calcutta, 1939-50.

GOS. ... Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda).

Gst. ... Guhyasamājatantra, ed. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1931.

Gv. ... Gandhavamsa, ed. J. Minayeff *JPTS*. 1886, 54-80

Gvyu. ... Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, I-IV, ed. D. T. Suzuki and H. Idzumi (second edition), Kyoto, 1949

Hatthv. ... Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa, ed. C. E. Godakumbura, *PTS*, 1957

Hbg. ... Hobogirin, Dictionnaire Encyclopedique due Boddhisme, ed. P. Demieville, Tokyo, 1929-37

Hetub. ... Hetubindutīkā (with sub-commentary), ed. S. Sanghavi and M. Jinavijayaji, *GOS.* 113, 1949.
HJAS. ... Harvard Journal of Asiatie Studies.
HOS. ... Harvard Oriental Series.
Hvp. ... Hastavālaprakarana (reconstructed in Sanskrit from Chinese and Tibetan translations) ed. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1918, 267 ff.
IA ... Indian Antiquary (Bombay)
IAL. ... Indian Art and Letters (London)
IBK. ... Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu (University of Tokyo, Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies).
IC. ... Indian Culture (Calcutta).
IHQ. ... The Indian Historical Quarterly.
It. ... Itivuttaka ed. E. Windisch, *PTS.* 1889
ItA. ... Itivuttaka Atthakathā (Paramatthadipani, I-II ed. M. M. Bose, *PTS,* 1943-36.
J. ... Jātaka (with commentary), I-VI. ed. V. Fausboll, *PTS.* 1962.
JAOS. ... Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JAs. ... Journal Asiatique.
JASB. ... Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBHU. ... Journal of the Benares Hindu University.
JBORS. ... Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRAS. ... Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBRS. ... Journal of the Burma Research Society.
JBTS. ... Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JCBRAS. ... Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JDLC. ... Journal of the Department of Letters. University of Calcutta.
JGIS. ... Journal of the Greater India Society.
JIH. ... Journal of Indian History.
Jinac. ... Jinacarita, ed. W. H. D. Rouse, *JPTS.* 1904-5, 1-165.
Jinak. ... Jinakālamali, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1962.
Jināl. ... Jinālamkāra (with translation), ed. J. Gray, London, 1894.
Jm. ... Jātakamālā, ed. H. Kern, *HOS.* I Boston. 1891.
JOR. ... Journal of Oriental Reserach.
JPTS. ... Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JRAS. ... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JSS. ... Journal of the Siam Society.
Keith. ... Keith, A. B. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1905.
Khp. ... Khuddakapātha, ed. H. Smith *PTS* 1915.
KhpA. ... Khuddhakapātha Atthakathā (Paramatthajotikā I), ed. H. Smith *PTS* 1915
Khs. ... Khuddasikkhā, ed. E. Muller, *JPTS*, 1883.
KhT. ... Khotanese Texts, I-II, ed. H. W. Bailey, Cambridge, 1946-54.
KlTurf. ... Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte (Konigliche Preussische Tufan-Expeditionen)
Kp. ... Karunāpundarika, ed. S. C. Das and S. C. Sastri, Calcutta, 1898.
Ks'yp. ... Kas'yapaparivarta, ed. H. Stael-Holstein. 1926
Ktr. ... Karatalaratna (reconstructed in Sanskrit fromt the Chinese translation), ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar. 1938.
Kvbh. ... (Karmavibhanga) : Mahakarmavibhanga (Lagrande Classification des Actes) et Karma vibhangopades'a (Discussion sur le Mahākarma-vibhanga), ed. S. Levi. Paris, 1932.
Kvit. ... Kankhāvitarani, ed. Dorothy Maskell, *PTS.* 1956.
Kvu. ... Kathāvatthu, I-II, ed. A. C. Taylor *PTS.* 1894-95
KvuA. ... Kathāvatthuppakarana Atthakathā, ed. J. Minayeff. *JPTS.* 1889, 1-222.

Kvyu ... (Avalokites'varaguna) Kārandavyūha, ed. S. Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873.

Lal. ... Lalitavistara, ed. P. L. Vaidya, *BST.* I, 1958.

Lank. ... Lankāvatārasutra, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923.

Ligeti. ... Ligeti Louis : Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol. I. *BOH.* III, 1942-44.

Ls' ... Lokes'varas'ataka, ed. Suzanne Karpeles JAs. 1919,5.II, XIV, 357-465.

M. ... Majjhima Nikāya, I-IV, ed. V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1888-1925.

MA. ... Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Papancasūdani), I-V ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I. B. Horner *PTS.* 1922-38.

MBT. ... Minor Buddhist Texts, ed. G. Tucci, *SOR.* IX Part I, 1956.

MCM. ... Memoir of the Colombo Museum.

Mdhvr. ... Mādhyamakavrtti, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, *BB.* IV, 1902-13.

Mdhvt. ... Mādhyamakāvatāra, ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, *BB.* IX.

Mgh. ... Meghasūtra, ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS.* 1880-288ff.

Mhbv. ... Mahābodhivamsa, ed. S. A. Strong. *PTS. 1891.*

Mhm. ... Mahāmāyuri, ed. Oldenberg in Zapiski Vostschnago Otdelenija Imp. Rusesk, Archeol, Obschestva. XI, 1899.

Mhps. ... Mahāparinirvānasutra, ed. H. Waldschmidt, Abhandlungen der Deustschen Akademic, Berlin, 1950-51.

Mhs. ... Mahāsamājasutra, ed. E. Waldschmidt (Bruchstucke Buddhistischer Sutras, I) *KITurf.* IV, 1932.

Mhsmg. ... Mahāyānasamgraha, I-II, ed. E. Lamotte (La Somme du Grand Vihicule d' Asanga), Louvain, 1938.

Mhv. ... Mahāvamsa, ed. W. Geiger (chapters i-xxxvii) *PTS*, 19808, ed. W. Geiger I-II, (chapters xxxviii-lxxii and Lxxiii-ci), *PTS.* 1925-27.

MhvA. ... Mahāvamsaṭikā (Vamsatthappakāsini-Mahā-vamsa Attakatha), I-II, ed. G. P. Malasekera. *PTS.* 1935.

MhvE. ... Extended Mahāvamsa, ed. G. P. Malasekera, *AS.* III. 1937.

Mhvu. ... Mahāvastu, I-III, ed. E. Senart, Paris. 1882-97.

Mhvyut. ... Mahāvyutpatti, ed. R. Sasaki, Kyoto. 1916.

Miln. ... Milindapanha, ed. V. Trenckner, *PTS.* 1962.

Mmk. ... (Arya) Manjus'rimulakalpa, ed. T. G. Sastri, *TSS.* 1920-25.

Moc. ... Mochizuki, S. : Bukkyo-dai-jiten. 1-8, Tokyo, 1933-57.

Muls. ... Mūlasikkhā, ed. E. Muller, *JPTS.* 1883, 122-32.

Mvibh ... Madhyāntavibhāga, ed. S. Yamagucchi, Nagoya. 1934.

Mvyk. ... Maitreyavyākarana, ed. S. Levi, melanges Linossier, Paris. 1933, 381-90.

Nanjio ... Nanjio, B. : Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, Oxford. 1883.

Nd.I ... Mahniddesa, I-Ii ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin and E. J. Thomas, *PTS.* 1916-17.

Nd.II ... Cullaniddessa, I-III, ed. W. Stede, *PTS.* 1981.

NdA.I ... Nidddesavannanā (Saddhammapajjotikā-Mahā-niddesa Aṭṭhakathā), I-III, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS. 1931-1.*

NdA.II ... Nidddesavannanā (Saddhammapajjotikā-Culla-niddesa Aṭṭhakathā), ed. Boruggamuwe Sri Revata *SHB.* XIV. 1923.

Nett. ... Nettippakarana, ed. E. Hardy. *PTS.* 1902.

NettA. ... Nettippakaraṇa Aṭṭakathā ed. Widurupola Piyatissa, *SHB*, IX, 1921.

NIA. ... New Indian Antiquary.

NR. ... Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku-bu Kenkyu Ronshu (Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University).

Nrp. ... Nāmarūpapararicchedа, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *JPTS*, 1913-14.

Nrs. ... Nāmarūpasamāsa, ed. P. Dhammārāma, *JPTS*. 1915-16.

Nyāb. ... Nyāyabindu, ed. Th Stcherbatsky (Nyaya-bindu, Nyayabindutika), I-II, *BB*. VIII, 1904:III, 1929.

Nyāp. ... Nyāyapraves'a (with commentary, ed. A. B. Dhruva, *GOS*, 38, 1930.

OM. ... Otani Daigaku Toshokan-zo Tibet Daizokyo Kanjur Kando Mokuroku, Kyoto, 1930-32

Pañc.g. ... Pañcagatidipani.ed. L. Feer, *JPTS*. *1884, 152-61.*

PB. ... Prabuddha Bhārata.

PBO. ... Polski Biuletyn Orintalistyczny (The Polish Bulletin of Orinental Studies, Varsovie).

PED. ... Pali-English Dictionary, T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede. *PTS*.

Pet. ... Peṭakopadesa, ed. A. Barua, *PTS* 1949.

Phrd. ... Prajnāpāramitāhrdayasūtra, ed. F. Max Muller, Oxford, 1884.

Pjm. ... Pajjamadhu, ed E. R. Gooneratne, *JPTS*. 1887, 1-16.

PMG ... Publications du Musee Guimet.

PpA. ... Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), Part I, ed. Rerukane Ariyanana, *SHB*, XXXVII, 1936 ; Part II, ed. Rerukane Canda-vimala, *SHB*. XL, 1938.

Ppiṇḍ. ... Prajnāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha, I-II, ed. G. Tucci (Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajnaparamita, *JRAS*, 1947.

Prāt. ... Prātimokṣasūtra, ed. L. finot (Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvastivadins) with a French translation of the Chinese version ed. Huber, *JAs*. XI, 2(1913), 473ff.

Prgsg. ... Prajjnāpāramitāratnaguṇasañcayagāthā. ed. E. Obermiller, Moscow, 1937.

Prvār. ... Pramāṇavārttikaṃ (with commentary and sub-commentary) ed. R. Sankrityayana. Allahabad, 1949.

Ps. ... Paṭisambhidāmagga, I-II ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS*. 1905-07.

PsA. ... Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā (Saddhammap-pakasini), I-III, ed. C. V. Joshi, *PTS*. 1933-47.

PSS. ... Panjab Sanskrit Series (Lahore).

PTC. ... Pali Tipiṭiakaṃ Concordance, *PTS*.

PTS. ... Pali Text Society (edition).

Pug. ... Puggalapaññatti, ed. R. Morris, *PTS*. 1883.

PugA. ... Puggalapaññatti Aṭṭhakathā, ed G. Lands-berg and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JPTS*. 1913-14 pp. 170-254.

Pvs'P. ... Pañcaviṃs atisāhasrikāprajñapara mitā , ed. N. Dutt, London, 1934.

Pvu. ... Petavatthu, with commentary Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS*. 1894.

Ratgot. ... Ratnagotravibhāgamahāyānottaratantra-śāstra, ed. E. H. Johnston Patna, 1950.

Rkav. ... Roruka Avādana (I : Tibetischer Text and Dt. Ubersetzung ; II : Worterbuch), ed J. Nobel 1954.

Rpp ... Rāstrapālaparipreccha, ed. L. finot, St. Petersburg, 1901.

Rsv. ... Rasavāhinī, ed. Nanavimala Maha thera, Colombo, 1961.

Rvibh. ... Rūpārūpavibhāga, ed. A. Buddhadatta, *BM*. 1, 1915.

S. ... Saṃyutta Nikāya, I-VI, ed. L. Feer and Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS*, 1884-1904.

SA ... Saṃyuttanikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Sāratthappakāsini), I-III, ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS*. 1929-37.

Sadh. ... Sādhanamālā, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1025-28.

Sāg. ... Saṃyuktāgama (fragments from Stein manuscripts), ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, *JRAS*. 1913, 569 ff.

Sal. ... Sālistambasūtra (reconstructed), ed. L. de la Vallee Poussin, (Bouddhisme, Etudes et Materiaux, Theorie es douze causes), Gand, 1913, 19-90.

Sāsv. ... Sāsanavaṃsa, ed. M. Bode, *PTS*. 1897.

Saund. ... Saundarānanda, ed. E. H. Johnston, Oxford, 1928.

Saund. K. ... Saundarānandakāvya, ed. Haraprasad, Sastri, Calcutta. 1910.

SBB. ... Sacred Books of the Buddhists.

SBE. ... Sacred Books of the East.

Sdars' ... Sarvadars'anasaṃgraha, ed. E. B. Cowell. 1978.

Sdmp. ... Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra, ed. U. Wogihara and K. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934-35.

Sdmpy. ... Saddhammopāyana, ed. R. Morris, *JPTS*. 1887, 35-98.

Sdms. ... Saddhammasaṅgaha, ed. Nedimale Saddhānanda, *JPTS*. 1890, 21-90.

Sdurg. ... Sarvadurgatiparis'odhanauṣṇiṣa-vijaya-dhārani, ed. F. Max Muller, 1884.

Sgh. ... Śadgatihārikā, ed. P. Mus:La Lumiere sur les Six Voies, Paris, 1939.

Shastri. ... Shastri, Hara Prasad : A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government collection. Under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1917.

SHB. ... Simon Hewavitarane Bequest (Colombo)

SH. ... South Indian Inscriptions (Madras).

Siks. ... S'ikṣasamuccaya, ed. C. Bendall, St. Petersburg, 1897-1902.

Sīmā. ... Simāvivādavinicchayakathā, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS*. 1887, 17-34.

SIS. ... Sino-Indian Studies (Santiniketan).

Sn. ... Suttanipāta, ed. D. Andersen and H. Smith, *PTS*. 1913.

SnA. ... Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthajotikā II), ed. H. Smith, *PTS*, 1916-18.

Snir. ... Sandhinirmocanasūtra, ed. E. Lamotte (Sandhinirmocanasūtra, L'explication des Myste'res), Paris, 1935.

SOR. ... Serie Orientale Roma.

Srs. ... Samādhirājasūtra (chapters 8, 19, 22), ed. Regamey, Warsaw, 1938.

Sskp. ... Saptas'atikāprajnāpāramitā, ed. J. Masuda, Tokyo, 1930.

Ssmg. ... Suttasaṃgaha, ed. P. Chaudhuri and D. Guha, BI. 1957.

SSmk. ... Saccasaṃkhepa, ed. P. Dhammarama, *JPTS*. 1917-19, 1-25.

S'sp. ... S'atasāhasrikāprajnāpāramitā, ed. P. Ghose, *BI*. 1910.

Ssvu. ... Sahassavatthuppakaranaṃ (in Sinhales characters), ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Maradana, 1959.

Sumag. ... Sumāgadhāvadāna, ed. G. Tokiwai, 1897

Sutrāl. ... (Mahayāna) Sutrālaṃkāra, ed. (and translated in French), S. Le'vi, Bibliothe'que de l' Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 159, 190s Paris, 1907, 1911.

Svrn. ... Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra, ed. J. Nobel (Das Goldglanz Sutra), Leipzig, 1937.

Svu. ... Sihalavatthuppakaraṇa (in Sinhalese characters) ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1959.

Svyu. ... Sukhāvatī vyūha, ed. F. Max Muller, Oxford, 1883.

Taisho. ... Taisho Shinshu Daziokyo, ed. J. Takakusu, I-CII, 1924-32.

Tant. ... Tantrākhyāna ed. C. Bendall, *JRAS* 1888.

Thag. ... Theragāthā, ed. H. Oldenberg, *PTS.* 1883.

ThagA. ... Theragāthā, Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), I-III ed, F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1940-59.

Thig. ... Therigāthā, ed. R. Pischel, *PTS.* 1883.

Thig. A. ... Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1893.

Thupv. ... Thūpavaṃsa, ed. B. C. Law *PTS.* 1935.

Tikap. ... Tikapaṭṭhāna, I-III (with commentary), ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1921-23.

Tkg. ... Telakatāhagāthā, ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *JPTS*, 1884, 49-68.

TM. ... Tōhokuteikoku-Daigaku Hobun-gakubu Tibet-Daizōyō So-Mokuroku, I-II, Sendai, 1932.

Triṇs'. ... Trims'ikāvijnapti, ed. H. Jacobi (Trims'ikavijnaptimit Bhāsya des Acarya Sthiramati), 1932.

TSS. ... Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

TT. ... Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition, edited by D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 1-165.

TurkRem. ... Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan. ed. (in conjuction with other scholars) A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, I, Oxford, 1916.

UCR. ... University of Ceylon Review.

Ud. ... Udāna, ed. P. Steinthal, *PTS.* 1885.

UdA. ... Udāna Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpani), ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1926.

Udvg. ... Udānavarga, ed. N. P. Chakravarti, Paris, 1930.

Uvch. ... Uttaravinicchaya, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* II, 231-304.

VajP. ... Vajracchedikāprajnāpāramitāā, ed. (and translated) E. Conze *SOR.* XIII, Rome, 1957

Vajsu ... Vajrasūci, ed. (and translated), S. K. Mukho-padhyāya, Santiniketan, 1950.

Vbh. ... Vibhaṅga, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids *PTS.* 1904

VbhA. ... Vibhanga Aṭṭhakathā (Sammohavinodani), ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1923

VBS. ... Vis'va-Bhārati Studies.

Vickāv. ... Vicitrakarnikāvadana, ed. (and translated) H. Jorgensen, London, 1931.

Viṃs'. ... (Vims'atikā) Vijnaptimātratāsiddhi, ed. S. Levi, 1925-26.

Vin. ... VInayapiṭaka, I-V, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879-83.

VinA. ... Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā), I-VII, ed. J. Takakusu, M. Nagai, *PTS.* 1924-47.

VinMS. ... Mula Sarvāstivāda Vinaya : Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III. ed. N. Dutt. 1939-50.

VinS. ... Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin, ed. (and translated in French) J. Fillozat and H. Kuno *JAs.* 1938, 21-64.

Vinvch. ... Vinayavinicchaya, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* II. 1-230.

Vism. ... Visuddhimagga, ed. H. C. Warren and D. Kosambi *HOS.* 41, 1950.

Vvu. ... Vimānavatthu (with commentary), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1901.

WZKM ... Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Yam. ... Yamaka, I-II, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1911-13.

YamA. ... Yamakappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1910-12. 51-107.

ZDMG ... Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

CROSS-REFERENCES OF SPEICAL TITLES TO ABBREVIATIONS

Atthasālini	Dhammasangani Aṭṭhakathā	*(DhsA.)*
Madhuratthavilāsini	Buddhavamsa Aṭṭhakathā	*(BuvA.)*
Manorathaūrani	Anguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(A.A.)*
Niddesa-vaṇṇanā	Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	*(NdA. I, II)*
Papañcasudani	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(MA)*
Paramatthadipani	Cariyāpiṭaka Aṭṭhakathā	*(CpA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā	*(ItA)*
Paramatthadipani	Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā	*(PpA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā	*(PvuA.)*
Paramatthadipani	Theragātha Aṭṭhakathā	*(Thag A.)*
Paramatthadipani	Therigātha Aṭṭhakathā	*(Thig A.)*
Paramatthajotika I	Khuddakapatha Aṭṭhakathā	*(KhpA.)*
Paramatthajotika II	Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā	*(SnA.)*
Paramatthamañjusā	Visuddhimagga Aṭṭhakathā	*(VismA.)*
Saddhammapajjotika I, II	Mahā-(Culla-) niddesa Aṭṭhakathā	*(NdA. I, II)*
Saddhammappakāsini	Patisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā	*(PsA.)*
Samantapāsādikā	Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā	*(VinA)*
Sammohavinodaṇi	Vibhanga Aṭṭhakathā	*(VbhA.)*
Sāratthappakasini	Samyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(SA.)*
Sumaṇgalavilasini	Digha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā	*(DA)*
Visuddhajanavilasini	Apadāna Aṭṭhakathā	*(ApA.)*

Thag. ... Theragāthā ed. H. Oldenberg, *PTS.* 1883.

ThagA. ... Theragāthā, Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), I-III ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1940-59.

Thig. ... Therigāthā ed. R. Pischel, *PTS.* 1883.

Thig. A. ... Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadipani), ed. E. Muller, *PTS.* 1893.

Thupv. ... Thūpavaṃsa, ed. B. C. Law *PTS.* 1935.

Tikap. ... Tikapaṭṭhāna, I-III (with commentary), ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1921-23.

Tkg. ... Telakatāhagāthā, ed. E. R. Gooneratne, *JPTS*, 1884, 49-68.

TM. ... Tōhokuteikoku-Daigaku Hobungakubu Tibet-Daizōyō So-Mokuroku, I-II, Sendai, 1932.

Trins'. ... Trims'ikāvijnapti, ed. H. Jacobi (Trims'ikavijnaptimit Bhāsya des Acarya Sthiramati), 1932.

TSS. ... Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

TT. ... Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition, edited by D. T. Suzuki, Vol. 1-165.

TurkRem. ... Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan. ed. (in conjuction with other scholars) A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, I, Oxford, 1916.

UCR. ... University of Ceylon Review.

Ud. ... Udāna, ed. P. Steinthal, *PTS.* 1885.

UdA. ... Udāna Aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadī pani), ed. F. L. Woodward, *PTS.* 1926.

Udvg. ... Udānavarga, ed. N. P. Chakravarti, Paris, 1930.

Uvch. ... Uttaravinicchaya, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* II, 231-304.

VajP. ... Vajracchedikāprajnāpāramitāā, ed. (and translated) E. Conze *SOR.* XIII, Rome, 1957

Vajsu ... Vajrasūci, ed. (and translated), S. K. Mukho-padhyāya, Santiniketan, 1950.

Vbh. ... Vibhaṅga, ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids *PTS.* 1904

VbhA. ... Vibhanga Aṭṭhakathā (Sammohavinodani), ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *PTS.* 1923

VBS. ... Vis'va-Bhārati Studies.

Vickāv. ... Vicitrakarnikāvadana, ed. (and translated) H. Jorgensen, London, 1931.

Vims'. ... (Vims'atikā) Vijnaptimātratāsiddhi, ed. S. Levi, 1925-26.

Vin. ... VInayapiṭaka, I-V, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879-83.

VinA. ... Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā (Samantapāsādikā), I-VII, ed. J. Takakusu, M. Nagai, *PTS.* 1924-47.

VinMS. ... Mula Sarvāstivāda Vinaya : Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III. ed. N. Dutt. 1939-50.

VinS. ... Vinaya des Sarvāstivādin, ed. (and translated in French) J. Fillozat and H. Kuno *JAs.* 1938, 21-64.

Vinvch. ... Vinayavinicchaya, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, *BM.* II. 1-230.

Vism. ... Visuddhimagga, ed. H. C. Warren and D. Kosambi *HOS.* 41, 1950.

Vvu. ... Vimānavatthu (with commentary), ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.* 1901.

WZKM ... Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

Yam. ... Yamaka, I-II, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS.* 1911-13.

YamA. ... Yamakappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1910-12, 51-107.

ZDMG ... Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM
VOLUME VII

MIND : The concept of mind in the Buddhist tradition could be considered as one of the most fascinating subjects of study for the historian of ideas. Buddhism in all its historical periods of development has focussed special attention on this concept. The reason for this is evidently because the path of liberation in Buddhism consists primarily of progressive stages of mental culture culminating in the attainment of the emancipation of the mind from all unwholesome emotions that defile it and produce unending misery for the individual. Liberating knowledge is considered in Buddhist traditions as consisting of understanding mind or mind and matter in accordance with the principles governing their dependent arising and existence. Animated life is seen as a continuing process of individuated mind and matter producing repeated birth, decay, death and rebirth. This is conceived in Buddhism as the miserable process of *saṃsāra* Mind is the fundamental principle admitted in Buddhism in order to explain the existence of living beings in the universe. The crucial factors that condition *saṃsāra* such as delusion (*avijjā*) and craving (*taṇhā*) are mental. The idea of a metaphysical soul substance is not admitted in any system of Buddhist thought. Since existence in *saṃsāra* is mentally determined, the key to deliverance from the miserable process of *saṃsarā* lies in gaining mastery over the mind. Liberation occurs with a radical transformation of the cognitive and emotive aspects of a living being, i. e. with the attainment of liberation through insight and liberation of the mind from unwholesome emotions (*paññāvimutti* and *cetovimutti*).

An examination of the Buddhist scriptures belonging to different periods and schools of thought in the history of Buddhism shows that there is no uniform view regarding the mind and its relation to matter common to all these periods and schools of Buddhist thought. A close study of the early Sutta literature preserved in the Pali tradition can throw much light on how the Buddha himself conceived of the mind and its relation to matter. Discussions relating to the nature of the mind in this statum of literature that can with some degree of probability be considered as the earliest are brief and are usually governed by practical, more than by theoretical concerns. Buddhism had to meet certain challenges posed by other schools of Indian thought due to its rejection of the concept of soul (*ātman*). In most schools of pre-Buddhist Indian thought the concept of soul served as a metaphysical entity to explain the notion of personal identity through a continued process of rebirth or reincarnation and the notion of moral responsibility in terms of the doctrine of kammic rewards and retribution. The goal of the religious life was also explained in terms of the deliverance of the immortal soul from its bondage to what is extraneous to it. Buddhism admitted the moral responsibility of the individual as well as the principle of *kamma* and its results without admitting the idea of a permanent self or soul. Some of the developments pertaining to the concept of mind in later systems of Buddhist thought could be viewed as attempts to reconcile the no-self doctrine with the concepts of personal identity and moral responsibility.

Concept of Mind in the Pali Nikāyas : In the Pali Nikāyas three terms are frequently used to refer to what we understand by the term 'mind'. They are *citta, mano* and *viññāṇa*. The range of application of these terms is not well defined in the Suttas. The meanings of these terms could be understood only by examining their contextual usage. There is no attempt to give precise and exclusive definitions of these terms. Some passages that mention all three terms together suggest that they are synonymous. However, it becomes clear, when their different contextual use is examined, that they cannot be used altogether interchangeably.

Citta and *mano* are considered as part of the psychological constitution of personality that can be developed and cultivated. The past participle form *bhāvita* and its negative *abhāvita* are used in compound forms with *citta* to indicate respectively, the cultivated and the unclutivated mind.[1] There is no instance in which such compounds are formed with the term *viññāṇa*. Similarly, *citta* and *mano* can be defiled or

1 *S.* IV. p. III ; 294 ; *M.* 1. p. 301 ;

purified, restrained or unrestrained, corrupted or uncorrupted.[2] The same cannot be said of *viññāṇa*.[3] *Mano* is recognized on a par with the other organs of sense, eye, ear, nose, tongue and body that have a physical base to the extent that it is also a sense faculty, while *citta* and *viññāṇa* are not so recognized.[4] *Mano*, however, has the distinct function of co-ordinating the experiences of the five physical senses. These other sense faculties are considered to rest on the support of *mano*. It is *mano* that ultimately experiences the stimuli conveyed through the instrumentality of the physical senses.[5] It is also classed among the six or twelve *āyatana* (spheres of sense) and is one of the eighteen *dhātu* (elements). The compund form *manov iññāṇa* is used to designate the experience derived from the mind sense, just as *cakkhuviññāṇa* etc. are used to designate the experience derived from the other senses having a physical base.[6] The frequent use of the compound form *vimuttacitto* (one whose mind is freed)[7] and the statement *anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucci* (the mind got released from the cankers without clinging)[8] indicate that *citta* is that which gets ultimately liberated. The terms *mano* and *viññāṇa* do not occur in such contexts. *Viññāṇa* is considred in the Pali Nikāyas as that which gets established after the bodily death of a person, leading to the continuity of the cyclic porcess of individuated life. A person who is released from the process is referred to as one who is completely extinguished without *viññāṇa* obtaining any further foothold (*appatiṭṭhitena ...viññāṇena... parinibbuto*).[9] The connection between *viññāṇa* and *nāmarūpa* mentioned in the standard formula of twelve-fold *paticcasamuppāda* may be understood accordingly. According to the *Mahānidāna Sutta*, if *viññāṇa* does not descend on the womb of the mother *nāmarūpa* cannot be sustained. If having descended *viññāṇa* disappears the growth of *nāmarūpa* does not occur.[10] Thus *viññāṇa* is considered as a crucial link between the death and the rebecoming of an individual.

In the Suttas we do not find any sharp boundaries for the use of these terms. It is due to this flexibility and looseness of usage that later Abhidharma theorists were able to give different interpretations to the teachings of the Buddha. One can cite the controversy regarding whether it is the eye that cognizes material form or the mind that cognizes it as one example of the openness of the Sutta teachings to divergent interpretations.[11] The position that accords with the original teaching of Buddhism seems to be that all three phenomena referred to as *citta*, *mano* and *viññāṇa* function not as autonomous agents of action but as causally conditioned processes. According to the Sutta teachings, there cannot be an underlying mind-substance that exists eternally. Mind, whether it is in the form of the *citta*, *mano* or *viññāṇa* is in a process of arising and ceasing to be. All of them have the characteristic of being impermanent (*anicca*), unsatisfactory (*dukkha*) and devoid of soul substance (*anatta*).

Both in common sense and in philosophy a familiar distinction is made between the mind and the body. A person is generally conceived as being both a mind and a body or having a mind and a body. We make two kinds of statements about people. The first kind of statement can be made about a person's body. Such

---

2 *Dīghanikāya* I. p. 247 ; *Anguttaranikāya* V. p. 93 ; *Niddesa* I. p. 27 ; *Niddesa* I. p. 62 ; *Samyuttanikāya* I. p. 73 ; *Dhammapada* 361.

3 *Viññaṇa* is usually considered as something to be comprehended (*viññanaṃparinneyyaṃ*).

4 *Dighanikāya* III. p. 243. D III. p. 243

5 *Majjhumanikāya* I. p. 295. M. I. P. 295

6 *Samyuttanikāya* IV. p. 134. S. IV. p. 134

7 *Majjhimanikāya* i. 235 ; 486 ; 500 ; *Samyuttanikāya* i. p. 46. *M*. I. P. 235 ; 486 ; 500 ; S. I. P. 46

8 *Vinaya* I. p. 14 ; 16 ; *Dighanikaya* ii. p. 35. Vin. I. 14 ; D. II. p. 35.

9 *Samyuttanikāya* i. p. 122. S. I. p. 122 D. II. p. 63

10. *Dighanikāya* ii. p. 63.

11 *Abhidharmadīpa* with *Vibhāsaprabhāvrtti*, ed. P. S. Jaini (Kashi Prasad Jayaswal research Institute, Patna, 1959) p. 74 f.

statements can also be made of any physical object whatsoever. However, there are some statements that we can properly make only about people and perhaps about some living organisms. Thus properties like black or white, tall or short are attributable to both living beings and other physical objects like towers and buildings. However, we do not attribute intentions, desires, aspirations, interests, knowledge and belief etc. to mere physical things. They are considered to be attributable to persons, individuals or some living beings, by virtue of the fact that they are not merely bodies, but they also have minds. This distinction has been the source of the philosophical theory known as dualism regarding the nature of the body-mind relationship. A dualistic view is built into our common sense language. However, the validity of dualism as a philosophical thesis has often been questioned. Materialistic monism holds the view that apart from a body that exhibits various behavioural characteristics, there is no extra reality hidden within the body that can be conceived as the mind or the soul of a person. In connection with the nature and destiny of the person, Buddhism explicitly rejected both the annihilationist doctrine of the materialists as well as the eternalist doctrine of the soul theorists. Consequently, the concept of mind implied by the teachings of early Buddhism can be said to possess certain unique and distinctive characteristics.

Instead of seeing the person as consisting of a destructible body and an indestructible soul substance, the Pali Suttas analyze the person into five constituent aggregated (*khandha*).[12] The first is the aggregate of matter (*rūpa*) that represents the physical body of a person. The second is the aggregate of sensations (*vedanā*), that represents the series of pleasant, unpleasant and neutral feelings experienced by a person. The third consists of the various ideas, notiions and concepts (*saññā*) that occur in the perceptual activity of the person. The fourth consists of the various volitional activities (*sankhārā*). The fifth consists of consciousness (*viññāṇa*). It is easy to see that in this analysis the first aggregate represents the material component of personality or what we call the body and the rest represent the mental components of personality or what we call the mind. It is also easy to see this analysis in the light of the tripartite division in introspective physchology into the affective or emotive, cognitive and the conative aspects of the mind.

The Suttas use the term *nāmarūpa* as a compound in different contexts in which reference is made to the dependent arising process. The compound is sometimes separated into the two components *nāma* and *rūpa*. In such contexts *nāma* may be considered to designate whatever is mental in the composition of an individual and *rūpa* as whatever is material. In the explanation of the dependent arising of suffering, it is pointed out that a relationship holds between *nāmarūpa* and *viññāṇa*.[13] In such instances, the compound *nāmarūpa* is separated into the mental and physical constituents by showing that *vedanā* (sensation), *saññā* (perception), *cetanā* (volition), *phasso* (sense contact) and *manasikāro* (attention) constitute the *nāma* and the four primary material elements and the secondary matter derived from the four primary elements constitute the *rūpa*.[14] It is to be noted that *viññāṇa* (consciousness) is not considered as part of *nāmarūpa* according to the Sutta classification. *Viññāṇa* and *nāmarūpa* are said to condition each other standing in a mutually dependent causal relationship.[15] In the *Mahāniddesa* and the commentaries of Buddhaghosa, *nāma* is considered to be the four immaterial aggregates (*cattāro arūpino khandhā*), according to which *viññāṇa*

12. *S.* III.

13. *D.* II. p 32

14 *vedanā, saññā, cetanā, phasso, manasikāro, idaṃ vuccatāvuso nāmaṃ Cattāri ca mahābhūtāni catunnañca mahābhūtānam upādaya rūpaṃ idaṃ vuccatāvuso rūpaṃ*. (*M.* I. p. 53.)

15 *Viññāṇe... sati nāmarupaṃ hoti viññanapaccayā nāmarupaṃ, nāmarupe... sati viññānaṃ hoti nāmarūpapaccayā viññanaṃ* (*D.* II. p. 435).

16 *Mahāniddesa* II. p. 435.

is also included in *nāma*.[16] According to the *Mahānidāna Sutta*, *phassa*, which is included under *nāma* is conditioned by *nāmarūpa*.[17] This suggests that the factor that played a part in the formula of dependent arising, conceived under the compound *nāmarūpa*, stood as a relatively independent complex determining other functions such as *phassa* and *viññāṇa* conceived purely in mental terms. It is also to be noted that when dealing with mental concepts such as *saññā*, *viññāṇa* and *paññā*, the Sutta teachings do not intend to make sharp distinctions among them. In reality, they overlap in some way in their functions.[18]

Early Buddhism denied a permanent substance in the form of an enduring *ātman*. It also rejected any attempt to attribute such a substantial reality to *viññāṇa*. At the same time it admitted the possibility of attributing individual identity over a series of lives in terms of the doctrine of *kamma* and rebecoming. This position appears to be a unique feature of early Buddhism. Early Buddhism attempts to avoid the extreme philosophical positions of both strict dualism and idealistic as well as materialistic monism by showing the mutual dependence between the mental and the material realms of existence. The mental aggregates, conceived as immaterial (*arūpino khandhā*), as well as the aggregate of matter are equally subject to the law of change. Over and above these aggregates there is no other entity that can be conceived as the essence of individual existence. Any attempt to conceive of any mental component like perception (*saññā*)[19] or consciousness (*viññāṇa*) as an enduring self was rejected by the Buddha. The Buddha insisted that whatever is referred to by terms such as *citta*, *mano* and *viññāṇa*, the generic terms applied in Buddhism to express mental functions, should not be mistaken to involve any reference to something that is permanent and enduring. Although there may be some justification in considering the body of a person as enduring, for it is seen to exist over a considerable period of time without perishing, maintaining its spatio-temporal continuity, the mental components of personality are observed to be changing every moment.[20] The attempt of one of the Buddha's disciples, name *Sāti*, to conceive of *viññāṇa* as the enduring agent of action and as that which transmigrates from one life to another, experiencing the consequences of deeds, was considered by the Buddha to be a heresy.[21] In this instance it is pointed out that *viññāṇa* is not a simple entity of a substantial nature, but a process that is causally conditioned by the interaction between the sense faculties and sense stimuli.[22]

Early Buddhism seeks to establish the connection between mind and matter through the admission of the co-existence of both mental and material functions in nature. Originally, nature is neither solely mental nor solely material. The link between individual mental life and the complex of mind-matter (*nāmarūpa*) is sense contact (*phassa*).[23] This connection is spoken of in a passage of the *Mahānidāna Sutta*, to which little attention has been paid by Buddhist scholars, both early and modern. This passage speaks of the conditions under which we make reference to mental phenomena and conceive them under one group (*nāmakāyassa paññatti hoti*) and the conditions under which we make reference to physical phenomena and conceive them under another group (*rūpakāyassa pannatti hoti*). The emphasis in the passage appears to be on the mutuality of the connection between the two groups. About the material group, contact by **designation** (*adhivacanasamphasso*) becomes possible, because it is possible to conceive of mental phenomena as a distinct group on certain grounds. Similarly about the mental group,

17 *D*. II. p. 56.

18 *Na sakkā vinibbhujitvā vinibbhujitvā nānākāranaṃ paññāpetum* (*M*. I. p. 292).

19 *D*. I. p. 185.

20 *S*. II. p. 94 f.

21 *M*. I. p. 256.

22 *Aññatra paccayā natthi viññāṇassa sambhavo* (*ibid*. p. 257).

23 *Nāmarūpa paccayā phasso* (*D*. I. p. 56).

sensory contact (*patighasamphasso*) is possible because it is possible on certain grounds to have a concept of material phenomena as a distinct group. The point is to show that our experience of the empirical world is grounded on two kinds of contact referred to as designation contact (*adhivacanasamphasso*) and direct physical sense contact (*patighasamphasso*).[24]

Buddhism in the Pali Nikāyas can be seen to be in agreement with Gilbert Ryle's rejection of a strictly dualistic theory of the mind-body relationship leading to the view that there are two distinct substances, one mental and the other physical. However, it should be noted that the Buddhist view represented in the Pali Nikāyas does not go so far in affirming a reductionist view of the mind-body relationship as Ryle does. The Buddhist view does not imply the thesis that logically, statements about a person's mind are reducible to statements about a person's body. Ryle's analysis results in a denial of the reality of introspectible inner experience and the possibility of causal interaction between bodily and mental processes. All mental activity, according to Ryle could be analyzed in terms of dispositions to behave.

The early Buddhist view does not accord with the philosophical thesis known as logical behaviourism. Logical behaviourism implies a total denial of the reality of consciousness and inner experience. Buddhism does not deny the importance of using bodily and verbal behaviour of persons as a means of making inferential judgements regarding their mental states. According to the Buddha the observation of the bodily and verbal behaviour of a person is an effective way of coming to know about the inner mental nature of a person. The Buddha pointed out that in the application of behavioural criteria to judge the mental conduct of a person it is necessary to observe a person's physical and verbal behaviour for a long time and under varied circumstances.[25] This is because deceptive behaviour does frequently occur.

Early Buddhist analyses of the mind are primarily based on introspective observaiton. Buddhism is interested more in the analysis of processes of consciousness than their physiological or behavioural correlates. From the Buddhist point of view, the observable physiological activity is preceded by mental processes. However, mental processes depend on a variety of conditions among which the existence of appropriate physical stimuli as well as physical sense bases are recognized. Thus, in dealing with the nature of the body-mind relationship Buddhism adopts the principle of dependent arising, according to which both mental and physcial existence are viewed as being mutually dependent.

Early Buddhism does not raise the question whether only matter is ultimately real in such a way that mind is reducible to matter or whether only mind is ultimately real in such a way that matter is reducible to mind. Therefore, it is not possible to consider early Buddhism as conforming to a philosophical idealism, in the sense that it recognizes only the ultimate reality of mind. However, early Buddhism gives supreme importance to the mind in human living, and emphasizes the great human potential to develop and cultivate the mind with the objective of realizing the ultimate goal of complete liberation from suffering. It is in this light that some statements in canonical Buddhism such as "Mind is the forerunner of all phenomena" (*manopubbangamā dhammā*), and "The world is directed and dragged around by the mind" (*cittena niyati loko, cittena parikissati*) should be understood.[26] It is maintained that there is nothing else in the world that conduces to the greater wellbeing of a person than a well-cultivated mind. Also there is nothing else in the world that conduces to the ill-being of a person than an uncultivated mind.[27] The Buddha's discourses on the mind were not prompted by a desire for achieving

24 *Ibid.* II. p. 62.
25 *M.* I. p. 125.
26 *S.* I. p. 39.
27 *Nāham bhikkhave aññam ekadhammampi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ bhāvitaṃ mahato atthāya saṃvattati yathāyidaṃ bhikkhave cittaṃ... Nāham bhikkhave aññam ekadhammampi samanupassami yaṃ evaṃ abhāvitam mahato anatthāya saṃvattati yathayidam bhikkhave cittaṃ(A. I. p. 5).*

philosophical accuracy, but by the practical concern of brining about human wellbeing and liberation. Therefore, common sense ways of talking about the nature of the mind, sometimes using even figurative language is common in the Buddhist discourses. The *Cittavagga* of the *Dhammapada*, for instance emphasizes the benefits of a restrained, guarded and cultivated mind. In order to show the fickle and uncontrollable nature of the mind, it speaks of the mind as some formless entity, which resides within the cave of the body and takes lone and distant journeys away from it.

When describing the mind from this practical or pragmatic perspective, Buddhism conceives of the mind as having an instrinsic lustre, which is really concealed or defield due to extraneous defilements.[28] The defilements of the mind result from the failure of the individual to deal with the process of sense perception in an insightful manner. The perceptual process goes on every moment in our waking life and the mental life of the individual consists of a flow of sense impressions (*phassa*) sensations (*vedanā*), perceptions (*saññā*) and volitions (*cetanā*). From the canonical period, Buddhism got accustomed to looking at the mental life from an evaluative perspective classifying mental phenomena on the basis of what is wholesome (*kusala*) and unwholesome (*akusala*). Buddhism applied this evaluative basis in its analysis of the various emotive and cognitive processes of the mind. Removal of the unwholesome cognitive and emotive contents of the mind was the objective of the Buddhist analysis. These unwholesome contents are categorized sometimes under some generic terms like *āsava* (cankers or influxes), *anusaya* (latent tendencies) and *nīvaraṇa* (hindrances). The standard list of *āsava* is comprised of *kāma* (sensuous desire), *bhava* (becoming), *avijjā* (ignorance) and *diṭṭhi* (cankers of dogmatic belief). The standard list of *anusaya* is comprised of *rāga* (lust), *paṭigha* (hatred), *diṭṭhi* (dogmatic belief), *vicikicchā* (doubt), *māna* (pride), *bhavarāga* (passion for becoming) and *avijjā* (ignorance). *Nīvaraṇa* are fivefold as *kāmacchanda* (desire for sensuous enjoyment), *vyāpāda* (maliciousness), *thinamiddha* (sloth and torpor), *uddhaccakukkucca* (flurry and worry) and *vicikicchā* (doubt). All ethical endeavour in Buddhism is directed to the elimination of these unwholesome qualities of mind in such a way that ultimately the mind becomes pure and lustrous. The *Sāmaññapahala Sutta*, for instance, gives an account of the process leading to a cultured state of mind that could be utilized effectively in the attainment of knowledge and vision into the emancipating truths of Buddhism. Such a mind is described as composed, purified, cleansed, free from impurities, rid of defilements, unswerving, soft, pliable and steady.[29]

The Pali Nikāyas also mention numerous wholesome qualities of the mind that ought to be cultivated for the attainment of the Buddhist goal of liberation under standard Buddhist concepts like *indriya* (faculties), *bala* (powers) and *bojjhanga* (factors of enlightenment). Some of these qualities to be cultivated are emotive, like *hiri* (a sense of shame) and *ottappa* (a sense of fear to do wrong), some are conative, like *viriya* (effort or mental resolve), some are cognitive like *sati* (mindfulnes) and *paññā* (insight) and some are both emotive and cognitive like *saddhā* (which includes both the emotion of faith and confidence based on understanding).

The teachings relating to the nature of mind in the Nikāya period is characterized by a practical concern. Theoretical completeness or precision does not seem to have been the goal. Attention is focussed mostly on ways and means of removing the unwholesome qualities of mind and developing the wholesome ones ensuring the attainment of final liberation of the mind from cankers (*āsavakkhaya*).

Mind in the Theravāda Abhidhammapiṭaka : The Abhidhammapiṭaka, the commentarial literature and

28 *Pabhassaram idam bhikkhave cittam. Tam ca kho āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭham* (A. I. p. 10).

29 *Evam samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte anaṅgaṇe vigatupakkilese ānenjappatte mudubhūte kammaniye ṭhite* (D. I. p. 79).

the post-commentarial Abhidhamma treatises of the Theravada Buddhist tradition consist of many remarkable developments in the Buddhist theory of mind. The function of the Abhidhamma was conceived in the Theravada Buddhist tradition as an elaborate analysis of reality consisting of mind and matter into its ultimate constituents adopting the absolute method of discourse (*paramatthadesanā*), departing from the conventional method of discourse adopted in the *Suttapiṭaka* (*vohāradesanā*). The result of such analysis is a further elaboration of the five aggregates (*pañcakkhandha*), the twelve spheres (*dvādasāyatanāni*) and the eighteen elements (*aṭṭhārasadhātuyo*) adopting specifically the exhaustive method of analysis in the Abhidhamma. *Paṭṭhāna*, the seventh book of the Theravada Abhidhammapiṭaka attempts an exhaustive analysis of the various kinds of relationships that hold between mental and material phenomena. The Abhidhamma analysis is characterized by shifts of emphasis, emergence of new concepts and in some instances deviations from canonical positions.

The treatment of the distinction between mind and matter appeared to take a more dualistic approach in the Abhidhamma period. In the Sutta Pitaka both mental and material phenomena are discussed from an experiential point of view. There is no attempt in the Suttas to speculate on the ultimate nature of these phenomena. The Suttas unlike the Abhidhamma, avoid making a distinction between mind (*citta*) and its contents (*cetasika*) leaving less room for any substantialist metaphysics.

The first book of the Abhidhammapitaka, Dhammasangani, consists of a section called *Cittuppādakaṇḍa*, where an exhaustive analysis of mind and mental constituents is made, adopting the abhidhamma standpoint. Mind, according to the Dhammasangani is analyzed in terms of its basic threefold scheme of evaluation in terms of karmic quality as *kusalā dhammā* (wholesome phenomena), *akusalā dhammā* (unwholesome phenomena) and *avyākatā dhammā* (neutral phenomena). *Citta* is repesented as arising in the sensuous sphere depending on material form, sound, smell, taste or a mental object. Eight classes of wholesome mind are distinguished, depending on whether the consciousness that arises is accompanied by joy (*somanassasahagatam*) or indifference (*upekkhāsahagatam*), associated with (*ñāṇasampayuttam*) or not associated with knowledge (*ñāṇavippayauttam*) and pre-meditated (*sasaṅkhā rikam*) or unpremeditated (*asankhā rikam*). The enumeration of the contents of mind so analyzed seems to be an attempt to put together all the cognitive, emotive and conative mental phenomena recognized in the Sutta Period. There are fifty-six such elements enumerated under the first wholesome *citta*, which is accompanied by joy, associated with knowledge and premeditated, belonging to the sensuous sphere. Among them are included some of the psychological elements of the noble eightfold path, the three roots of wholesome behaviour and the five faculties consisting of *saddha*, *sati* etc. Kammically unwholesome mind is eight-fold on the basis that it could be accompanied either by joy or by indifference, combined with wrong views or not and premeditated or not. Two classes of unwholesome mind, rooted in hate, one of which is premeditated and the other unpremediated are mentioned. They are considered to be always acompanied by sadness (*domanassasahagatam*). Two classes of delusive mind are also mentioned making a total of twelve classes of unwholesome mind. The latter is always accompanied by indifference and may be associated either with scepticism (*vicikicchā*) or with restlessness (*uddhacca*).

Kammically neutral mental phenomena are either kamma results (*vipāka*) or kammically neutral functions (*kiriya*). Kammically neutral phenomena, which are kamma results, fall into two gorups based on whether they are results of wholesome kamma or of unwholesome kamma. Kammically neutral functions (*kiriya*) are neither kamma results nor productive of kamma results, but consist simply in mere doing. Among other things, the consciousness of the Arahat, in any instance identical with the arising of the eight

30 For details see Nyanatiloka Mahathera, *Guide through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, (Bauddha Sahitya Sabhā, Colombo 1957) p. 19 f.

classes of wholesome consciousness in the sensuous sphere, is considered to be characterized by such functional consciousness (*kiriya*).[30]

Mind in Post Canonical Theravāda Sources : Discussions of mind and mental processes in the post-canonical Theravada sources are entirely based on the application of the Abhidhamma method of analysis. In this literature a number of new developments concerning the Buddhist theory of mind can be observed. The major works that represent this period of Theravāda literature are Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, his commentaries to the Abhidhamma Pitaka and Anurudhha's twelfth century work Abhidhammatthasangaha. The Abhidhamma remains faithful to the canonical position that the mind arises depending on conditions and attempts to show how this happens by an elaborate analysis of the process of perception.

The most important influence on the Abhidhamma theory of mind of a later period was the theory of moments. This theory had, by the time of the third Buddhist council, become part of the common belief among all schools of Buddhism. The Sautrantika school of Buddhism applied the theory of moments to explain the continuance of the individual without depending on the notion of a soul. Sautrantikas believed in momentary change of both mind and matter. It is in accordance with this theory of moments that they held a representative theory of perception on the ground that the external object undergoes change before it is apprehended by the mind. In the *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā* of the Theravada tradition the theory of moments is presented as a specifically abhidhamma doctrine. This text treats matter on the basis of moments (*khanena paricchinnam*), instead of treating it on the basis of the process of birth and death (*bhavena paricchinnaṃ*) as the Suttantas do. According to the theory of moments presented in the *Vibhangaṭṭhakathā*, matter is treated as having three moments, a moment of birth (*uppādakkhaṇa*), a moment of existence (*ṭhitikkhaṇa*) and a moment of death (*bhaṅgakkhaṇa*). The Theravāda Abhidhamma applied the theory of moments to mind as well, going a step further than the Sautrantikas by brining in the canonical view that mind undergoes change with greater rapidity than matter. Thus they computed the duration of matter in relation to the duration of thought maintaining that sixteen moments of thought arise and cease to exist during the lifetime of a single moment of matter.[31]

A new term was coined by the Abhidhamma scholiasts in order to safeguard the notion of a continuing yet transient mind. This new term *bhavaṅga* plays a central role in the theory of mind presented by Buddhaghosa and his successors. The term *bhavanga* first appears in the *Paṭṭhāna*, the last book of the Abhidhammapitaka.[32] *Bhavanga* is referred to here as preceding reflection or attention (*āvajjana*). These occurrences of the term suggest that by this time the idea that *bhavanga* is a source from which all active mental processes originate had been accepted. The term *bhavaṅga* came into much wider use in the *Milindapañha* and the works of Buddhaghosa. Since then individuated existence in the series of life's becoming (*bhava*) came to be seen as a continuation of mental states unified through the stream of *Bhavaṅga* (*bhavaṅgasota*). The notion of *bhavaṅga* is used by Nāgasena in response to Milinda's inquiry regarding what happens to the mind in deep sleep. Nāgasena says in this context that when a person is in deep sleep, the mind enters the *bhavaṅga* state and although the body stays alive, the mind stops functioning (*niddhasamā rulhassa citte bhavandngagate titthamane ppi sarire citta appavattaṃ hoti*).[33] E. R. Sarathchandra is of the opinion that in the Abhidhamma *Bhavanga* became a synonym for *viññāna* and thus the old discarded *vijñāṇa* of non-Buddhist thought is smuggled into Buddhism.[34]

It was noted that the Buddha, as represented in the Suttas, rejected the notion of an enduring mind or

31 *Vibhangaṭṭhakathā* pp. 25, 26.
32 *Paṭṭhāna* ii. pp. 34, 159, 160, 169.
33 *Milindapañha* p. 299.
34 *Buddhist Psychology of Perception*, (Ceylon University Press, Colombo, 1958) p. 80.

consciousness (*viññāṇa*). Mind was viewed as the continuing activity of thought and consciousness that is produced in sense perception. The Abhidhamma brings in the notion of *bhavaṅga* as a device to make its theory of the mental continuum consisting of thought moments intelligible. Despite this innovation the Abhidhamma theorists did not concede that the *bhavanga* is an enduring entity because that too was conceived as having only a momentary existence.

In Buddhaghosa's statement of the perceptual process *bhavaṅga* is considered as a continuous flow, suggesting that it is not a static entity, comparable to a permanent soul. Buddhaghosa says :

> "As the *bhavaṅga* process thus proceeds, when the sense faculties of living beings become capable of grasping stimuli, a material form comes within the range of the eye. Depending on that material form, there occurs and impact on the sensitive portion of the eye. By the power of that impact there occurs a vibration in *bhavaṅga*. Then *bhavaṅga* ceases and having that very material form as the object, there arises the neutral mind element (*kiriyamanodhātu*), cutting off *bhavaṅga* as it were (*bhavangaṃ vicchindamānā viya*) performing the function of attention... Immediately after attention there arises in the eye, visual consciousness, accomplishing the task of seeing basing itself on the sensitive portion of the physical eye."[35]

Making use of the concept of *bhavaṅga*, Buddhaghosa explains the stream of becoming as consisting of an alternation of active conscious processes and passive processes of *bhavaṅga*. Both are momentary and therefore, they do not play the same role as a permanent soul of non-Buddhist systems. Buddhaghosa called the mind in its passive condiiton *bhavanga* or *vithimutta*, bringing in another new concept into the Buddhist theory of mind in introducing the idea of 'avenues or pathways of thought' (*cittavithi*). The *Visuddhimagga* and the *Atthasālini*, in almost identical manner present the unbroken succession of the sensory process distinguishing several stages as follows :

(i) Impact of the object on the sense faculty (*Pasādaghaṭṭana*).
(ii) Arousing of attention (*bhavangavaṭṭana*).
(iii) Seeing in the case of visual perception (*dassanakicca*).
(iv) Assimilation or acceptance (*sampaṭicchana*).
(v) Discrimination (*santiraṇa*).
(vi) Determination (*vavatthapana*).
(vii) Experiencing (*anubhavana*) by cognition (*javana*)[36]

The concept of *bhavanga* served another important purpose in the post-canonical period. Buddhaghosa and his successors made use of this concept to explain the connection between the life of an individual before death and the new life that an individual takes after death. Continuity in the cyclic process of *samsāra* is explained in terms of immediately succedding moments of mind in an unbroken series of moments of active and passive mind. The dying thoughts of a person as well as the first moment of consciousness in a person's mind at rebirth were considered as a species of *bhavaṅga*. The last *bhavaṅga* in a particular life is called death-consciousness (*cuticitta*) and the first in a new life, the re-linking consciousness (*paṭisandhicitta*). Canonical Buddhism too emphasized the crucial role that mind plays in determining the rebirth process, but the mechanics of it was not elaborated until the time of Buddhaghosa. According to Buddhaghosa, the dying thoughts of a person could be of three kinds as *kamma, kammanimitta and gatinimitta*.[37] The consciousness of the dying person takes one of these dying thoughts and re-links with the consciousness at birth. The *bhavanga* is also referred to as a kind of *viññāṇa* that is undisturbed by the impact of sensory stimuli. Thus

35 *Visuddhimagga* p. 458.
36 *Visuddhimagga pp. 458 - 459* ; *Atthasalini* p. 561.
37 *Ibid.* p. 457.

the later Abhidhamma theory of mind accepts the continuity of momentary consciousness even in the absence of any sense object stimulation in a kind of introverted stream of consciousness within which moments of consciousness such as *kammanimitta* and *gatinimitta* could operate. This enabled the Abhidhamma theorists to explain the identity of the person across many lives through the notion of an unbroken flow of moments of consciousness alternating between passive *bhavanga* and active sense consciousness.[38]

Concept of Mind in Buddhist Idealism : It was noted that the early teachings of the Buddha represented in the Pali Nikāyas avoid metaphysical extremes such as eternalism, nihilism, materialism, dualism and idealism. However, the tendency to fall back into substantialist and absolutist metaphysics appeared at several points in the history of Buddhist thought as well. Such a tendency is evident in the idealistic theory of mind presented in several philosophical works belonging to the Yogācāra tradition. Among them may be mentioned *Yogācārabhūmi, Sandhinirmocana Sūtra, Mahāyānasangraha* and *Lankāvatāra Sutra*.[39] The Pali Nikāyas refer to only six types of sense consciousness as *cakkhuviññāna* (visual consciousness), *sotaviññāna* (auditory consciousness), *ghānaviññāna* (olfactory consciousness), *jivhaviññaṇa* (gustatory consciousness), *kāyaviññāṇa* (body consciousness) and *manoviññāṇa* (mind consciousness). Yogacara idealism makes the number of *vijñānas* eight by adding *mano* and the new concept of *alayavijñana* to the Buddhist theory of mind. The *Lankāvatāra* calls the whole system of mental functions *cittakalāpa* or *vijñānakāya*. Eight modes of activity are distinguished in this whole mental system. They are *ālayavijñāna, manas, manovijñāṇa* and the five sense-*vijñānas*.

The traditional view has been that Vasubandhu was responsible for the philosophical expression of Buddhist idealism. The *vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* consisting of two chapters, *Vimsatika* and *Trimasatika* by Vasubandhu has been considered by most Buddhist scholars to be a philosophical justification of idealism. Doubts have recently been expressed about this interpretation. Vasubandhu's attempt, according to this view is comparable to Nagarjuna's attempt to reject the notion of own-being (*svabhāva*) in empirical things. Vasubandhu does not affirm an idealistic metaphysics maintaining that mind is the only reality. He does not deviate from the position of early Buddhism that the physical eye and material form are conditions necessary for the arising of mind. What he attempts to point out in the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi is that there is an external reality (*bhayartha* or *sad artha*) in the form of matter in any absolute metaphyscial sense, which is unrelated to mind. D. J. Kalupahana points out that Vasubandhu's attempt was mainly one consisting of the deconstruction of absolutist metaphysics.[40] He, according to Kalupahana, had no intention of reducing everything to mind thereby recognizing the mind as the only substantive reality.

The same cannot be said of the theory of mind presented in the other texts that present the metaphysical standpoint of the Yogācāra school. Some scholars believe that the doctrinies of Yogācāra may have been initially a product of reflection on meditative experience. According to the *Sandhinirmocana Sutra*, all things that can be known could be subsumed under three aspects (*trisvabhāva*). The first is the constructed or the conceptualized aspect (*parikalpitasvabhāva*). In this aspect the duality of the grasper (*grāhaka*) and the grasped (*grahya*) occurs. This is how the unenlightened common folk see the world distinguishing between a world of really existing subjects and a world of really existing separate objects. However, this is mere appearance. The second is called the dependent aspect (*paratantrasvabhāva*). This represents the dependent origination of the *dharmas*. This is to be seen as an ever-changing flow of perceptions without any static perceived objects or perceiving subjects. It is ignorance

38 See *Buddhist Phychology of Perception*, p. 82-88.
39 For a discussion of the mind only doctrine of Buddhism see Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism* (Routledge, London and Newyork, 1989) Ch. 4.
40 See D. J. Kalupahana, *A History of Buddhist Philosophy* (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1992) Ch. xix.

that creates the duality. The third is called the perfected aspect (*parinispannasvabhāva*). According to the Sandhinirmocana Sutra, it is the suchness, the reality (*tathatā*) discovered in meditation. The perfected aspect is the non-dual single flow of perceptions. This is the substratum that underlies both *samsāra* and *nirvāna*. Sthiramati's interpretation of Vasubandhu's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* insisted that although there is no real subject and object, the flow of perceptions must exist. He did not deny the mind as the non-dual flow of perceptions.

In Yogācāra Vijñanavada the term *ālayavijñāṇa* acquires a new technical and philosophical meaning. It serves as a storehouse and a substratum leading to the thesis that reality in its ultimate sense is mind only. *Ālaya* is conceived in the *Lankavatara Sutra* as being absolute in one respect and in the other as being subject to evolution (*pravrtti*). *Manas* is conscious of the presence behind itself of the *ālaya* and the latter's uninterrupted working on the entire system of the *vijñāṇas*. *Manas* imagines the *ālaya* to be an ego. The notion of an ego-substance and the acceptance of a world external to itself and distinct from itself is the work of *manas*. *Manas* is that which gathers the information coming from the six *vijñānas*. It does not understand what the *ālaya* really is. Discrimination is one of the fundamental functions of *manas*. It sees plurality and clings to it as final. However, a reversal or 'turning back' (*parāvrtti*) can take place due to the activity of *manas*. When the pluralities are eliminated *ālaya* is seen in its own nature (*svalakṣana*) as solitary reality (*viviktadharma*) which is from its origin beyond discrimination. There is a dependent relationship between *manas* and *ālaya*. *Ālaya* is a storehouse of deeds that proceed from *manas* due to desire and ignorance. *Ālaya* also has its self-purifying nature which leads to the process of reversal. This brings about a transformaiton of *manas*. This transformation changes the attitude of *manas* towards the *vijñanas*. They are no longer regarded as representing an external world, which is characterized by individuality and manifoldness. The external world is now looked upon as a mere reflection of the *ālaya*. There is nothing other than the *ālaya*. Thus the Lankavatara Sutra brings us to the doctrine of mind only (*Cittamātra*).

This idealistic metaphysics was taken a step further in the *Lankavatāra Sutra* connecting it with the Buddhological speculations of the Mahāyāna. The *ālaya* was describe also as the *Tathāgatagarbha*, the womb of the Tathagata. *Ālayavijñāna* became the psychological name for *Tathāgatagarbha*. It is a reservior of things good and bad, pure and defiled. The *Tathāgatagarbha* is orginally immaculate, but is defiled by external impurities. When an intuitive penetration of the original purity of the *Tathāgatagarbha* occurs the whole system of the *vijñānas* goes throught a revolution. Reality is *cittamātra*.[41] The *Mahāyana Mahāparinirvāna Sutra* identifies the *Tathāgatagarbha* with the true Self. This Sutra appears to be teaching a really existing permanent element in all sentient beings.[42] *Ratnagotravibhaga*, another texte dealing with the *Tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, speaks of two types of suchness (*tathatā*). They are tainted suchness and untainted or immaculate suchness. The former is the *Tathāgatagarbha* and the latter the *dharmakāya* of the Buddha. In these two there is no real difference of base or substratum. Suchness is unchangeable by nature and perfectly pure. According to the *Ratnagotravibhāga* commentary, what is referred to here is consciousness, radiant by nature, pure and non-dual. The seeming contradiction here that the trainted suchness can at the same time be pure and the untainted suchness can be not defiled and yet purified is considred as an inconceivable mystery.[43]

New doctrines of the nature discussed above were probably introduced into the Buddhist tradition in order to counteract the objections of the non-Buddhist schools of Indian thought that Buddhism taught nihilism. Early Buddhism was not interested in the

41 See D. T. Suzuki, *The Lankāvatārasūtra*, (London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1932), Introduction.

42 Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism* p. 98 f.

43 *Ibid.* p. 104.

affirmation of a substratum of existence that ultimately survived. It was interested only in the understanding of the nature of empirical things in a way that would conduce to the leimination of cankers (*āsava*). From the early Buddhist point of view, the theories of mind outlined may be considered as distortions rather than developments.

Concluding Remarks : The early Buddhist theory of mind conformed to the philosophical revolution proposed by the Buddha in terms of his doctrine of the Middle Way that rejected both the notion of absolute being (*atthitā*) and absolute non-being (*natthitā*). Early Buddhism did not associate itself with the dualistic doctrine that attempted to explain the life principle in living beings in terms of an eternal Self (*Ātman*). All attempts to conceive of the mental conduct of living beings as resting on such an eternal principle were rejected. The mind itself was analyzed in terms of congnitive, emotive and conative processes. Apart from the activities described by verbal forms such as *cinteti, vijānāti, sañjānāti, jānāti* early Buddhism did not have the concept of an entity called the mind. Mental activity was explained as arising dependently. Early Buddhism did not identify any paritcular part of the human body as the seat of the mind. Buddhaghosa, however, deviated from this position in expressly identifying the heart (*hadayavatthu*) as the seat of the mind. Early Buddhism did not commit itself to the notion of a metaphysical soul or to that of some transcendental entity that provided unity to the plurality of experiences. There probably was a theoretical and intellectual need to have more tangible concepts to make some of the basic Buddhist teachings such as the cyclic process of rebecoming, the fruition of deeds with *kammic* potency in *samsaric* existence intelligible. There could also have been an interest in giving a positive content to Buddhist liberation in a context in which there were alternative Hindu concepts of liberation that assured a positive content. These reasons may be offered as an explanation for some of the later Buddhist theories of mind that we have mentioned above.

P. D. Premasiri.

MINDFULNESS See **SATI, SATIPAṬṬHĀNA, SATIPAṬṬHĀNA SUTTA**

MIRACLES : The Pali word for miracle is *Pāṭihāra* derived from *pāti + hr*. It means 'striking', 'surprising', 'extraordinary', 'special', 'wonder', 'miracle' - *Pali-English* Dictionary (*PED*).

The Three classes of miracles that the Buddha professed to know and possessed are *iddhipāṭihāra* (miracle of superhuman power), *ādesanāpāṭihāra* (miracle of mind reading) and *anusāsanīpāṭihāra* (miracle of instruction) - (*Kevaḍḍha Sutta, D.* I. 212 and *A.* I. 170).

It apperas from the *suttas* in the canon that what the Buddha valued most was the last, the miracle of instruction. It refers to the transforming power contained in the Buddha's instruction by which a person sees reality in the correct perspective and becomes convinced of the doctrine. It is to be regarded as the wonder working doctrine. '*Sappāṭihāriyam dhammam*' (*Mahapārinibbāna Sutta, D.* II. p. 105).

This term was used by the Buddha when he was urged by Mara to attain *parinibbāna* soon after Enlightenment. The Buddha replied that he would not attain *parinibbāna* until not only the bhikkhus and bhikkhunis of his order but also his male and female lay disciples had become wise and well trained and were able to teach the doctrine so that when others start to teach false doctrines, it will be easy to refute them and thereby spread the 'wonder working truth' abroad : "*...uppannamparappavādaṃsaha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ dessessantiti*".

In the *Mahāsakulidāyi Sutta* (*M.* II. p. 9) the Buddha explained to Sakulidayin that one of the reasons why the Buddha was respected and revered was because his sermons were, he said, "*sappāṭihāriyaṃ*" and not "*appāṭihāriyaṃ*". (*Sappāṭihāriyam samano Gotamo dhammaṃ deseti. No appāṭihāriyaṃti...*).

The reason why we may interpret this term as referring to 'miracle of instruction' and not miracle in the literal sense is because of the Buddha's unequivocal condemnation of performing miracles : "*Na Bhikkhave gihinaṃ uttarimanussa dhammaṇ iddhipāṭihāriyaṃ dassetabbā yo dasseyya, āpattidukkhaṭassa*' (*Vin.* II 112)

'Bhikkhus, supernormal power the condition attained by extraordinary beings ought not to be shown off to householders. If one should display them, there is an offence of wrong doing'.

The above pronouncement was occasioned by the performance of a miraculous feat by a Buddhist monk, Pindola, the Bharadvaja. The story related in the *sutta* recounts that a wealthy merchant had come into possession of a large quantity of very expensive sandalwood out of which he had got a bowl carved. He had then got the carved bowl hung up by a series of bamboo poles leading up to a great height and announced to all *bhikkhus* and *samaṇas* that whoever was able to bring down the bowl with their *iddhi* (supernormal) powers could have the bowl It is stated that all the six *añña titthiyas* (the teachers of the 6 other heretical sects) were interested in obtaining the bowl but were unable to do so. Pinḍola, the Bharadvaja, accomplished the feat by flying up into the air and taking the bowl with which he circled the town three times through the air. The Buddha condemned the act of showing off *iddhi* powers and chastised Pindola for displaying his powers, calling the act degrading, all for the sake of a mere bowl. In the *Kevaḍḍha Sutta,* the Buddha says he abhors and loathes and is ashamed of performing miracles.

Yet, in the *Pāṭika suttanta,* (*D.* III) the Buddha is seen performing the very thing he denounces as an act of wrong doing, *dukkaṭa.* Oldenberg, in his introduction to the *suttas* of the *Digha Nikāya* points out that the word '*dukkaṭā*' is not a word found in the earlier stratum of the canon but in the 3rd and latest stage in the evolution of the canon law. It is not found in the *Pā timokkha.* It is thought that the word would have come into use after the 2nd 3rd councils. Thus the records relating to the displaying of miracles which stud the texts here and there, may belong to a later stratum of the canon.

Oldenberg expresses the opinion that some monks would have thought performing miracles would be edifying. Thus both old and new stories would have been current and the editor or the editors of the canon would have thought it best to include both versions though contradictory.

In another *sutta (D.* III. 3 ff) Sunakkhatta, a Buddhist monk tells the Buddha that he is leaving the order because the Buddha did not display his miraculous powers to him. The Buddha pointed out that there was no such contract entered into when Sunakkhatta joined the order and that the doctrine is not taught for the purpose of acquiring and displaying miraculous powers but for the purpose of achieving the destruction of all ill. In other words, there is no connection between acquiring supernormal powers and thereby working miracles, on the one hand and achieving the destruction of the *āsavas* on the other.

However, in spite of stating this in such clear terms, the Buddha is represented in the same *sutta* as displaying certain of his supernormal powers to Sunakkhatta. For instance, he foretells what will befall Korakkatthiya and Paṭika's son and reads Sunakkhatta's mind. These powers fall into the categories of *dibba cakku* (clairvoyance) and *cetopariyañāṇa* (reading others' minds).

Another story recorded int he texts (*S. IV* 296) concerns a bhikkhu by the name of Mahaka who came to Ambatakavana at Macchikasande where a commounity of Buddhist monks was residing. On a day that was unbearably hot at the request of some of the monks, Mahaka performed a miracle by producing cold winds, rain clouds, thunder and rain. Hearing of this miracle, a housefather named Citta entered bhikkhu Mahaka's *kuṭi* and requested him to perform another miracle and Mahaka obliged. He got Citta, the

housefather, to spread his outer robe and the floor of the verandah and to scatter some grass over it. Then he locked the door of his cell and staying in, sent out flames of fire through the key hole and ignited the grass without damaging the robe. When this miracle was performed, Citta, the housefather, invited Mahaka to reside at Ambatakavane and undertook to provide him with all requisites but Ven. Mahaka went away from there and never returned. The tone of the *sutta* seems to censure Mahaka by presenting him as an arrogant monk who likes to show off his miraculous powers. It appears he was not interested in residing in one place in order to gain insight into the true nature of reality and thereby achieve destruction of the *āsavas*.

A large number of miracles, three thousand five hundred in all, it is said, was performed by the Buddha to convince Uruvela Kassapa, the Jatila, the matted hair ascetic (*Vin.* 1. 24 ff.) who had five hundred followers. Uruvela Kassapa had a mind-set about his superiority to the Buddha. This is the reason attributed to the performance of so many miracles by the Buddha.

The narrative has many elements of a legendary character in its recounting of miracle after miracle in order to make Uruvela Kassapa acknowledge the Buddha's superiority. He finally requested admission into the order along with his five hundred followers. They renounced their adherence to brahmanic sacrifice by cutting off their beards and matted hair and throwing them into the river with their fire worshipping implements. It is said Nadi Kassapa and his three hundred followers and Gayā Kassapa with his two hundred followers did the same and joined the Buddha's Order. It could be that this narative is a highly mythologized account of a historical event, that of the conversion of a number of Jatilas to the Buddhist faith.

We see that the miracles performed by the Buddha as reported in the Buddhist canon consist of power over nature, as when he made clear the waters of a river muddied by five hundred carts crossing it and on another occasion his supernormal powers were seen when flying through the air, he crossed a river, vanishing and reappearing on the other bank. His supernormal powers extended to reading others' minds (*cetopariyañāṇa*) and seeing other peoples karma and its effects - the arising and falling away of people (*cutupañāna* or *dibbacakkhu*) and projecting his image to people at a great distance away (*iddhi vidha or mano maya*) by the magical power of his mind. The *Therigāthā*, has references to the last.

There are also references to miracles that occurred when the Buddha was born in some accounts in the Northern tradition. According to there, the Buddha was not born in the normal way but from Mahamāyā's side, from below her arm, as she held on to a branch of a Sal tree. Even the Pali texts, report in the *Sutta Nipāta* (*Nālaka Sutta*) the Bodhisatta taking 7 steps as soon as he was born and lotuses sprining up at each step he took. Besides, the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* describes the miracles that attended the Buddha's Parinibbāna such as the Sal Trees bursting into flower out of season. It is also stated that earlier the Buddha ascended to a heaven to preach to his mother who had been born there as a deva king.

The Theravadins believed the Buddha to be a historical personage, not a divine being, albeit possessing the very wonderful qualities of a perfected being. Despite the theravadins adhering staunchly to this view, undoubtedly as Buddhological tendencies increased in the Northern tradition, with various docetic theories, the Southern tradition did not remain untouched by such influences. Thus we may resolve the contradictions found in the Theravada texts which one could ascribe to a later stratum of the compiliations.

The performance of miracles find mention in the *Therigāthā* also. The Buddha requested Mahapajapati Gotami to perform a miracle to convince foolish men who did not believe that women could attain emancipation. Yasodara or Rahulamātā, also known as Baddakaccānā Theri, performed various miracles at the age of seventy eight, just before she died, when she went to take leave of the Buddha. She was declared chief of the Buddha's women disciples who had attained supernormal powers.

Some miracles are mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (D. II) also, as having been performed by the Buddha.

Yet, elsewhere, as we have seen, the Buddha did not equate the acquisition of miraculous powers to be the *summum bonum* of the emancipatory path. Though the underlying meaning in this account may be to emphasize the Buddha's egalitarian stand with regard to women's capabilities along with men to attain emancipation, it is of course a contradiction of his general condemnation of the performance of miracles which he considered degrading. Oldenberg's remark that the editors at the 2nd and 3rd councils would have accepted into the canon several current versions, seems to clear up the contradiction. The Buddha's preference for the "miracle of instruction" by which method he transformed the minds of listeners seem to have the ring of authenticity and the stand elicited int he early stratum in the *suttas*. As the Buddha told Sunakkhatta, performing miracles has little to do with the destruction of the *āsavas* which is the goal of the Buddhist path to emancipation.

Suvimali Karunaratna.

MIRISVÄTI See MARICAVAṬṬI

MISSAKAPABBATA See MIHINTALE

MITHRA, RAJENDRALĀLA, (1824 - 1892), one of the early Indian scholars who came into prominence following the revival of Oriental Studies a movement initiated by occidental men of letters. Although a great number of occidental scholars took part in this renaissance at that initial stage rarely a native scholar contributed anything remarkable had to it that gained him a recognition among their European counterparts. Rajendralala, however, was one of the few scholars falling into that category of distinguished scholars. The fact that he had spent a good part of his scholarship in studying and unravelling problems bearing a Buddhist stamp should arrest our particular attention.

Having descended from a noble Hindu family in Bengal, he received his early educaiton in a private seminary in Calcutta conducted by Hindus following the western pattern. Even as a student he displayed brilliance 'with an abundant stock of knowledge.' (*JRAS.* 1892. p. 147 :). Choosing medicine as his future calling, he joined the Medical College and after a distinguished career there he was selected as one of the four students to be sent to Europe. His family however, objected to it on caste reason. Eventually this fact led him to divert himself from the course he had chosen and that ultimately proved to be the turning-point of his career. Thenceforth he developed a keen interest in Oriental Studies as well as in languages and before reaching middle life : he achieved a great proficiency in Sanskrit, Persian, English and Latin with working facility in French, German and Greek (*ibid;* p. 147). The University of Calcutta recognized his prolific achievements in the field of learning by conferring upon his the honorary degree of Doctor of Law. As a mark of appreciation for the services he rendered to promote scholarship, Her Majesty the Queen Empress admitted him to the Order of the Indian Empire in 1878. The Asiatic Society of Bengal appointed him as its assistant secretary and librarian and 'his commanding abilities and untiring industry soon brought him into prominence, (Proceedings of the *ASB*, 1892. p. 31) and before long he became its president. He is described as one of the most distinguished presidents the society could claim (*ibid.* p. 32). The high esteem in which the society held him is evinced from the fact that when the centenary review of the researches of the society was in preparation, he was entrusted with the task of writing its history. The government of Bengal appointed him as the director of the Court of Wards' College in Calcutta, which enabled him to serve the public as a municipal commissioner and later as a member of the University Courts of the same city. The *RAS* acknowledged his services rendered to promote scholarship by appointing him as one of their Honorary Members.

Rajendralāla Mithra, in the, main, was an antiquarian, who devoted most of his time in deciphering inscriptions. Though his writings do not bear authoritative stamp to day they "possess great historical value" (*JRAS* 1892, p. 146) and he was often consulted by the Government of Bengal as an authority on antiquarian and literary matters. Accordingly in 1867-68, the government dispatched him on a mission to Bhuvanesvara to report on the historical remains there. As he became matured with age and sapence, he began to display an inclination towards paleography and his painstaking explorations in this field, which were accomplished under the sponsorship of the government of Bengal, resulted in bringing several interesting and valuable facts to limelight. He was, moreover, an eminent scholar in Sanskrit literature and philosophy who followed the tracks of the old order. Nevertheless his departures on the line of the European scholars secured him an esteemable place among them too. He blended with discrimination the traditional tenets of scholarship prevalent in the orient with those new trends of the west.

Included among his publications are several works bearing remarkable Buddhist significance. Under the orders of the Government of Bengal, he brought out a monograph (with photographs and facsimiles of inscriptions) on the birthplace of the Buddha entitled, *Buddhagayā, the hermitage of Sakya Muni* (Calcutta, 1878). Having edited the *Laliavistara*, he also attempted to translate it ; but, for some reason, he could not accomplish it. Although his edition appears rather faulty, it should be commended as a pioneer attempt, for it paved the way for his successors to work on and facilitated their task. Also he began to edit the *Prajñāpāramitā*, a standard Buddhist Sanskrit work prevalent among the Nepalese. He was not able to complete it either. His assiduous search for ancient Sanskrit MSS, which he undertook under the auspices of the Government of Bengal, resulted in the discovery of some important Buddhist MSS. Under orders of the Government, he published those MSS in the *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Calcutta, 1871 -72) and also in the *List of Sanskrit Manuscripts discovered in Oudh* during 1876. His penetrating studies into the Buddhism in Nepal were all the more important since it opened up a new vista in that field which had not been properly explored up to that time. His work, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (Calcutta, 1882) is in this respect a remarkable contribution to Buddhist studies in particular and to oriental scholarship in general.

Apart from his writing in the field of Buddhism, he has to his credit about forty other publications, which were written in English, Sanskrit and Bengali. Notable among them are : *Indo-Aryans, contributions towards the elucidation of their ancient and mediaeval history* (2 Vols. Calcutta, 1881), *The Yoga Aphorisms of Patanjali* (with commentary of Bhoja Raja and an English translation : *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. 93, 1848), *The Antiquities of orissa* (2 Vols. Calcutta, 875-80) and *Catalogue of curiosities in the Museum of the Asiatic Society* (Calcutta, 1849). Besides these major publications, he contributed a great number of articles to learned journals, particularly to the *JASB*. The *JASB* is said to have carried 114 articles written by him (*JRAS*, 1892, p. 146) and included among them were several articles relating to Buddhist Studies.

C. S. Ranasinghe.

MITTA. The pali word *mitta*, - (Vedic *mitra*) meaning friend, as seen in the canon have two chief distinctions. According to the *PED*, the two distinctions are with regard to the *agārika* and *anagārika* friend. The former concerns the house or lay friend and is possessed of all ordinary qualities of kindness and love whereas the latter implies the homeless or 'spiritual' friend who has special qualities of heart and mind which direct one on the liberative path. In addition to these two broad categories, the word *mitta* acquiries a specific connotation when it is combined with other words. For example, *Kalyāna mitta* is a friend who acts as a sort of mentor or spiritual adviser. The nouns or adjectives which are commonly found in combination with *mitta* denote the degree or type of relationship in the friendship as in *ñātisālohita-mitta*, blood relatives, *mitt'āmacca*, colleague, *suhada* or *suhajja mitta*, a friend who is dear to one's heart. *Amitta* meas a bogus

friend and *pāpa-mitta* is a bad friend who influence one to indulge in unwholesome deads.

Besides these distinctions and connotations in the word '*mitta*', taken literally, it is also used metaphysically in the canon to mean friendship with the righteous path, the doctrine or practice of it, the *dhamma*, which in the ultimate sense is the best sort of 'friend' one could hope to have. For example, in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I. p. 87), a conversation that took place between the Buddha and Venerable Ānanda is related. The latter states :

"About half, Lord, of this life in religion consists in righteous friendship, righteous intimacy, righteous association."

To this the Buddha replied that it was not so :

"Verily, the whole of this life in religion consists in righeous friendship, righteous intimacy, righteous association. From a *bhikkhu*, Ānanda, who is a friend to righteousness we excpet that he will develop and expand and Āryan eightfold path of one who is a friend and intimate, an associate of that which is righteous."

In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S. V.* p. 32) the following is stated :

"*Ekadhammo bhikkhave bahūpakāro ariyassa aṭṭhangikassa maggassa uppādāya. Katamo ekadhammo ? Yad idam kalyāṇamittatā* ...."

'There is one condition, Monks, that is most useful for the arising of the Ariyan eightfold Way. What is that condition ? It is friendship with the lovely ......"

In the same text (*S. V.* p. 78), two metaphors are used to describe the righteous path, *kalyāṇamittatā* and the dawn.

"*suriyassa bhikkhave udayato etaṃ pubbaṅgamaṃ etaṃ pubbanimittaṃ yad idaṃ arunuggamanaṃ. Evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhuno sattānaṃ bojjhaṅgānaṃ uppādāya etaṃ pubbaṅgamaṃ etaṃ pubbanimittaṃ yad idaṃ kalyāṇamittatā.*"

"Just as monks, the dawn is the forerunner, the harbinger, of the sun's arising, even so, friendship with what is lovely is the forerunner, the harbinger of the arising of the seven limbs of wisdom in a monk."

The image of dawn and its association with *Kalyāṇamittatā* would have been very meaningful to Indians of the Buddha's time. In the Indian religious tradition, the goddess of dawn, Ūshas of the Ṛgveda, was described in many psalms as a true and lovely friend to mankind, a harbinger not only of life but great prosperity. Here that image is made to signify a different ethical meaning - a case of new wine in old wine bags !.

The following passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* I. p. 14) emphasises this metaphoric aspect of *kalyāṇamittatā* :

"Monks, I know not of any other single thing of such power to cause the arising of good states, if not yet arisen or the waning of evil states already arisen, as friendship with the lovely. In one who is a friend of what is lovely, good states not arisen do arise and evil states already arisen wane."

Another example of *kalyāṇamittatā* taken as a metaphor of righteousness is found in *Itivuttaka* (p. 10) : -

"Monks, for the monk who is a learner not yet come to mastery of mind, but who dwells aspiring for peace from the bond, making it a matter concerning what is outside the self, I see no other single factor so helpful as friendship with the lovely. Monks, one who is a friend of the lovely abandons the unprofitable and monks the profitable becomes."

And in the *Theragāthā* (v. 1008), it is said,

"*Upasanto anāyāso vippasannamanāvilo kalyāṇasīlo medhāvi dukkhass' antakaro siyā.*"

"Calm, without grief, settled and undisturbed, of good virtue, wise, he should put an end to pain."

Another metaphor for *kalyāṇamittatā* is found in the *Sutta Nipāta* (v. 338) :

"Seek thou for lovely friend,
seek bed and seat remote
lone and of little noise
frugal in fare become."

"Mitte bhajesu kalyāṇe pantañca sayanāsanaṃ
vivittaṃ appanigghosaṃ mattaññū hohi bhājare."

In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (A. IV. p. 29), it is stated,

"Monks, this night a *deva* spoke to me and said, 'Lord, these seven things lead not to a monk's decline. What seven ? Reverence for the Master, Dhamma, Order, the training, concentration, fair speech and good friendship" and passed out on the right."

And again in the same text (p. 282), the reference to *kalyāṇamittatā* is taken in the metaphoric sense :

"The Four Channels for the flowing in of great wealth : abstinence from looseness with women, from debauchery in drinking, from knavery in dice-play and having friendship, companionship and intimacy with the good."

The word *mitta* is, of course used in the canon in the literal sense also. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (A. I. p. 16), it is said :

"Monks, as a matter concerning the outside (outside of self or external condition) I know not of any other single factor so conducive to great profit as friendship with the lovely. Indeed, friendship with the lovely conduces to great profit."

Taken in the context in which this passage, appears that is, with the passage immediately preceding it, *kalyāṇamittatā* here implies friendship with good people literally. The preceding passage states that association with evil companions conduces to one's downfall.

The following passages also denote good friendship taken in the literal way :

"Kalyāṇamittatā muninā lokaṃ ādissa vaṇṇitā
Kalyāṇamitte bhajamāno api bālo paṇḍito siyā"
(Therigāthā. v. 213)

"Friendship with the noble souls throughout the world the sage hath praised A fool in sooth, grows wise If he but entertains a noble friend"

The *Sutta Nipāta* (v. 58) says :

"Bahussutaṃ dhammadharaṃ bhajeta
mittaṃ ulāraṃ paṭibhānavantaṃ
aññāya atthāni vineyya kaṃkhaṃ
eko care kaggavisāṇakappo

"Seek for friend the learned, *dhamma* bearer
Noble, intelligent
Knowing the things for one's welfare
Discarding doubts,
One should fare alone as a rhinoceros."

Generosity, *cāga*, has always been stressed in the Buddha's teaching. It has in it the element of giving up, of making a self sacrifice. In that sense it has an ethical value from the Buddhist point of view. The advice that the Buddha gives the demon, Ālavaka, at *Sutta Nipāta* (v. 85), is not a purely worldly piece of advice. Ālavaka asked the Buddha,

"How does one to himself friends bind"?

The Buddha's answer is :

"By giving, one binds friends to oneself."

An at *Sutta Nipāta* (v. 94), a *devi* asks the Buddha the sources of suffering. One source which the Buddha mentions is the following :

"Who hath bad men as friends
not maketh friends with good
who chooses bad men's ways
A source of suffering that.

In the *Sam yutta Nikāya* (S. I. p. 37), the following charming stanzas are found :

"What is a good friend to the wayfarer ?
What is the good friend dwelling in the home ?
What is a good friend where has risen need/
What is a good friend in the life to come ?

"Guide's a good friend to the wayfarer
Mother the good friend dwelling in the home
A comrade's help where there has risen need
Is a good friend again and yet again
And meritorious deeds wrought by one's self :-
That is a good friend in the life to come."

The value of good friendship is not under rated in the canon. In the *Digha Nikāya* (*D*. III. p. 187) the following passages appear :

Four, O young householder, are the friends who should be reckoned as sound at heart - the helper, the friend who is the same in happiness and adversity, the friend of good council, the friend who sympathizes.

"On four grounds the friend who is a helper is to be reckoned as sound at heart :- he guards you when you are off your guard ; he guards your property when you are off your guard ; he is a refuge to you when you are afraid ; when you have tasks to perform he provides a double supply (of what you may need)."

"On four grounds the friend who is the same is happiness and adversity is to be reckoned as sound of heart. He tells you his secrets ; he keeps secret your secrets ; in your troubles he does not forsake you ; he lays down even his life for your sake."

"On four grounds the friend who declare what you need to do is .... sound of heart : he restrains you from doing wrong ; he enjoins you to (do what is) right ; he informs you of what you had not heard before, he reveals to you the way to heaven."

"On four grounds the friend who sympathises is to be reckoned as sound at heart : he does not rejoice over your misfortunes ; he rejoices over your prosperity ; he restrains anyone who is speaking ill of you ; he comends anyone who is praising you."

And in the *Digha Nikāya* (*D*. III. p. 188) the following is stated :

"The friend who is a helpmate, and the friend of bright days and of dark and he who shows what it is you need, and he who throbs for you with sympathy - these four the wise should know as friends and should devote himself to them as mother to her own her bosom's child."

In the *Sutta Nipāta* (v. 296), it is noted that animals are also counted as friends :

"*Yathā mātā pitā bhātā aññe vā pi ca ñātakā*
gāvo no paramā mittā, yāsu jāyanti āsadā..."

"Like our mother, father, brother and other relatives
cows are our foremost friends, in whom salvation balm is born"

This is in keeping with the universally egalitarian outlook of Buddhism towards all living beings as expressed in the words "*sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhitattā.*"

As seen in the metaphoric use of *kalyāṇamittatā*, Buddhist philosophy perceives that the best sort of friendship is friendship with Dhamma. For one seeking ultimate liberation, the *āgārika* friendship is regarded as a bondage, for instance, *Sutta Nipāta* (37) states :

"*Mitte suhajje anukampamāno*
hāpeti attham paṭibaddhacitto
etaṃ bhayaṃ santhare pekkhamāno
eko care khaggavisāṇakappo"

"Having compassion for bosom friends
one is enamoured and abandons one's goal
seeing fear in this intimacy
one should fare alone like a rhinoceros."

Suvimali Karunaratna.

MOGGALĪPUTTA TISSA was the President of the Third Buddhist Council held in the Asokārāma in Pataliputta in the third century. B. C. and also the spiritual counselor of Emperor Asoka. Being the most senior and accepted leader of the Buddhist *Sangha* Moggaliputtatissa played a vital role in all activities pertaining to the Buddhasāsana (Theravāda sect) of the day. The *Dipavamsa*, the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Samantapāsādikā* the commentary on the *Vinaya* and epigraphical evidence are the main sources available for a study of Moggaliputtatissa.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. V. v. 95 f) and the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. I, p. 35 f) the story of Moggaliputtatissa begins immediately after the conclusion of the second Buddhist Council[1] held 100 years after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha. As stated in the sources above referred to, the *theras* after finalizing the Council, looked into the future to ascertain whether there would be a similar controversy in the *Sāsana* in the future. They fore-saw that after the lapse of 118 years a similar controversy would come up in the reign of Emperor Asoka. When the *theras* saw that none of them would survive till then, thought of a person who would be capable of settling the dispute to come, but did not see any one either in the human realm or in the six *Deva* realms. Ultimately in the brahma world they saw a Brahma named Tissa who had almost exhausted his time to live and who is capable of settling the dispute and requested him to be re-born in the human realm to rescue the *sāsana* from the future calamity, which request he accepted without hesitation. Further the *Theras* entrusted the ordination and the education of the child who would be born in the house of the Brahmin Moggali to Ven Siggava and Candavajji who were young *bhikkhus* at the time. It was explained, as a punishment to the young monks for not involving themselves in settling the current dispute (which led to the holding of the Second Council). But the *Dipavaṃsa* does not speak of the request supposed to have been made to Brahma Tissa by the *theras*, to be re-born in the human realm. Instead the *Dipavaṃsa* says that a Brahma would pass away from the Brahma world and would be reborn in the human world. He would be ordained by Siggava and Candavajji and having learnt the scriptures he would crush the doctrine of the heretics and help the *sāsana*.

pabbajito tadā Tisso pariyattiñca pāpuni
Bhinditvā titthiyavādam patiṭṭhāpessati sāsanaṃ

(*Dpv*. Ch. V. v. 58)

The wife of the brahmin gave birth to a son in due course and was named Tissa and coupled with the name of his father he came to be known as Moggaliputtatissa, the son of Moggali.[2] The *Mahāvamsa* and the *Samantapāsādika* describe in detail how the elder Siggava visited the house of the brahmin for seven years, since the conception of the child, for alms. Not on a single day did he receive even a ladleful of gruel or a spoonful of rice. One day, at the end of seven years he received the mere word "your pardon sir, go on" (*aticchatha bhante*). On the same day, the Brahmin too was returning home, after having attended to some business outside and saw the elder going the opposite way and asked him "Good recluse did you visit our home"? Ven Siggava said : "Yes brahmin, we went there". "Did you receive anything there"? The elder replied in the affirmative. The Brahmin went home and found out that nothing had been given. On the following day the brahmin was waiting to embarrass the elder for lying. When the brahmin inquired from the elder why he said he received, when nothing had been given from his house, the elder replied : "Brahmin for seven years we have not been honoured at your house even with the mere words. 'Your pardon Sir, go

1 According to the *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* (*ThagA*. I Vol. II p. 193) Sabbakami the most senior *thera* who participated at the Second Council, before his *parinibbāna* instructed the Brahma Tissa (who would be born as Moggaliputtatissa in future) to purify the Sāsana of the crisis that would be coming up in Dharmāsoka's time.

2 Normally in the Buddhist literature we find sons are named after the mothers : Sāriputta, Mantāniputta Tissa, Kuntiputtatissa etc. Here is a rare instance where the son was named after the father.

on'. But yesterday I was treated with the words : 'Your pardon Sir, go on' and hence I spoke in that manner, taking into account this act of courtesy. The brahmin reflected : "These (recluses) on receiving a mere courteous greetings, express their thanks to us. In what manner will they praise us if they receive something from us in the form of hard and soft food. The brahmin was pleased and offered a spoonful of rice together with curries suitable for it, from the food prepared for his use and said that he would be receiving that quantity of alms from him everyday. He was highly impressed by the composure of the elder who continued to visit him from the following day. In this manner the elder gradually won the confidence and the respect of the brahmin.

Tissa the son of the bramin Moggali had no connection with the elder Siggava who was visiting his home daily, until he was sixteen years of age. The elder wanted to have a dialogue with the youth and was seated in his (Tissa's) chair which the inmates offered to him in the absence of any other suitable chair to be offered to the elder. The youth returned home from his teacher's house at that moment and was not happy to see a monk in his seat and showed his indignation. When the youth got pacified the elder inquired whether he knew an *manta* to which the youth replied : 'well recluse, if I do not know the *mantas* who else knows them'? and inquired whether the recluse (the elder) knew any *mantas*. The elder replied : "You may question me and find out".

Thereupon the youth questioned the elder on all the knotty points of the three *Vedas* with their glossaries, ritual, phonology, etymology and traditional lore as the fifth, (*tīsu vedesu sanigaṇḍukeṭubhesu sakkharappabhedesu itihāsapañcamesu*), whose meanings neither he nor his teacher could comprehend. As the elder had mastered the three *Vedas* even before he was ordained and had now gained analytic insight, had no difficulty in solving those problems. The elder said : "I have been asked many questions by you, now I too will ask you one question." The youth agreed. The elder asked the youth a question from the *Cittayamaka* of the Abhidhamma. The youth was bewildered (*mānavo uddham vā adho vā saritum asakkonto, kin nāma bho pabbajita idamti āha* (*VinA.* I p. 39) and asked what it was. The elder replied that it was a *Buddha manta*. When the youth said that he want to learn it, the elder said that it could be taught only if he would ordain himself like him (like the elder). The youth sought permission of his parents to enter the Order to learn the *manta*. The parents gave him the permission thinking that their son would come back after learning it.

The elder Siggava ordained him and taught him the topics of meditation on the thirty two parts of the body (*dvattimsākāra kammaṭṭhana VinA. I. p. 40*). Before long the youth atttained the state of a *sotāpanna*. The elder thought that it was not possible now for the novice to return to lay life. The *thera* did not want his pupil to proceed further and did not give instructions for meditation any more. The *thera* thought : "he would soon attain arahanthood and would not be keen to learn the teachings of the Buddha" (*Buddhavacana*). The elder Siggava sent the novice Moggaliputtatissa to the elder Candavajji to learn the teachings of the Buddha. Here the *Samantapāsādikā* specifically says that he learnt the entire teachings of the Buddha with the commentary, except the *Vinaya* (*ṭhapetvā vinayapiṭakaṃ sabbaṃ buddhavacanaṃ uggahi saddhiṃ aṭṭhakathāya, VinA. I p. 41*). Next, the *Samantapāsādikā* says that at the time of the Higher Ordination even before he had spent one rainy season, he was a master of the *tipiṭaka* which means that he mastered the *vinaya* too (*upasampannakāle pana ā vassiko'va samāno tipiṭaka dharo ahosi - loc. cit*). From the above statement of the *Samantapāsādika*, it is clear that he learnt the *Vinaya* at the time of the Higher Ordinantion only, after learning the *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma* and attained the status of a *Tipiṭakadhara*. The *Mahavamsa* too says :

Pesesi Caṇḍavajjassa therasantika muggahaṃ kātuṃ suttābhidhammānaṃm so tatha'ka 'taduggahaṃ

Thera (Siggava) sent him to *thera* Candavajji that he might learn the *sutta* and the *Abhidhamma* and he learnt it (*Mhv.* Ch. V. v. 150).

The *Mahavamsa* continuing the narration further adds : "The elder Siggava having conferred the Higher Ordinantion at the proper time, taught him the *Vinaya* and the other two (*Sutta* and *Abhidhamma*) again (*upasampādayitvā kāle so siggavako yati vinayaṃ uggahāpesi puna sesa dvayampi ca (loc. cit).*

According to both accounts, the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā*, teaching of the *Vinaya* has been given a secondary place and was taught later than the *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma*. The *Samantapāsādikā* says that he learnt the *Vinaya* at the time of the *Uapsampadā* (Higher Ordination) while the *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the *Vinaya* was taught after the *Upasampadā*.

The *Samantapāsādikā* statement that the novice Moggaliputtatissa learnt the entire Buddha's teachings together with the commentaries, except the *Vinaya*, apparently has been a problem to Ven. Sariputta, the author of the *Sāratthadipani*, the *ṭika* (sub-commentary) of the *Samantapāsādikā*.[3] Probably he found something unusual in it and was trying to find out if there was any reason for it :

"ettha sāmaneränaṃ vinayapariyāpunānaṃ cārittaṃ no hotiti ṭhapetvā vinayapiṭakaṃ avasesam Buddhavacanaṃ ugghanhāpesiti tī supi Ganthipadesupi[4] *Vuttam."*

"It is stated in all the three glossaries that as there was no custom to teach the *Vinaya* to the novices, except the *Vinaya*, rest of the Buddha's teachings were taught (*Sāratthadīpani, p.* 103). It may be noted that this was not Ven. Sariputta's opinion, but he is giving an explanation given in the Glossaries.

The author of the *Sāratthadīpani* and the authors of the glossaries belong to the *Mahāvihāra* School and did not want to dispute or disagree with the *Sāmantapāsādikā*, apparently they were trying to defend it.

But there appears to be a more strong reason for teaching the *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma* to the novice Moggaliputtatissa, postponing the *Vinaya* to a subsequent occasion. The elders Siggava and Candavajji were training their pupil to handle a major dispute on the core of the Buddha's teachings relating to the *Sutta Piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. Therefore he should be an expert on the *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma* to face the heretics who were forwarding their own views as those of the Buddha. There was no immediate necessity for him to master the *Vinaya* and they could afford to postpone the teaching of it to a subsequent occasion. And also the teachers knew their genius pupil would not take a long time to master the *Vinaya* when the time comes. However it is seen that Moggaliputtatissa mastered the *Vinaya* in no time, the preserving of which was entrusted to the lineage of monks (*ācariya paramparā*) he blonged to. He took over the position of the chief of the *Vinaya* after the demise of his teacher Siggava.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Moggaliputtatissa having practised *vipassanā* meditation attained the state of an arahant with the six super normal powers and reached the position of a senior monk.

Tato so Tisso daharo ārabhitvā vipassanam chalabhiñño ahu kāle therabhāvañca pāpuni (*Mhv.* Ch. V. v 153)

It is seen that he was able to attain that high position when he was quite young, because the *Mahavaṃsa* still calls him child (*Tissa Daharo* - child Tissa).

It is not known exactly how and when he first came in contact with King Asoka with whom he was destined to have "close relaitons with regard to matters pertaining to the *Buddhasasāna*'. It appears that he was residing at Asokārāma in Pātaliputta put up by Asoka.

3 *Sāratthadīpani* edited by B. Devarakkhitha (Sinhala Script) Vidyabhusan. Press Colombo 1914 p. 103

4 Non existant three *Vinaya* glossaries in Sinhala *Culaganṭhipada* (small glossary) *Majjhima ganṭhipadā* (middlesize glossary) and *Mahāganṭhipadā* (great glossary) referred to in *Sāratthadīpani*.

Moggaliputtatissa's name is first mentioned along with that of Emperor Asoka, when Asoka wanted to know the extent of the *Dhamma* preached by the Buddha. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. V. vv. 77-78) it was the elder Moggaliputtatissa who answered that there are 84000 sections in the *dhamma* preached by the Buddha. Apparently, this was the first recorded meeting of Asoka and Moggaliputtatissa. After the Emperor constructed 84,000 *vihāras* equivalent to the 84,000 sections of the *dhamma*, and on the day of the consecration of the *vihāras* the Emperor questined the *Mahāsaṅgha* as to whose generosity towards the *sāsana* was great and whether he would be a kinsman of the *sāsana* (*sāsanassa dāyādo*). The assembly of monks entrusted the reply to Moggaliputtatissa, who declared that even in the life time of the Buddha there was no generous giver similar to Asoka. But he further said that unless a person ordains his own son or a daughter he would not become a kinsman of the *sāsana*. This was the second occasion Moggaliputtatissa's name is mentioned along with that of Emperor Asoka. However it is observed that the *thera's* timely advice paved the way for the ordination of the Emperor's children, Mahinda and Saṅghamittā and made the Emperor's attachment to the *sāsana* even stronger. It is also said (*Mhv.* Ch. v. 194) that the Elder gave this advice having looked into the future prospects of Asoka's son prince Mahinda and the Daughter Sanghamitta and also the progress of the *sāsana* (that would take place as a result of their admission to the *sāsana*). At the ordination of prince Mahinda, the Elder Moggaliputtatissa became his preceptor (*upadhyāya*). It was under Moggaliputtatissa thera that Bhikkhu Mahinda learnt the three *Piṭakas* in three years (*ibid.* Ch. V. v. 210).

From the Ordination of Mahinda, the elder Moggaliputtatissa does not come to the scene till the crisis arose in the *sāsana* as a result of the lavish patronage of Emperor Asoka. According to the narrative Asoka began to patronize the Buddhist monks in an unprecedented scale and as a result heretics lost their gains and honour. The heretics who lost their revenue donned the saffron robes and dwelt together with the *bhikkhūs*. They proclaimed their won doctrines as the doctrines of the Buddha and carried out their own practices as they wished (*Mhv.* Ch. V. v. 228f). Moggaliputtatissa realized that a severe crisis has arisen in the *Buddhasāsana* and was awaiting for the time for its appeasement (*ibid.* Ch. V. v. 231f).

As stated in the *Samantapāsādikā* Moggaliputtatissa thought : "now that the dispute has arisen it will soon be aggravated, and it is not possible to settle it while living in their midst".

Tadā Moggaliputtatissa thero uppannam'dāni idam adhikaraṇaṃ tam nacirassevakakkhalaṃ bhavissati na kho pana etaṃ sakkā imesaṃ majjhe vasantena vūpasametuṃ (*VinA.* I 53)

Having thought thus Moggaliputtatissa entrusted the leadership of his chapter to Mahinda thera and withdrew to the hill near Ahogangā alone, wishing to abide in peace and lived there for seven years.

In the meantime the conditions at Pātaliputta aggravated. In spite of the heretics being subjected to censure by the Order of monks, with regard to the *dhamma* and the *vinaya* and the teaching of the Master, they gave rise to diverse forms and upheavals, stains and thorns in the dispensation. Some of them tended the sacrificial fires, some subjected themselves to the heat of the fires, some worshipped the sun following its movements in the sky while others made determined effort to destroy the *dhamma* and the *vinaya* (*loc. cit.*).

The genuine monks refused to perform the *uposatha* ceremony or its conclusion (*pavāraṇa*) with the heretics. The *uposatha* ceremony at Asokārāma was interrupted for seven years. They informed the emperor too, of this matter. He commanded a minister to go to

the monastery and settle the disputes and revive the *uposatha* ceremony. The minister had no courage to ask the Emperor about the details and inquired[5] from another minister as to what course of action be taken to carry out the order of the Emperor. He replied that the Emperor wished "that all those who did not perfrom the *uposatha* be slain, even as quelling an uprising in the frontier districts by executing the culprits". The minister went to the monastery, summoned all the monks and conveyed the order to perform the *uposatha*. The monks replied that they would not perform *uposatha* in the company of heretics and the minister began chopping their heads, starting from the senior most elder. The massacre of the monks by the minister was stopped by the intervention of Tissa thera, the Emperor's own brother, who was residing at the Asokārama at the time. The matter was reported to the Emperor and he reprimanded the minister and with great anguish hastened to the monastery and told the senior monks : "Venerable Sirs, this minister has acted contrary to my command. On whom will the evil devolve?"

Some replied that the responsiblity falls on the Emperor, who gave the order, while some others said that the responsibility falls on both the minister and the Emperor. There were still others who declared : "If you had good intensions no evil will fall on you". The Emperor was perplexed and inquired whether there was any monk who could clear his doubts and stabilize the *Sāsana*. The monks informed the Emperor that Moggaliputtatissa *thera* is capable of clearing his doubts and stabilize the *sāsana*.

According to the *Mahavaṃsa* (*Mhv.* Ch. V. v. 246 f) and the *Samanthapāsādikā* (*Vin.* I. p. 56f) it appears that the Emperor was hearing the name of the elder Moggaliputtatissa for the first time and the Emperor is made to ask whether the elder is old, but prior to that, both sources have mentioned how the elder Moggaliputtatissa answered the king's questions, as to the number of sections in the *dhamma*. Already both sources had explained how the elder explained to the emperor how to become a kinsman of the *sāsana*. It was under the elder Moggaliputtatissa, that Mahinda, the son of the Emperor had already been ordained. Under the circumstances it is contradictory to say that the Emperor had not heard or met the elder earlier. The *Vaṃsatthappakāsini*, does not comment on it. But Sariputta *thera* (12th century A. C.) in his *Sāratthadipani*[6], the sub commentary (*ṭikā*), on the *Samantapāsādikā*, apparently having observed the contradiction was possibly trying to defend him.

Mahallako nu kho bhante thero, kiñcāpi rājena thero diṭṭhapubbo. Nāmam pana sallakkhetuṃ asakkonto evam pucchī ti vadanti

"Though the king had seen the thera before, being unable to remember the name inquired whether the thera was old", so they say (*Saratthadī pani p. 118*).

The Emperor dispatched a large delegation of monks and ministers twice, to bring the *thera* with the message : "the Emperor summons you" (*rājā pakkosati*), but the *thera* did not comply. When the king inquired from the monks the reason for the refusal, the monks said that when they say that the Emperor summones you the *thera* would not come. Yo may tell him : "Sir, the dispensation is sinking. Be of assistance to me to stabilize the dispensation" (*Sāsanam bhante osidati, amhakam sāsanaṃ pagganhanatthāya sahāyakohothāti* -*VinA* I, p. 57). Then only he would come. This shows the strong character of the *thera*. He did not obey the Emperor's order twice. When the Emperor sent for him with the message as suggested by the monks, the *thera* agreed to come. Finally the *thera* was conveyed in a decorated boat down the river with great honour and security.

5 But the *Mahāvaṃsa* does not say that the minister inquired from another minister about the ways and means of executing the order given by the Emperor.

6 *Sāratthadīpani* edited by B. Devarakkhita (Sinhala scripts) Vidyābhusana Press Colombo 1914.

The Emperor waded knee deep in the river to receive the *thera*. It is said that he stretched his hands for the *thera* to hold and disembark. The *thera* got hold to the Emperor's right hand and got down. This was a great honour bestowed on the *thera* by the Emperor.

The *Samantapāsādikā* at this instance says that the bearers of the swords (*asiggāhakā*) were about to behead the *thera*, for it was a tradition that whoever that takes the Emperor by hand should be beheaded, which the Emperor is said to have prevented. Neither the *Mahāvaṃsa* nor its *ṭikā* is aware of this custom. The *thera* finally dispelled the Emperor's doubts about the killing of the monks and explained to the Emperor that *kamma* always accompany volition (*cetanā*). If there is no volition, there would be no sin. It is also said in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* that the *thera* performed a miracle at the request of the Emperor to show him that he is capable of dispelling doubts of the king and stabilizing the *Sāsana*. It is also evident that though the Emperor had an unparalled faith in the *Sāsana* he had no clear knowledge of the basic tenets of Buddhism. Therefore the Emperor learnt the teachings of the Buddha from the *thera* for seven days living in the royal park itself. Later the Emperor summoned all the monks to the Asokārāma and separated them according to their faith and sitting behind a screen with the *thera* at one end, commenced questioning the monks individually as to what the Buddha taught. The heretics forwarded their own faiths as that of the Buddha. As the Emperor had already learned the Buddha's teachings from the *thera*, he had no difficulty in identifying the heretics. Consequently they were disrobed and given white clothes and had them expelled from the *Sāsana*. The number expelled thus exceeded sixty thousand. When the remaining monks were called and questioned the same way they replied that the Buddha taught *Vibajjhavāda* (analytical doctrine). The king verified the answer from the *thera* who confirmed that the Buddha was a *Vibajjhavādin*. The *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* say the questioning was done by the Emperor himself.

However it is reasonable to presume that the decision whether a monk was genuine or a heretic was made by the *thera* Moggaliputtatissa and the expulsion was made by the Emperor.

The next important task the elder Moggaliputtatissa undertook was the holding of the Third Buddhist Council (*Tatiya Saṅgiti*) for which he selected out of sixty thousand monks one thousand who were endowed with the six supernormal powers experts in the three *piṭakas* and versed in the special sciences (*Visārade chalabhiññe tepiṭake pabhinnapaṭisambhide*). The rehearsal which was headed by elder Moggaliputtatissa, under the patronage of the Emperor, was concluded in nine months. However this Third Buddhist Council was not accepted by the Northern Buddhist Tradition. It is considered as a sectarian Council within the Theravāda school of Buddhism. It ws at this convocation that the elder Moggaliputtatissa recited (set forth) the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa*, the last text to be added to the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the Theravādins, to refute heretical theories. The *Mahavaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* merely say that he set forth the *Kathāvatthuppakarana* in order to suppress heretical views, but the commentary to the *Kathāvatthu*, the *Pañcappakaraṇa Aṭṭhakathā* provides more information about the purpose for which Moggaliputtatissa set forth the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa*. "*Moggaliputtatissathero Yānica tadā uppannāni vatthūni yani ca āyatiṃuppajjissanti sabbesampi tesam patibāhanattham satthārādinnanayavasema tathā gathena ṭapita mātikaṃ vibbhajanto sakavade pañcasuttasatāni pāravāde pañcāti sutta sahassam ā haritvā imam parappavādamathanam āyati lakkhaṇaṃ kathāvatthuppakaraṇaṃ abhāsi.* Moggaliputtatissa thera recited (composed) the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa* in order to suppress all the issues born at that time and also that would arise in the future, analyzing the topics kept by the Buddha and incorporating 500 *suttas* of his own (faith) and 500 *suttas* of the heretics (*Pancappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā Nidānakathā*)

The *Sāratthadīpani* goes to the extent of telling that it (*Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa*) was intended to

suppress whatever the issues that would arise till the disappearance of the *saddhamma (tato patthāya saddhammantaradhānā āyatim uppajjanakavādañca sandhāya vuttam.)* However, it is clear that it was Moggaliputtatissa who closed the Theravāda *Abhidhamma piṭaka* confining it to seven texts.

Subsequent to purifying the *Sāsana* and finalising the Third Buddhist Council, Moggaliputtatissa embarked upon a missionary programme. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā*, the Elder after concluding the Council looked into the future where the *Sāsana* would be established and foresaw that it would be established in the frontier provinces and made preparations to send several missions headed by eminent *Theras* to identified locations. That was the first occasion, in the history of Buddhism that a well planned missionary programme was launched to extend beyond the Indian sub contient, covering even some of the countries which are today designated as middle east countries. It was that missionary programme of the Elder that made Buddhism a world religion, which was earlier confined to a limited locality in central India. Although *Vincent A. Smith*[7] blames the chronicler (author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*) for giving all the credit of the Buddhist missionary movement to Moggaliputtatissa the sending out of missions was Moggaliputtatissa's brain child. The selection of the chief *theras* as heads of various missions as well as the selection of the other members of the missions, too, was in the hands of the Great *thera*. At the same time, it was Emperor Asoka's patronage and his political and friendly relations that existed with the countries concerned, that resulted in the ultimate success of the missions.

After the establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, king Devanampiyatissa sent a message to Emperor Asoka to send a sapling of the *bodhi* and the *theri* Sangamittā to Sri Lanka. The Emperor was in a dilemma as to how to sever the branch from the mother tree and inquired from Moggaliputtatissa *thera* whether to send the *bodhi* to Sri Lanka (*Bhante Lankam Mahabodhi pesetabbā nukho- Mhv.* Ch. XVIII 21-22). The *thera* informed the Emperor that the *bodhi* should be sent and revealed to him the five determinations of will of the Buddha (*addhiṭṭhānapañcakam*), according to which the branch of the *bodhi* would automatically sever from the mother tree and would establish in a container. It is regarding this incident that the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Samanthapāsādikā* mention the name of elder Moggaliputtatissa for the last time.

According to the *Avadāna* literature of Northern Buddhism, the spiritual counselor of Emperor Asoka was Upagupta, a monk from Mathura and not Moggaliputtatissa *thera* mentioned in the Pali literature. The legend of Upagupta is found in the *Divyāvadāna*, four chapters of which from the *Asokāvadāna* where, Emperor Asoka is overshadowed by Upagupta. The early Indian historians thought that Upagupta was another name for Moggaliputtatissa.[8] It has now become clear that they are two different personages who lived during two different periods and that they were associated with two different kings. The confusion has been created as a result of assuming that Emperor Asoka lived a hundred years after the *Parinibbhāna* of the Buddha as stated in northern Buddhist literature. As a result, in northern Buddhist literature, Asoka is confused with Kālāsoka of the southern School, who lived a hundred years after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha and who sponsored the second Buddhist Council. Moggaliputtatissa the spiritual counselor of Asoka in Pali literature lived *circa* 218 years after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. It has been pointed out that Upagupta was a pupil of Sambhūta known as Sānavāsi Sambhūta referred to in the *Cullavagga* account of the Second Council.[9] Sambhūta was a pupil

7 Vincent A Smith, *Asoka the Buddhist Emperor of India* - Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1997 (reprint) P. 46.
8 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1 p 498
9 Ananda W. P. Guruge *Asoka Definitive Biography*-Central Cultural Fund, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1993 p. 342 ff

of Ananda thera, the personal attendant of the Buddha an Sambhūta joined the Order after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. Sambhuta *Thera* was still living though very old at the time of the Second Buddhist Council held a hundred years after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. Therefore his pupil Upagupta (the third on the successive line of teachers originating from Ananda *thera*) could have been a contemporary of king Kālāasoka, who sponsored the Second Buddhist Council, rather than Asoka the Maurya Emperor who ascended the throne 218 years after the *parinibbāna*, whereas Moggaliputtatissa *thera* the fifth in the line of successive teachers starting from Upali *thera* the *Vinaya* expert, was the contemporary of Asoka the Maurya Emperor. A possible explanation to the omission of Upaguptta from the Theravāda records would be that he moved into the Sarvastivada School of Buddhism and became recognized as the fourth patriarch of northern Buddhism. *Vincent A. Smith* attaching more credibility than they deserve to *Avadāna* literature of the northern Buddhism which belong to a class of pious literature glorifying deeds of self sacrifice and piety of saints says : "Tissa the son of Moggali should be regarded as a fictitious person made up from the names of Buddha's two disciples".[10] It is rather surprising or un-academic to note even in the face of undisputed epigraphic evidence Smith still clings to his own thesis, when he says "the finding of a casket inscribed "Mogaliputasa" does not establish the real existence of the Ceylonese Tissa, son of Moggali as distinct from Upaguptta"[11] The *Dipawaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* provide vital information regarding elder Moggaliputtatissa. He belongs to the line of *vinaya* exponents descending from elder Upāli whom the Buddha acknowledged as the chief among the *Vinaya* exponents and to whose pupils preserving of *vinaya* (by oral tradition) was entrusted after the first Council. The *Dipavaṃsa* (*Dpv.* Ch. V. 89-93) gives the line of successive chief *vinaya* exponents from the elder Upali up to Moggaliputtatissa. After the elder Upali, his pupil, arahant Dāsaka was the chief among the *vinaya* exponents. From arahant Dāsaka the position passed onto his pupil elder Sonaka. The chief position among *Vinaya* exponents passed on from elder Sonaka to elder Siggava. Arahant Siggava was the teacher of Moggaliputtatissa. The elder Moggaliputtatissa inherited the position from his teacher elder Siggava. The *Dipawaṃsa* further gives the number of years, the above *theras* held the chief position of the *Vinaya:*

"Sabbakālam pāmokkho vinnaye Upālipandito
Pannāsam dāsako thero, catucattarisañca sonako
Pañcapannāsavassam Siggavassa aṭṭhasaṭṭhi
Moggaliputtasavhayo

The learned Upali was the chief of *vinaya* at all times, elder Dāsaka for fifty years, elder Sonaka for forty four years, elder Siggava for fifty five years and elder Moggaliputta Tissa for sixty eight years (held the chief position of *vinaya*) (*Dpv.* ch. V., 96)

It was Elder arahant Mahinda who inherited the chief position of *vinaya* after the elder Moggaliputta Tissa.

Tissa Moggaliputto ca Mahindam saddhivihārikam
katvā vinaya pāmokkham chattivassamhi nibbuto
(*Dpv.* Ch. V, 94)

It is clear now that the line of monks who came to Lanka headed by Mahinda, belonged to the *vinaya* tradition (line of monks who preserved the *vinaya*). Apparently it is the very reason behind the big emphasis given to the *vinaya* at the time of introducing Buddhism to Sri Lanka (i. e. when king Devānampiyatissa inquired from elder Mahinda whether the *sāsana* is well established in the island, the elder said that it is established, but the roots have not descended deep enough. The king asked as to when the roots will descend deep and the elder replied "when a youth born in the island of Tambapanni ; of parents belonging to the island of Tambapanni enters the order in the island

10 Vincent A Smith "*Asoka The Buddhist Emperor of India*", Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1997 (Reprint) p. 41.
11 *Ibid* p. 45 Footnote.

of Tambapanni, learns the *vinaya* in Tambapanni itself and teaches it in the island of Tambapanni, then indeed will the roots of the Dispensation go deep enough" (*Inception of Discipline and Vinaya Nidāna* - Jayawickrama N. A. (*SBB*. XXI), London, 1962 p. 90.)

It is of paramount importance that some scholars believe that Moggaliputtatissa is referred to in the Sarvāstivāda literature, too. The *Vigñānakāya*, one of the seven *Abidharma* treatises of Sarvastivada Buddhism, authorship of which is attributed to Devasharman, answers one Maudgalyāyana as if he was living. Scholars are of opinion that he is no other person than Moggaliputtatissa, the president of the third Buddhist Council and the author of the *Kathāvatthu*, which refutes the view of opponents. Therefore scholars further believe that the *Vigñānakāya*, and the *Kathāvatthu*, belong to the same period.

The *Dipavaṃsa*, the *Mahavaṃsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* amply testify to the erudition of and the unique position held by Moggaliputtatissa in matters pertaining to the *Buddhasāsana* of the day and also the high esteem in which he was regarded by the *bhikkhus*, the royalty and the people. To begin with, his brahmanic birth is highlighted in the *Dipavaṃsa*, by birth he belonged to the brahmana clan and was versed in all *mantas* (*Dpv.* Ch, V. 56). (*jacco brahmana gottena sabbamantānaparagu).* At the age of 16 he mastered all the *mantras* (*jatiy. solasavasso Sabbamantāna pāragu Dpv.* Ch V. 61). Consequently he was able to question Siggava *thera* with regard to the *Ṛgveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sāmaveda* the vocabulary and history as the fifth (*puccāmi samaṇam pañham ime pañhe viyākara iruvedam yajvedam sā mavedam nigaṇḍumitihāsañca pañcamam Dpv.* Ch. V. 62).

After entering the *Buddhasāsana*, too he showed equal talent. the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. I. 41) says that he mastered the entire *buddhavacana* (Buddha's teaching) when he was yet a novice. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* he became an arahant with the six supernormal powers while being a lad (*tato tissa daharo ārabhitvā vipassanam chalabhiñño ahu. Mhv* Ch. V. 152).

The *Dipavaṃsa* (*Dpv.* Ch. VII 39, 40) calls him *chalabhiñño* (endowed with six supernormal powers) *mahiddhiko* (possessing great psychic powers) *mahājutim* (greatly resplendent) *gaṇapāmokkho* (leader of the *Sangha*) *Mahapañño* (of great wisdom) *paravādappamodhana* (suppressor of others (heretical) views. *Mahavaṃsa* Ch. XII, I calls him *Jinasāsana jotako* (illuminator of the *Sāsana*). *Dighadassi* (far sighted. *Dpv.* Ch. VII. 1). *Dipavaṃsa* finally describes Moggaliputtatissa as

satthukappo mahānāgo
paṭhavya n'atthi idiso

He resembled the master (Buddha). There was no one similar to him on earth. (*Dpv.* Ch. VII. 51).

The *Mahāvaṃsa* too calls him *Jinasāsana jotako* (illuminator of the *sāsana* -*Mhv* Ch. XII. 1) and describe him in no lesser terms than *Dipawaṃsa* when he says :

Atīva pākaṭo āsi cando va suriyo va so loko tass vaco' manni sambuddhassa vaco viya

He was so well known even as the sun and the moon. The people took his words as those of the Buddha himself. (*Mhv.* Ch. V. 153).

He was the spiritual advisor to the Emperor Asoka. It was his plans or proposals that the Emperor executed. With the support of the Emperor, Moggaliputta Tissa rescued and uplifted the declining *sāsana*. He got the heretics out of the *sāsana*. He held the Third Buddhist Council under his leadership. He suppressed the heretical views of the dissident Buddhist sects by composing the *Kathāvatthupakaraṇa* which would be helpful to crush even future heretical views. The *Kathāvatthupakaraṇa* was the last to be added to the Theravāda *Abhidharma piṭaka* and it may be considered that he closed tha Theravāda *abhidharma piṭaka*. It was on his initiation that various Buddhist missions were dispatched, taking the first step to make Buddhism a world religion. As a result of the farsighted efforts of Moggaliputtatissa (*Dīgadhassi* as *Dipavaṃsa* calls

him). Theravāda branch of Buddhism was saved from being adulterated by alien heretical views, retained its identity, survived and progressed as a distinct school up to date achieving the status of a world religion. In fact he could be regarded as the patriarch of the Theravā da school of Buddhism.

Neither the *Mahavaṃsa* nor the *Samanthpāsādikā* provides any information regarding the *Parinibbāna* (passing away) of elder Moggaliputtatissa. Only the *Dipavaṃsa* helps us to have some idea of his death. According to the *Dipavaṃsa* the *parinibbāna* of the Thera has taken place in the twenty sixth regnal year of Emperor Asoka.

Asokassa chāvisativasse Moggaliputtasavhayo
Sāsanam jotayitvāna nibbuto āyusankkhaye

In the 26th regnal year of Asoka Elder Moggaliputta Tissa having illuminated the *sāsana* attained *parinibbāna* at the end of his life span. (*Dpv.* Ch. V. 102).

But when it comes to the exact number of years he lived the *Dipavaṃsa* provides two different reports. According to one report he lived for eighty six years.

Tisso Moggaliputto ca Mahindam Saddhivihārikaṃ
Katvā vinayo pāmokkhan chāsitivassamhi nibbuto

Tissa the Moggali's son, having made his pupil Mahinda chief of *vinaya* attained *parinibbāna* at the age of sixty six (*Dpv.* Ch. V. 94).

But in the same chapter *Dipavaṃsa* gives his age at the time of his death as eighty.

Tisso Moggaliputto ca Mahindam Saddhiviharikaṃ
Katvā vinaya pāmokkhan asitivassamhi nibbuto
(*Dpv.* Ch. V. 107)

It is not possible to decide which of the two ages given is correct. It is clear that he was an octogenarian at the time of his death. It is significant that his histriocity has been established by archeological evidence. In the course of the archeological excavation at Sanchi, A. G. Cunningham the Archeological Commissioner General of India, has discovered a relic casket bearing the inscription "*Sapurisasa Moggaliputasa*" in the Tope No. 02 at Sanchi. It is the same Vincent Smith refers to as the "Bhilsa Tope" and this establishes his histriocity beyond any doubt. In this respect Ananda W. P. Guruge remarks : "his contribution to Buddhism must have certainly been very significant for him to be so designated, and for his bodily remains to be venerated in a *stupa*.[12]

Bibliography

Mahāvaṃsa Ed. Wilhelm Geiger, PTS. London 1958
Mahāvaṃsa-English translation Wilhelm Geiger
Dipavaṃsa ed. B. C. Law - (Ceylon Historical Journal) Maharagama Ceylon 1959
Vaṃsatthappakāsini, ed Malalasekera Vol. I PTS.
Samantapāsādikā, Takakusu and Nagai PTS. London 1975
Inception of Discipline and Vinaya Nidānā N. A. Jayawickrama PTS. London 1962
Sāratthadipani (Sinhala Script) Ed. Bihalpola *Devarakkhita Vidayabhushana* Press Colombo 1914
Asoka-The Buddhist Emperor, Vincent Smith - Asian Educational Service (Reprint 1997)
Asoka Definitive Biography, Ananda W. P. Guruge (Central Cultural Fund) Colombo 1993

12 Ananda W. P. Guruge - *Asoka a Definitive Biography* (Central Cultural Fund) Colombo. 1992, 1993 p. 154.

K. Arunasiri.

MOGGALLĀNA See **MAHĀMOGGALLĀNA**

MOHA - (Skt. *Moha*, Vedic *Mogha*) means stupidity, dullness of mind, delusion, bewilderment, infatuation. *Moha* is one of the immoral mental states. It is mentioned as the first of immoral mental states and is given as a root of immoral consciousness too (*Tini akusalamūlāni lobho, doso, moho* – *Vibhanga* p. 208f). It is one of the ten bases of impurity (*dasa Kilesavatthūni*, - *Vibhanga* 341f). *Moha* along with *ahirika* (absence of moral shame), *anottapopa* (absence of moral dread) and *uddhacca* (distraction) are common to all immoral types of consciousness. *Moha* being one of the three roots of evil (other two being *lobha* and *dosa*) is opposed to *paññā* (wisdom). The chief characteristic of *moha* is confusion with regard to the nature of an object. It clouds one's knowledge with regard to *kamma* and its consequences and the Four Noble Truths. The ordinary person, when he is clouded with *moha* sees impermanent objects as permanent, sorrowful objects as joyful etc.

According to the *Abhidhamma*, *moha* is common to all evil. The other two roots *lobha* (attachment) and *dosa* (hatred) always arise in combination with *moha*. But *moha* can rise alone. It is one of the three cardinal effects of *citta* making a man unable to grasp the highest truths and to enter the path. The Buddha has mentioned *moha* as one of the three inward stains (*antarāmala*), inward foes (*antarāamitta*), inward rivals (*antarāsapatta*), inward murderers (*antarāvadhaka*) and inward opponents (*antarāpaccatthika*) – (*Moho bhikkhave antarāmbalo antarāamitto antarasapatto antarāvadhako antarāpaccatthiko* - (*Mahaniddesa* – 15f)

Moha is used by Buddhist wirters as a synonym of *avijjā* (ignorance). In the *Vibhanga*, *moha* is defined as the ignorance of suffering, as the ignorance of the cause of suffering, as the ignorance of the cessation of suffering, as the ignorance of the path leading to the cessation of suffering ; as ignorance of the past, ignorance of the future, ignorance of the past and the future and ignorance of the Dependent Origination (*Tattha katamo moho ? Dukkhe aññānaṃ dukkhasamudaye aññānaṃ dukkhanirodhe aññānaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminiyā paṭipadāya aññānaṃ pubbante aññānaṃ aparante aññānaṃ pubbantāparante aññānaṃ idappaccayā paṭiccasamuppannesu dhammesu ...... ayaṃ vuccati moho* – *Vibhanga* – 362f)

Moha begets misfortunes. It perturbes the mind. The stupid do not understand that *moha* is born within. He who is enmeshed in *moha* sees no *dhamma*, knows not profit. Darkness and gloom exist when *moha* mates with man. He who leaves delusion *(moha)* by what deludes, is not deluded as sunrise routs the gloom, he routeth all delusion (*Itivuttaka* p.84–85). The Buddha has stated that there is no snare like *moha* (*Dhammapada*. v.24)

When explaining *avijjā dhātu* (elements in sense consciousness of ignorance) the second book of Abhidhamma defines it as *aññānaṃ* (ignorance), *adassanaṃ* (not seeing), *anabhisamayo* (not grasping correctly), *ananubodho* (non-realization), *asambodho* (lack of full knowledge), *appaṭivedo* (non-comprehension), *asamgahana* (lack of full grasping), *apariyogahana* (non-penetration), *asampekkhaṇa* (lack of Consideration), *apaccakkhakammaṃ* (non realization), *dummejjhaṃ* (foolishness), *bālyam* (stupidity), *asampajaññaṃ* (lack of intelligence), *moho* (delusion), *pamoho* (infatuation), *sammoho* (bewilderment), *avijjā* (ignorance), *avijjāyogo* (bond of ignorance), *avijjānusayo* (dormant ignorance), *avijjāpariyuṭṭhānaṃ* (outburst of ignorance), *avijjālaṃgī* (obstruction of ignorance), *moho akusalamūlam* (delusion as the root of unwholesomeness (*Vibhanga*, p. 85 – 86)

Moha is given as one of the three unwholesome conditions (*akusala hetu*), while *amoha* is mentioned as one of the three wholesome conditions (*Vibhanga* p. 402). Destruction of *moha* is mentioned as *amoha* or *paññā* (wisdom), which is described as right insight into the nature of reality (*vibhanga*, p. 106).

moha or *avijjā* as ignorance of the truth of suffering, its cause, its end and the way to its end is the chief cause that sets the wheel of life in motion. It is the main root of evil and of continual rebirth. *Moha* as not knowing things as they truly are is the chief casue of *kamma*. Depending on ignorance arise *kamma* activities (*avijjāpaccayā saṃkhārā*). But when *avijjā* or *moha* is replaced by *paññā* (wisdom) and the life flux realizes *Nibbāna Dhātu*, then the rebirth prjocess comes to an end. This is achieved when one realizes *sammā ñāṇadassana*, right knowledge and vision into the nature of relaity.

D. Saddhasena.

MOHOTTIWATTE GUNANANDA, a Sri Lankan bhikkhu who possessed great Oratorical and debating talent and who played a key role in the Buddhist resurgent movement in Sri Lanka, which started in the latter part of the 18th century through the initiative of Welivita Saranankara Sangaraja of the Kandyan Kingdom.

Mohottiwatte Gunanada thera was born on the 9th February, 1823 at Mohottiwatta, Balapitiya in the South of Sri Lanka as the second son of Gingama Laddu Asaneris Mendis and Kaludura Maldo de Silva and was named Gingama Laddu Migel Mendis. The young boy received his primary education at the Buddhist Temple at Balapitiya under Balapitya Gunaratne thera of Subhadrarāma Purāna Viharaya at Balapitya. At the age of twelve years he entered the Order of monks under Balapitiye Gunaratna thera and as a pupil of Teikada Piyaratanatissa thera. Soon after the young Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera shifted to Deepaduttarama at Kotahena, close to Colombo, along with his teacher, but he had to return to Balapitiya before long due to the sudden death of his father and disrobe himself to look after his aged mother. Mudliyer Abraham de Alwis of Balapitya persuaded him to further his education and he entered the Wesley College in Colombo. He studied under the guidence of Catechist Peiris and mastered the English language and Christianity. Subsequently he left college and gained employment in the Observer Newspaper, but soon after at the death of his mother he left Colombo and reentered the order of monks at the Kumāra Mahā Vihāraya in Dodanduwa as a pupil of Sonuttara thera. He received his Higher Ordination in 1844.

Going back to the period of Welivita Saranankara Sangharaja, the prelate, having re-established the Higher Ordination with the assistance of the Siamese Mahâsangha and having admitted several batches of young *samaneras* to the Higher Ordination, trained and disciplined them as full-fledged bhikkhus with the assistance of the Siamese bhikkhus and sent them to various parts of the country to re-organize the traditional Buddhist educational activities that had fallen to a low ebb due to the harassment of the colonial forces. Within several decades the Buddhist temples became vibrant centres of Buddhist education and cultural activities. In this process several prominent Buddhist educational Institutes came into being, such as Paramadhammacetia Pirivena in Ratmalāna, Vidyodaya Pirivena in Maligakanda and Widyalankara Pirivena in Kelaniya. The bhikkhus and the laity who received a training in these institutions not only became erudite scholars in Buddhadhamma, Oriental languages and Culture but they also became determined fighters to regain their lost heritage.

Alongside the rapid expansion of Buddhist education spear-headed by eudite scholar-bhikkhus, the indiscriminatory activities of the British regime in the field of education, religion and social welfare, too, went on unabated.

The British rulers continued to put up churches and new schools alongside the churches to convert the Buddhist population to Christianity by luring them with many incentives. The best-bait employed was an English education and good social status. In fact many Buddhists became Christians to secure jobs and to get their children admitted to the State and Church sponsored English schools. But by this time these activities of the British regime and its supporters did not go unchallenged by the erudite bhikkhus and local Buddhist leaders. In very strong terms they high-lighted the great injustices done to the Buddhist population by the British regime and its cohorts. Many public societies came into being to campaign against this trend. Erudite bhikkhus challenged from temple pulpits the veracity of the Christian teachings. Educated Buddhist leaders, too, organized in various ways-by writing newspaper articles, publishing books and setting up pocket organizations to high light the treacherous activities of the British regime and the Church organization.

This trend from the Buddhist side also did not go unchallenged. The supporters of the British regime, the clergy of the church of England and the English educated converts to Chistianity specially under the British regime started writing articles, books etc. criticizing Buddhism and its practices and replying to the charges leveled at the British regime and its supporters by the Buddhist side.

Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera was a mature bhikkhu by this time. He had mastered the art of public speaking and debating, and with his good knowledge of English, Christianity, Buddhism and with the backing of erudite bhikkhus such as Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, Waskaduwe Sri Subhuti, Weligama Sri Sumangala, Dondanduwe Piyaratanatissa challenged the Christians for open public debate. The challenge thrown by the Buddhist side was so formidable that the Christians could not ignore it, or avoid it. Much publicity was given to this challenge in news papers and the enthusiasm for the debate grew in no time. Dates for the confrontation were fixed by mutual arrangment.

The first debate in this series was held at the Udanwita temple on February, 1866. There were about thirty bhikkhus on the Buddhist side led by Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera and to the Christian side there was an equal number of participants under the leadership of Mr. Edward Hunupola Nilame.

The second debate in the series was held in June 1871 in a school in Gampola. Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera and Pandit Batuwantudave led the Buddhist side while Rev. Father Carter led the Christian side.

The third and the most importanat in the series was held at Panadura in August 1873. The Buddhist side was led by Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera while the Christian side was led by Rev. Father David Silva. There was great enthusiasm regarding this debate on both sides and the debate was held on two days, before a packed audience. The general opinion of observers was that the Buddhist side was able to vindicate its position, and present a convincing case regarding the atrocities committed by the British regime in connivance with the Chistian clergy.

As leader of the three debates Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera displayed such great talent in argument that he thenceforth came to be popularly designated as Vādibasingha 'The lion of debates'.

Reports of these debates were published in newspapers, and a booklet containing these reports was prepared and printed by two Europeons, John Cooper and M. J. Phebles for circulation in America. It is a copy of this booklet that reached the hands of a retired American Army Officer Col. H. S. Olcott who later came to Sri Lanka to give leadership to the Buddhist schools movement (see. Olcott, Col. H. S.)

Migettuwatte Gunananda authored and published several books critical of the Christian faith, and also edited and published several periodicals such as *Satya margaya*' '*Lakmini Kirula*' and '*Rivirasa*'. He also played a leading role to win back Wesak Poya holiday, which was abolished by the British Government in 1817. He was also closely associated with the committee that designed the six-coloured Buddhist flag and this flag was hoisted for the first time by Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera, at the Dupaduttaāma Temple in Kotahena which temple had by this time become the nerve centre for Buddhisι revivalist activities in the Country.

Since the arrival of Col. H. S. Olcott in Sri Lanka Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera worked very closely with Col. Olcott to set up Buddhist schools for the education of Buddhist children. Col. Olcott gives the following assessment of Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera :

"Mohottiwatte, the Incomparable Buddhist Priest— Orator among sinhalese Buddhists, he had not his equal as a public speaker. He played upon his audience as though they were some musical instruments which responded to his highest touch."

The above quoted assessment of Mohottiwatte Gunananda thera stands as a unique monument to the services rendered by the thera for the upliftment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka during the second half of the nineteenth century. see PLATE 1

K. D. G. Wimalaratne.

MOKKHA see **NIBBĀNA VIMUTTI**

MOMENTARINESS see **KHAṆA**

MONASTIC PROPERTIES. For a proper understanding of monastic properties it is pertinent to have a brief knowledge of Buddhist monasticism. It is within the ambit of monasticism, that monastic life begins to exist. Monastic properties form part and parcel of monastic life of the *Saṅgha* or the *Bhikkhus*. Referring to the characteristic features of Buddhist monasticism it is said : "All alike (i.e. those who enter the Order) were bound by the vow of poverty, relinquished all personal or individual possession of worldly goods, and sought in meditation and spiritual endeavour that deliverance from the bounds of existence and misery which, the Buddha taught, could never be achieved in the turmoil and distraction of a life in the world. To indicate, therefore the life of renunciation and strenuous pursuit of the highest aim to which they pledged themselves, the monks were known as *bhikkhus, samaṇas*. The community of the *Saṅgha* or Order, and with the Buddha himself and the Dhamma, the sacred rule or law, formed the Buddhist triad."[1]

The aforesaid statement highlights that 'monasticism' is a form of religous life deviated from the pleasures and possessions of a householder's life, with a view to gain spiritual advancement. In the context of Buddhist monasticism, one who enters into a monastic life or the Order should for all purposes aim at the extinction of *dukkha* or unsatisfactoriness in order to put an end to recurrence of births and deaths.

Explaining Buddhist monasticim further, it is said : "In inception and intention the monasteries were not the established houses of the monks. To the latter no permanent abodes were assigned, but they were to follow the wandering life of ascetic or beggar, dependent for their livelihood upon the gifts of the laity, their only shelter the trees of the forests or booths constructed of leaves and branches (*parṇasālā, paṇṇasālā*). Only during *Vassa* (*varsa*), the season of the rains, when travelling became impracticable or could be prosecuted only at grave risk of injury to living beings, was it incumbent upon them to remain in a definite place or permanent building. Caves either natural or artificially excavated in the rock seem to have been among the favourite dwelling places of Buddhist monks. Gautama is represented as giving permission for five different kinds of abodes (*pañca lenāni*) : "I allow You O! Bhikkhus dwelings of five kinds, *vihārās, addhayogas*, storied dwellings, attics, caves. The more elaborate and permanent dwellings were in the first instance, apparently always the gifts of wealthy laymen who desired in this way to do honour to Gautama himself or to the Order, which he founded. A usual name for the larger monasteries was *saṅghārāma*, the abode or delight of the *Saṅgha* ;and the term *vihāra* was employed also to denote the temple where the images were enshrined, in a building which in the great monasteries at least, was usually distinct from the main hall."[2]

It is thus seen, that the earliest monks lead a wandering life except during the *Vassa* season, when they lived in permanent dwelling places such as caves. With the passage of time the Buddhist monks began to lead a settled life in villages and cities, where they were provided with *ārāmas* and *vihāras* in the form of permanent dwelling places by the devoted laymen and laywomen to gain merits by such offerings or donations. Dr. Panabokke quotes *Cullavagga* to point out evidence of the transition to settled life of the *Bhikkhus*. *Cullavagga* states : "... and at that time no permission had been given to the *bhikkhus* by the Blessed one with respect to dwelings. So the *bhikkhus* dwelt now here, now there in the woods, at the foot of trees, on hill sides, in grottoes, in mountain caves, in open plains, and heaps of straw, and at early morning they came in from this place or that place..." This scene was witnessed by the great merchant of Rajagaha, who was amazed at it and offered to build houses for the monks. He addressed the monks thus : "If Sirs, I were to have dwellings created for you, would you take up your abode in those dwelings ?" "Not so O' householder, dwellings have not been allowed by the Blessed One".

"Then Sirs, ask the Blessed One about it and let me know".

This prompted the Buddha to sanction the use of buildings in this manner. "I allow you, O, *bhikkhus*, abodes of five kinds, *vihāras* (residences), *aḍḍhayogas* (lofts), *pāsādas* (mansions), *hammiya* (atics), *guhā* (caves)"[3]

1. James Hastings, *Encylopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Volume VIII, p. 797.
2. *Ibid*, p. 797.
3. *Vin*. II, p. 146 Dr. Gunaratne Panabokke, *History of The Buddhist Sangha In India And Sri Lanka*, pp. 21, 22.

After this sanction (given by the Buddha) the merchant of Rajagaha had sixty houses built for the monks. They were built in one day and hence could not have been very substantial. Nevertheless ; here was a decisive step in the movement towards a fully organized monastic life.[4]

Not only builidngs were offered to the *Sangha*, but parks (*ārāmas*) were also offered by wealthy benefactors. Such grants were made during the lifetime of the Buddha. King Bimbisāra of Magadha offered the Veluvana Park to the Blessed One. *Mahāvagga* gives an account of this offering. It states : "... and the Magadha King Seniya Bimbisāra took a golden vessel (with water in it) to be poured over the Buddha's hand and dedicated the garden to the Blessed one saying. I give this Veluvana pleasure garden. Lord, to the fraternity of monks with the Buddha at its head. The Blessed one accepted the *ārāma*. And in consequence of this event, the Buddha thus adressed the *bhikkhūs*. I allow you O' *bhikkhūs* to receive donation of an *ārāma*"[5]

Although at the earliest stage of monastic life of *bhikkhūs* they had eight requisites namely, three robes, a bowl, a razor, a needle, a girdle and a water-strainer which can be described as the bare minimum movable properties, yet with the affluxion of time permanent buildings as dwelling places and *ārāmas* or parks were donated to the *Sangha*. Such donations were in the nature of immovable properties. It should be noted that when king Bimbisāra dedicated the Veluvana Park, it was done in such a manner to have it for the entire *Saṅgha* headed by the Buddha. The Buddha's acceptance was for the entire fraternity of the monks. Thus, it is crystal clear that at the earliest stage of Buddhist monasticism, there was no private ownership of immovable properties, and donations or offerings of such properties were for the engire brotherhoold of the *Saṅgha*.

Regarding donations (i.e. properties) made to the *Saṅgha* it is said : "The primitive Buddhist *Saṅgha* in Pāli literature is designated by its founder the *Catuddisa Bhikku-saṅga*. The phrase is of fa irly frequent occurrence not only in the common, but also in many donatory inscriptions, some dating back to the time of Asoka. In the inscriptions alluded to, the donors make endowments on a body of monks resident at a particualr monastery, but to the use of the *Saṅgha* of the four quarters. In the Pāli scriptures the gift of a monastery is always made to the *Catuddisa Bhikkhu-saṅgha*."[6]

The term *Catudddisa Bhikkhu - saṅgha* is described as the order of monks of the four quarters ; the totality of the universal *saṅgha*. With the rise of particulars *Saṅghas* belonging to definite *āvāsas*, this expression came to signify an ideal *Saṅgha*. Donations were made to this ideal *Saṅgha*, to be used, however by a particular *Saṅgha*.[7]

Tracing the history of *Catuddisa Bhikkhu saṅgha*, Sukumar Dutt says : "In the Buddha's lifetime there had grown up a community of his followers, a *Saṅgha* founded by him and described by him as the '*Saṅgha* of the Four Quarters'. As time went on, the original *Saṅgha* underwent divisions and subdivisions, but it began at the time idealized. The *Saṅgha* of the Four Quarters means latterly an ideal confederation, which at one time had an historical reality. The *Saṅgha* in later times simply meant a body of resident monks at a particualrs monastery, but *Catusdisa Bhikkhu-saṅgha* meant an ideal confederation, and it was to this ideal entity that donations were formally made"[8]

It could thus be seen, that any donations in the nature of properties that are needed for the use of the *Saṅgha* have been given to the *Saṅgha* of the Four Quarters and thereby the ownership of such properties was made common. The enjoyment of such properties would be by the monks of a particular monastery, but the acceptance of them is on the basis of *Catusdisa Bhikkhu-saṅgha*. Private ownership of properties has not been encouraged by the Buddha for good reasons. One who goes from home to homelessness should not be burdened with private properties like a householder and thereby paving the way to enhance craving (*tanhā*)

4. Dr. Gunaratne Panabokke, *History of The Buddhist Sangha In India And Sri Lanka*, pp22.
5. Vin. I. p. 143, Dr. Gunaratne Panabokke, *History of The Buddhist Sangha In India And Sri Lanka*, pp22, 23.
6. Sukumar Dut, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp. 67, 68.
7. Patrick Olivelle, *The Origin and The Early Development of Buddhist Monachism*, p. 38.
8. Sukumar Dut, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp. 69.

which is a stumbling block to the realization of Nibbāna, the final goal of a monk. When the ownership becomes common, that is to say, that the monastic properties are for the entire *saṅgha* for their common use, attachment to them is insignificant, which is conducive for spiritual advancement.

Describing the life of an ideal monk it is said : "A monk does transcend a layman in that he gives up not only the belongings, but also the desires and emotions which are characteristic of those living in the household. He leads such a light livelihood, with just enough food for his sustenance and a garment to cover himself, that it is said that the monk goes about like a bird which, wherever it goes, carries only the weight of its feathers."[9]

From the wandering life to the settled life, of *bhikkhūs*, the necessity of dwelling places and gardens or parks (*ārāma*) arose, and the lay benefactors having realized such necessities donated them as *Sāṅghika* properties with the approval of the Buddha during his lifetime. The term *Sāṅghika* is derived from *Saṅgha*, and it means property dedicated to the whole body of *Saṅgha*. Though monastic properties began to increase with the passage of time, they were given or donated by the laity to the *Saṅgha*, as common properties of the *Saṅgha* of the Four Quarters. The *Sāṅghika* system did not permit the system of owing *pudgalika* or private properties and also did not affect the spiritual life of monks as attachment to them was not foremost in their minds. Buildings provided them with proper shelter, parks provided as wholesome venues for meditation. Without having vested interest in such properties on an individual basis, monks used them with a spirit of common ownership as means of attaining their spiritual goals.

Dr. Panabokke, points out how monastic properties in the form of buildings began to increase. He says : "With the increasing generosity of lay devotees, the *āvāsas* were beginnig to possess many appurtenant builidngs such as outside cells, common adjuncts like store houses, refectories, fire rooms, common baths and wells. For roofing five varieties wer permitted, brick roofing, stone roofing, cement roofing, straw roofing and roofing of leaves. There is evidence to show that within the lifetime of the Buddha himself as many as twenty-nine permanent sites and builidngs were donated to the Buddha and his followers (*saṅgha*). There were 18 in Rajagaha, 4 in Vesali, 3 in Kosala and 4 in Kosambi."[10]

To constitute a dedicat on to the *Saṅgha* it has been considered to have the following requisities : (1) a donor, (2) a donee (3) a gift, (4) an assembly of four or more *bhikkhūs*, (5) the property, (6) the donor and donee must appear before the assembly of *bhikkhus* and (7) water must be poured into the hands of the donee or his representative[11].

It appears that at a later stage the pouring of water into the hands of the donee has not been followed. It has been said that much later in the time of King Kirti Srī Rājasinghe (in Sri Lanka) the Asgiri Vihāra, which is the second largest of the Buddhist establishemtns in the Kingdom, was dedicated by the King and it is inscribed on a stone. In 1766 Adigar Pilimatalawa dedicated the Parana Vihāra in the Asgiri Vihāra premises to the priesthood and the inscription there sets out the ceremony that the King caused Ehelepola to read the contents of an ola dedicating Kahawala and Udasgiri to the new vihāra and he offered the writing by laying it on the table before the image of the Buddha. In both grants there is no mention of the pouring of water at these ceremonies.[12]

Regarding dedication of properties to the *Saṅgha*, Tambiah says : "Property may be dedicated verbally or by notarial deed, but in either case it is a formal act accompanied by ceremonies. No notarial deed is necessary if there is a formal dedication to the *Saṅgha*.[13]

The Buddha himself declared to the monks things that should not be disposed of. He said : "Monks five things are not to be disposed of by an order or by a group or by an individual. If disposed of them, there is a grave offence. What are the five ? A monastery, a site for a monastery. This is the first thing not to be

9. Prof. Jotiya Dhirasekera, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, pp. 47, 48 ; *Majjhimanikāya*. 1, 180.
10. Dr. Gunaratne Panabokke, *History of The Buddhist Saṅgha In India And Sri Lanka*, pp23, *Vinaya*, Volume III, p. 179.
11. Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Journal, *RAS* (Ceylon) Volume VIII, Part I, P. 82.
12. *Ibid.* at p. 83.
13. *Ibid.* at p. 83.

disposed of. Whoever should dispose of it there is a grave offence (*thullacchaya*). A dwelling palce, a site for a dwelling palce. This is the second thing. A couch, a chair, a mattress, a squatting mat. This is the thrid thing that should not be disposed of. A copper pot,. a copper box, a copper jar, a copper vessel, an adze, a hatchet, an exe, a hoe. This is the fourth thing ... Jungle-rope, bamboo, coarse grass, reeds, tina-grass, clay, wooden goods, clay goods. This is the fifth thing not to be disposed of by an Order, or by a group or by an individual."[14] These movable and immovable monastic properties belonged to the entire *Saṅgha* and they cannot be disposed of, but they are meant for the use of the *Saṅgha*.

The ideal in ancient Buddhist recluseship was the complete renunciation of material wealth. However, when the community life began to progress and *vihāras* and *āvāsas* came into being, various kinds of articles and things identified as belongings of the monks came within the purview of monastic properties. Some monks had many goods and requisties and when they passed away there had been claims by some other for such properties. The *Mahāvagga* refers to a case where an incident happened when a monk died, and two other monks claimed the belongings of the deceased monk. This happened when the Buddha was living. When this incident was brought to the notice of the Buddha he laid down a rule in the following manner : "Moñks the Order is the owner of the bowl and robes of a monk who has passed away. But truly those who tend the sick are of great service. I allow you, monks, to give through the Order three robes and the bowl to those who tended the sick , to distribute through the Order that is present whatever few goods, few requisites that are, but whatever many goods, many requisities there are, these are for the Order of the Four Quarters, those who have come in, those who have, not come in, they are not to be disposed of, not to be divided up."[15] Thus, according to the rule laid down those monks who attended on the deceased monk were given a few robes and the bowl and other properties devolved on the Order of *Saṅgha*.

Apart from the parks or gardens that were vested in the *Saṅgha*, there is evidence to show that lands for the purpose of cultivation were belonging to the Order. It is said, that when seeds belonging to an individual are sown on ground belonging to an Order, (*saṅgha* of a *vihāra*) having given back a portion, the rest may be made use of. Seeds belonging to an Order, are sown on the ground belonging to an individual, having given back a portion, the rest may be made use of.[16] Commenting on the aforesaid statement, Dr. Panabokke says that monasteries from very early times were in possession of lands. May not have been in the lifetime of the Buddha, it may have been during the time at which the Canon was compiled.[17]

Thus, it appears that there has been a gradual increase of monastic properties, both movables and immoveable, although at the inception the belongings were confined to the bare minimum. This happened with increase of grants given by the kings and lay donors who were interested in the welfare of the *Saṅgha* and the *Sāsana*. Grants of properties came to be made to monks residing in particular areas or monasteries, and though such grants were accepted on a *Sāṅghika* basis, they were possessed by those particualr monks for whom they were given.

There had been a valid and good reason to grant lands to the monks living in monasteries. The laity at all times catered to the needs of the *Saṅgha* both as a custom and an obligation. They also believed, that looking after the *Sangha* was an act of accruing merit, which assured heavenly bliss. The continuance of supporting the *Saṅgha* bacame difficult at times of political upheavals and dwindling economic factors due to famines and unstable political conditions from time to time. During such periods the monks found it extremely difficult to maintain themselves. Rulees as well as wealthy laymen considered these calamities and grants in the form of lands were given to the *Saṅgha* with the intention that with the income derived out of them, they would be able to tide over such difficult times. Donations of lands to monasteries became a popular feature and they were added to the monastic properties.

14. I. B. Horner, *The Book of The Discipline*, Volume V (*Cullavagga* 15.1–16–1), p. 239.
15. I. B. Horner, *The Book of The Discipline*, Volume IV p. 436, Dr. Gunaratne Panabokke, *History of The Buddhist Sangha In India And Sri Lanka*, p. 128.
16. I. B. Horner, *The Book of The Discipline*, Volume IV p. 347.
17. Dr. Gunaratne Panabokke, *The Buddhist Saṅgha In India And Sri Lanka*, p. 129.

A further development took place in Sri Lanka with regard to the grant of lands for the upkeep and maintenance of the images of the Buddha and places of worship. It is said : "Chronicles and inscriptions record a number of grants for the upkeep of the Buddha statues and rituals connected with the images. Thus Udaya (792–97 A.C.) granted the Cottange village for the protection of the Buddha image and granted the Mahagama village for festivals connected with the Kolakkhiya Buddha image. Kāssapa IV granted revenues for ornaments to the images and Sena III granted land to provide food and raiment for the images."[18]

Apart from the grants of land, irrigational tanks and canals were also granted to monasteries. It has been mentioned that such grants were made from the pre-Christian era. The Perimiyamkulama inscription refers to a gift of revenue from a water supply to Thera Majibuka. The Duvegalla Inscription of Lanja Tissa (109–119 A.C.) records the grant of a tank and lands to a monastery. The Naupota inscription of the same period records the grant of a field and tank. The Galgamuve Inscription of Vattagamani's reign refers to the grant of a village and tank. Of the post Christian grants, reference is made to Amandagamani's grant of Mahamenda tank to the Dakkhina Vihāra. Mahanaga granted thousand fields watered by Duratissa tank to Tapassi monks. Aggabodhi granted two hundred fields to the Giri Vihāra. The purpose of granting irrigational works was to supply the monasteries with a steady supply of rice for its inmates and also to bring an income from the water rates, which were to be utilised for repairing the shrines and buildings.[19]

Not only the needs of the *Saṅgha*, but the performance of rituals and the maintenance of the Buddha images and shrines, gave rise to the grant of things to monasteries which were different from the requisities of monks allowed by the Master at the early stage of the *Sāsana*. There is evidence in the *Samantapāsādikā* that for the administration of land given to monasteries *Kappiyakārakas* (lay administrators) were appointed. By this method, the monks were free of direct dealing with lands and irrigation work.[20]

With the grant of land and fields, cattle, buffaloes and draught oxen too became the property of monasteries. The Galpata record mentions the list of cattle and buffaloes among various types of property granted to the monastery and refers to cowherds (*endera*) amongst its employees.[21]

Referring to the growth of immovable and movable monastic, properties, it is stated that by the tenth century A. C. the monastery (in Sri Lanka) had fully grown into a land owning institution and as such certain articles connected (like cattle, buffaloes etc) with the use of land came to be offered to the monasteries. Instead of the *Saṅgha* directly accepting them they were made as donations to the monasteries and hence came under the charges of lay administrators (*kappiyakārakas*). By this manner they (*Saṅgha*) came into indirect possession of these items.[22]

It appears that the monastic life had a further change with the effluxion of time in the sense, that monks were given land and other valuables to be owned personally. The first record of any personal grant and ownership of lands and monasteries in Sri Lanka goes back to the reign of Vattagāmani Abhaya where *Thera* Tissa was granted Abhayagiri Vihāra. An inscription of the next century records a gift from King Vasabha to the *Thera* Majjibuka of revenue derived from the water supply in order to keep in repair the dilapidated shrines in his monastery. The *Culavaṃsa* refers to Aggabodhi who granted *Thera* Mahasiva a coconut palm garden three *yojanas* in length and in addition to its revenue a hundred monastery attendans.[23] Though such properties were given to some of the outstanding monks the income derived from them was used for the development of the monasteries of which they were chief incumbents.

18. *Ibid.* p. 131.
19. *Ibid.* pp. 131, 132.
20. *Ibid.* 132, *Samantapāsādika*, p. 679
21. *Ibid.* 134, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Volume IV, p. 207.
22. Dr. Gunaratne Panabokke, *The Buddhist Saṅgha In India And Sri Lanka* p. 134.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

It is evident, that in Sri Lanka certain changes have taken place with regard to the dedication and succession to *Vihāra* properties (immovable) as time went on. The office of "incumbent" or "*vihārādhipati*" came into being. This is an office unknown to the *Vinaya*. The *Vinaya* makes provision for the appointment of a great number of special officers of *vihāras*. Among the special officers provided for are those of "regulator of lodging places", "apportionee of rations", "overseer of stores" and many others. There is nothing in the *Vinaya*, which provides for the appointment of a general presiding or superintending officer.[24]

It is further said that the officer who in Ceylon decisions (i.e. decisions of Court) and Ordinances (i.e. The Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance) is referred to an "incumbent" is an officer of a different nature. [Different from the offices stated in the *Vinaya*]. The terms by which he is described are "*Adikāri*" or "*Adipati*". "*Vihārādhipati*" after 1931 (i.e. after the enactment of the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance) is the presiding priest who was known as an "incumbent" before 1931, with the difference that he need not be resident in the temple of which he cliams to be the *Vihārādhipathi*. A *Vihārādhipatā* ; is one who can lawfully claim to be the head of the *Vihāra* ; one generally who can show that he is the pupil of the last incumbent or that he is in line of pupillary succession.[25]

A number of decisions of the Supreme Court (in Sri Lanka) reveal how apart from the provisions of the *Vinaya Pitaka* regarding matters pertaining to *vihāra* or monastic properties, Buddhist customs have arisen in the course of time. We cite one important case to illustrate this fact. In the case of **Saranankara Unnânse and others V Indajoti Unnânse and others, [1918], 20 New Law Reports,** page 385 it was held by Bertram C. J. that according to the original theory of the institutlion (i.e. the institution of *vihāra*) a *vihāra* is dedicated to the whole *Sangha*. This had been modified by religious custom known as "pupillary succession", under which a *vihāra* is specially dedicated to a particular priest and his pupils. By virtue of his dedication the priest and his pupils have a preferential right of residence and maintenance at the *vihāra*, but this appears to be subject to the general dedication to the *Saṅgha* as a whole, inasmuch as on the failure of succession the *vihāra* reverts to the *Saṅgha*. In Ceylon every *vihāra* is presumed to be dedicated in pupillary succession unless the contary is proved.

The aforesaid decision of the Supreme Court highlights that a *vihāra* (i.e. a Buddhist Temple) is meant for the living of monks. In the present day context the term *vihāra* is used to the shrine room where the Buddha's image is placed and is dedicated to a particular monk and his pupils. This form of dedication reflects the spirit of common ownership as the *vihāra* is dedicated to a certain monk by name and to his pupils. With this form of dedication the said monks get a preferential right to have the *vihāra* property and to possess, and use it. Succession to such *vihāra* after the death of the incumbent priest (i.e. to whom it is mainly dedicated) is according to "pupillary succession". If this succession fails, the *vihāra* will be vested in the entire *Saṅgha*. It is worth to note that according to the *Vinaya* the monastic properties should be dedicated to the entire *Saṅgha*.

According to the *Vinaya*, the Buddhist Sacred Law, there are only four kinds of pupils or *antevāsika*. They are : (i) *Pabbajjantevāsika* (pupil by robing), (ii) *Upasampadantevāsika* (pupil by higher ordination), (iii) *Nissayantevāsika* (pupil by obedience or dependence), (iv) *Dhammantevāsika* (pupil by instruction)[26]. All the four classes of pupils are alike pupils under the Buddhist Sacred Law (*Vinaya*). However with the growth of Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law two rules of succession to *vihāra* or temple property came into being, namely *Sishyānu Sishya paramparāwa* and *sivuru (robes) paramparāwa*.

The *Sishyānu Sishya paramparāva* or the pupillary succession is the succession by a priest (monk) to temple property by right of its tutor as the eldest and the most qualified pupil. *Siwuru paramparāwa* is also a form of pupillary succession, but with the special characteristic that the pupil is a blood relation of the original priestly incumbent. In the absence of any evidence to the contary, the presumption is that the incumbency is subject to the *Sishyānu sisya paramparāwa* rule of succession.[27]

24. T. B. Dissanayake and A. B. Colin de Soysa, *Kandyan Law And Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law*, pp. 255, 256.
25. *Ibid*, p. 257.
26. *Mahāvagga*, Volume I, 32.1, *Mahāvagga*, Volume 1, 31, 8, T.P. Dissanayake and A. B. Colin de Soysa *Kandyan Law And Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law*, pp 281, 282.
27. *Ibid*, p. 282.

Based on the decisions of the Supreme Court, the rules regulating the succession to temples and *Vihāras* could be mentioned in the following manner :

(i) Succession to an incumbency is regulated by the terms of the orignial dedication.[28]

(ii) If the original dedication is silent as to the mode of succession, then the succession is presumed to be in accordance with the rule *Sishyānu Sishya paramparāwa* or pupillary succession, to the exclusion of even the succession known as *Siwuru paramparāwa* and the grantors or dedicators cease to have any control over it.[29]

(iii) The general rule of succession is the *Sishyānu Sishya paramparāwa*[30].

(iv) The incumbent can appoint or nominate one of his pupils to succeed him ,the pupil so appointed or nominated, if a junior, succeeds to the exclusion of senior pupils.[31]

It has also been decided that if an incumbent monk dies leaving several pupils, the senior pupil succeeds. The selection of the incumbent, however rests with the pupils and the right of the senior pupil might in certain circumstances be disregarded.[32]

A senior pupil, who deserts a temple forfeits his rights to the incumbency. The abandonment by a *bhikkhu* of an incumbency results in the forfeiture of the rights of his pupil to inherit the incumbency.[33]

With the introduction of the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance in the year 1931 (which has been amended by ordinances of 1940, 14 of 1941, 32 of 1947, and presently consolidated in chapter 396 of the Legislative Enactment Volume XV) there has been a further development with regard to monastic properties. The provisions of the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance apply to every Buddhist temple in Sri Lanka but, by an order made by the Minister and published in the Gazette, any temple, other than the Daladā Māligāwa, the Sripādasthāna and the Atamasthāna, may be exempted by general reference or otherwise from the operation of all or any of its provisions.

The management of the property belonging to every temple, not exempted from the operation of the Ordinance, is vested in a person or persons as duly appointed trustees under the provisions of the Ordinance (section 4(1), but the management of the property belonging to every temple, exempted from the proviso to section 3 of this Ordinance, but not exempted from the operation of the entire Ordinance is vested in the *vihārādhipati*, who is referred to in the Ordinance as the controlling *vihārādhipati*. (section 4(2).[34]

A *vihārādhipati*, is defined as the principal *bhikkhu* of a temple, other than a *devāle* or *kovila*, whether resident or not (section 2 of Chap. 318). A temple is defined as a *vihāra*, *dagoba*, *kovila*, *āvāsa*, or any place of Buddhist worship and including the Daladā Māligāwa, the Sri padasthāna, and the Atamasthāna of Anuradhaprua, (section 2 of Chap 318). Premises dedicated by a person for the establishment of an institution (*pirivena*) to impart knowledge of Buddhism to priests and laymen is not a temple within the meaning of section of the ordinance.

The *vihārādhipati* has the charge of the *vihāra* and premises and is entitled to perform the rites and ceremonies within it, but a resident priest has no such charge of powers but is entitled to live in the *pansala* in the *vihāra* premises and assist the icumbent priest. He is generally subordinate to the *vihārādhipati*. The *āganṭuge* generally is not a permanent resident of a particualr *vihāra* but travels from one *vihāra* to another and he may sometimes assist the incumbent priest in the performance of any services.[35]

28. T. B. Dissanayake and A. B. Colin de Soysa. *Kandyan Law And Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law*, pp. 284, 285.
29. Sumanatissa Thera V Guneratne Thera, 39 New Law Reports, p. 251.
30. T. B. Dissanayake and A. B. Colin de Soysa *Kandyan Law And Buddshi Ecclesiastical Law* p. 285.
31. *Ibid*. p. 285.
32. *Ibid*. p. 287, Gunānanda Unnānse V Devarakkita Unnānse, 26 New Law Reports, 257.
33. T. B. Dissanayake and A. B. Colin de Soysa *Kandyan Law And Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law*. p. 287.
34. Dr. H. W. Tambiah, *Journal R. A. S.* (Ceylon) Volume VIII, part 1, p. 95.
35. *Ibid*. p. 96.

The scheme of the Ordinance is to make it applicable to all Buddhist temples, unless especially exempted by the order of the Minister. The Minister could make an order applying any particular provision or all the provisions of the Ordinance to any Buddhist temple.

Every trustee and every controlling *vihārādhipai*, to the extent authorised by the provisions of the Ordinance, is subject to the general supervision of the Public Trustee, who in the manner prescribed by regulations made under the Ordinance, is assisted in the exercise of his supervision by an advisory board appointed under section 6 of the Ordinance (secton 5 of Chap. 318).[36]

As everything in the world, changes have taken place in monastic properties during the process of evolution, a phenomenon that goes with worldly things. Monastic properties have a long history starting from the time of the Buddha, and these properties vested in the *Saṅgha* are still being regarded by the laity as *Sāṅghika* and meant for the exclusive use of the community of *Saṅgha*.

C. Ananda Grero

MONGOLIA. The Mongolian people may be divided into two major types, namely Kalmuks and Khalkhas. Their religion is lamaism. Under Kublai Khan (1259–1294) the Mongolian princes adopted Lamaism (which is the Tibetan variant of Buddhism), as their religion. Dayan Khan of the Ming Dynasty (reigned 1488–1504) was won over to Lamaism. At a Kuriltai (representative assembly), Kublai Khan made Buddhism the state religion with the result that sacred books were called for and reeived from Tibet. Upon the ruins of Karakorum, the Lamaist monastery of Erdeni Tsu was built. Throughout Mongolia, monasteries and temples were built at the expense of the princes and the people. During Kublai's period of rule, there were many competing religions within his Empire. Therefore he had to pick his way with caution and prudence. His personal preference was for Buddhism. He received with reverent ceremony, some relics of the Buddha, dispatched to China by the king of Sri Lanka. These included Tooth Relics (amounting to two in number). Phaga-pa, a Tibetan Lāma, advised him on matters of ecclesiastical policy. He also worked out a new alphabet for the Mongol Language. A pious Buddhist historian of a later date has bestowed on him (Kublai Khan), honorific Buddhist titles as a tribute to his services to the Buddhist faith. This was Ssanang Setzon of the 17th century, whose work was later translated into German. Kublai's second son was given a Buddhist name.

Kublai adopted a variant form of Mahāyānism (namely Lamaism), which was based on Tantric practices. From the same source, Mongols in their homeland adopted it in 1576–7. Arit Lāma was the founder fo Lamaism in Mongolia. Every second son of a Mongolian family was destined for the priestly profession. As a result, the monasteries were filled with nearly half the men of Mongolia, Into the monasteries flowed the wealth of the nation.

Jenghiz Khan (1162–1227), the grandfather of Kublai Khan was Ssutu-Bodgo (the God-sent). His word was considered Heaven's will. He tolerated all religions. It was during the reign of his grandson Kublai khan that the Mongolian hierarchs accepted Buddhism of the Tibetan variety as the religion of the state. Tibet was the centre of Lamaism, from where it was propagated among non-Tibetan peoples. Wherever this has happened Buddhism has retained its specially Tibetan form. The most important conquest of Tibetan missonaries was Mongolia. Tibetan religious texts (The Kanjur), called for from Tibet and which were in Tibetan and Sanskrit were transalted into Mongolian, using the Mongolian script. For this purpose Kublai appointed a Board of Translators. This was done after revision and collation with Chinese texts. It was a gigantic task which came to be concluded only after Kublai's death.

Lāmas mean ' superior ones'. Usually the Tibetan call their creed 'The Buddhist religion' or the orthodox religion. It is derived form Mahāyanism as it prevailed in India at the time. It ws Padmasambhava (8th cent.) who introduced Buddhism into Tibet. He along with

36. *Ibid*, p. 97.

some other monks translated the Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. Padmasambhava was a believer in *Tantric* mysticism with its prayers to various Buddhist gods and goddesses. He ws a follower of the teachings of Asanga and Vasubandhu. Several manuals of worship (*sādhanas*) were written by him. They were used for obtaining the services of spells (*dhāranis*) in the same manner as Brahmanical *mantras*.

Kublai Khan was the great Mongol Emperor of the 13th century who gave prominence to Buddhist activities. He was converted to Buddhism by the Tibetan Abot of the Sask-kya monastery in Western Tibet. Kublai made the latter Head of the Buddhist church in Tibet. This hierarch was also the Chief Editor of the Board of Translators named above, which included a staff of his scholars as well. There was a close contact, which existed between Tibetan hierarchs and the Mongol court duing 13th and 14th centuries. The conversion of the Mongols into Lamaism was due to the efforts of the 3rd Dalai Lāma in the 16th century. Since then the Mongolians have remained staunch adherents of the Ge-lugs-pa School. In Mongolia, religion and in particualr monastic life developed according to the Tibetan model.

The Mongols in course of time accepted the Tibetan practice of ecclesiastical succession by reincarnation. As a result, towards the beginning of the 20th century, there were to be found some 240 reincarnated lāmās among the Mongols. The most powerful among them was that of the r Je-btsun-dam-pa in Urga (present day Ulaa-Baator). In the year 1911, Outer Mongolia declared its independence and installed the 8th rJe-btsun-dam-pa as Head of State. When this person died in 1924, Outer Mongolia became a People's Republic with Russian help. This Communist regime brought about a violent campaign against the monasteries and religion in general. As a result more than 700 religious institutions got destroyed. However state support was extended only to the Buddhist monastery d Ga-idam (Ulaam-Bantor). In spite of this calamity, Buddhism has remained strong among the people of Mongolia.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

MON-LAM, Var. sMo-Lam (supplication), is the greatest, ceremony in the lamaist church, conducted chiefly at Lhasa and Tashilhunpo in February every year. At the ceremony prayers are chanted and sacrifice is made for prosperity during the new year.

During this ceremony thirty thousand lāmās congregate in Lhasa alone. At this festival money is distributed to the assembled lāmās (amounting to about ten shillings per ordinary lāmā, and several hundred to the higher lāmās) from the treasury of the Dalai Lāmā's government as well as from the emperor of China who is especially prayed for. The prayers continue till the 15th day of the month, which is the anniversary of the Buddha's conception and on this date the great temple of the Buddha (*Jokang*) is illuminated with lanterns. Thereafter the demons are propitiated, and on the 30th day the Celebration of Deliverance (*grol-ston*) a festival of relaxation, concludes the feast.

A notable feature of this ceremony is that the civil government changes duirng this cremony, which continues throughtout the month. The secular government of Lhāsā is removed from its usual custodians and is placed in the hands of the chief proctor of Dre-pung monastery to which the Dalai Lāmā is affiliated (*ERE*. V, p. 893).

Indumathi Karunaratna.

MOON See CANDA

MOONSTONE. A moonstone is a semi-circular stone slab in the shape of a half moon placed at the entrance to ancient buildings, mostly of a religous character. This architectural feature is found in Sri Lanka from very early times such as the Anuradhapura period. It is referred to as *sandakaḍa-pahana* (*Skt candra-khaṇḍa-pāṣāṇa*) in Sinhala. This architectural feature, in course of time came to assume great artistic value.

An early refererence to it is found in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Vol. I) as *paṭika*, where an *arahant* is spoken of as walking through it. The Commentator Buddha ghosa calls it *aḍḍha-canda-pāsāṇa* and describes it as

a "half moon shaped stone slab, placed at the entrance to a flight of steps". The *Mahāvamsa* and its commentary *Vamsatthappakāsinī* as well as *Dhammapadatthākathā* contain similar references. It is similar to the present day practice of placing a door mat at the entrance to a house.

There are several stages in the evolution of the moonstone from its simple beginning to that of an elaborately carved piece of sculptor's art. Moonstones found at the numerous archaeological sites in Sri Lanka may be roughtly classified into two caegories i.e. (a) those belonging to a period from early times up to the beginning of the 11th century A.C (Anuradhapura period) ; (b) those of a later date from the Polonnaruwa period i. e. from the 12th centurey A.C. onwards. To the early period belong six moonstones, four within the Mahāvihāra precincts and the remaining two in Abhayagiriya area.

In the best known examples there is decorative designing, the general characteristics of which may be described as follows :– The pedestal is of the shape of a half-moon. In the centre is a conventional half lotus. It is enlosed by concentric bands. These proceed outwards and are decorated respectively with a procession of geese, an intricate foliage design, a procession of four beasts, i.e. the elephant, the lion, the horse and the bull, racing each other and an outermost band of stylised flowers. The foliage deesign, the lotus and the flowers are of an abstract nature. In contrast, there is maturalism exhibited in the representation of bulls and elephants. There is a skilful integration of the various elements in the designs. The hard granite has been carved to a depth with precision, it is generally agreed that there is symbolism in the constitution of the designs but scholars have put forward interpretations, which are at variance with one another. Many of these moonstones motifs are also to be found in the doorway of the *bodhighara* at Nillakagāma.

The second category of moonstones, which are found at Polonnaruwa and else where are datable to the 12th century onwards. They are not of such artistic merit as the ones from Anuradhapura. In the composition of the details of the decorative scheme, these later examples show a notable divergence. Instead of a single band of four beasts, they contain separate bands for each beast, with the exception of the bull. The absence of the bull is probably due to the sanctity attached to it in Hindu beliefs and practices.

Of the Polonnaruwa examples the one at the northern entrance to the upper terrace of the Vaṭadāge could be identified as the best. The sculptures have been executed with precision. There is excellent modeling in respect of individual animals. But it lacks the gracefulness, which characterises the Anuradhapura examples. The example from Baddha-Sīmā-pāsāda and the Raja-Vāsi-bhu Janga-maṇḍapa at Polonnaruwa appear to be of a crowded nature. The figures of animals are stiff and formal. The negative scrolls have not been executed in an admirable form. They appear to be mechanical reproductions of a given patern. By about the 12th century the moonstone seems to have lost its symbolism. It may be due to the practice of placing them at the entrances to builidngs as sculptured slabs of stone.

The earliest known example of a moonstone (datable to the 1st century B.C.) is found at the inner compound of the Abhayagirivihāra. It is a large stone slab, with incisive lines carved for the purpose of removing the blankness of its space. This can be taken as the earliest stage of the decorative motifs. In examples to be found at the sacred Bo Tree premises in Anuradhapura and at Rājagala in the Ampara District, there is a linear representation of the lotus symbol and the rest of the space is left blank. In a place called Mānkuliya to the north of Anuradhapura, is to be found a moonstone with the lotus motif in the centre, a vegetative design (*liyavāla*) and the figure of the elephant and of the horse. The next stage of development is the appearance of the motif as in the example from the Bo Tree premises. The next and final stage shows all the features of the moonstone completed as in the specimens at Queen's Palace and Thūpārāma in Anuradhaprua.

From the 12th century onwards begins the period of decline. This trend continued during the subsequent centuries. By the end of the 18th century, even the semicircular shape had deteriorated to a quite inartistic triangular one. Examples are available at the Temple of the Tooth Relic and other Kandyan temples.

Motifs appearing in the best examples of the moonstone have given rise to interpretations among scholars and may be summarised as follows :-

1. It represents the *saṃsāra* or *bhava-cakra*. Each motif may be taken individually. The outermost cobrahood or flame like motif represents or symbolises the three defilements taught in Buddhism i.e. *rāga* (lust) *dosa* (hatred) and *moha* (delusion). The four animals represent the four fears of birth, old age, sickness and death (*jāti, Jarā, vyādhi* and *maraṇa*) Craving (*taṇhā*) is represented by the creeper design (*liyavāla*). Renunciation is represented by the row of swans (*abhinikkhamana*). The full-blown lotus may be taken to mean the *suddhāvāsa* (the Pure Abodes). Nibbāna is represented by the Buddha image, which is placed inside the *paṭimāghara* (image house). Therefore when a pilgrim enters the image house, he passes through the stages mentioend above ending up with the final goal which is Nibbāna. This theory was first put forward by S. Paranavitana in an article published in the *Artibus Asiae*.

2. D. T. Devendra refutes the above arguments and argues that the lotus, which is an aquatic plant symbolises the washing of one's feet before entering a religious place, such as the image house of the Buddha.

Arguments also have been adduced to the effect that (a) it is a symbol of prosperity and (b) that is symbolises protection, purity and sanctity. It will be of interest to examine the motifs individually. The lotus has become a Buddhist symbol. The Buddha is sometimes shown seated on a lotus. The flower's journey from watery darkeness in search of light and sun seems to symbolise a successful journey to freedom and enlightenment. The creeper motif is also a popular decorative. The swan symbolises renunciation, non-attachment and the power of discrimination. According to some scholars, the four animals represent the four quarters. They may also be takne as symbols of various qualities. The elephants for example, symbolises nobility and vealour. The conception of the Bodhisatta in the womb of Mahāmāya Dēvī was symbolised by a young elephant. The horse is a pupular animal in the literrary works. It ws Kanthaka the horse, which carried the Bodhisatta on his way to renunciation and homelessness. The lion is quite popular with regard to its nobility and bravery. The Buddha is sometimes referred to as Sākya Siṃha (the Lion of the Sākyas). The bull is a symbol of full-filedged masculinity. The Tathāgata is also known as Buddha Gautama (Gotama), metaphorically meaning "Buddha the Noble". Therefore it is clear that the symbols used by the moonstone artists are associated chiefly with Buddhism.

The moonstone was placed at the base of the flight of steps leading to an image house. If pilgrims, who enter the place for purposes of worship, walk over a moonstone it is not considered as an act of desecration or disrespect towards the symbolic representations of such spiritual qualities as renunciation, purity, nobility, etc. It has been surmised that the bull was removed from the moonstone during the 12th century because of the implied show of disrespect. About this time, the influence of Hinduism was considerable in Sri Lanka and the hindus regard this animal as being of a sacred character.

The moonstone may be regarded as a typical example of Sinhala craftsmanship. There are a few examples showing its early evolutionary stages, to be seen at Nāgārjuna-koṇda (in South India). They belong to the Īksvāku phase of sculpture at Amāravatī. C.Sivaramamurti refers to them as lovely moonstones with rows of animals, most beautifully carved. These sculptures are datable to the 3rd century A.C.

See PLATE II

Bibliography :

1. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. I, p. 115
2. *Dhammapadaṭṭhakatha*, Vol. I, p. 115
3. *Mahāvaṃsa*, Trs. W. Geiger, Colombo. 1950
4. *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī (Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīka)*, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, (*PTS.*), Vol. 1, 1935, Vol. II, 1936
5. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XVII, pp. 197-231
6. *History of Ceyon*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, Colombo, 1959 (Ceylon University Press Board)
7. D. T. Devendra, *Classical Sinhala Sculpture*, London, 1953
8. C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 51 (Published by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi).

Nandasena Mudiyanse

MORALITY See ETHICS, KUSALA, SĪLA

MOTHERHOOD. Buddhism and the Buddhist tradition award a very special position to the mother. One could say that the high place of honour accorded to

the mother in the Indian radition pre-dates Buddhism, for the mother was held in singualr veneration even during the time of the Vedas and Brāhmanas. Buddhism contined and expanded on the concept.

Many phrases in the Buddhist texts give priority of place to the mother over the father. For instance, in the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* is found a st anza beginning "*mātāpitu upaṭṭhānam...*". As is seen, the word *mātā* (mother) is placed before even that of *pitu* (father), which is significant in a patriarchal society. Yet it is precisely the masculine mind, accus tomed to an and rocentric perspective which when compiling the canon, formed the compound or took it from the usage at the time. It therefore must refer to the unassailable position ascribed to the mother in society. Following are further examples :

"*Mātāpettibharo āsiṃ*"
"my mother and my father I maintained" (*S.*I, p.36)

mātāri pitari vāpi ...
"To mother and father should you show humility" (*S.*I.p. 178)

Mātāpitukiccakaro puttadārahito sadā
"*Antojanassa atthāya ye c' assa anujīvino*"
" To mother, father, dutiful, to child and wife a blessing, even, for the weal of both ..." (*A.* III, p.78)

"*Yo mātaram pitaraṃ vā*
Macco dhammena poseti

Tāya naṃ paricariyāya
Mātāpitūsu paṇḍitā" (*S.*I.P. 182)

"In normal fashion who so doth maintain
His mother or his father, in this life
Him for that cherishing the wise commend
And after death he wins the joys of heaven"

Again, the Buddha states :
Dvinnāhaṃ bhikkhave na suppatikāraṃ vadāmi
Katamesaṃ dvinnaṃ ?
Mātucca pitucca ... " (A.I, 61 ff.)

"Monks, one can never repay two persons, I declare. What two ? Mother and father ..." (Gradual Sayings I pp. 56-7)

A further example is the following :

"*Mātari pitari cāpiyo sammā paṭipajjati*
Thatāgate vā sambuddhe athavā tassa sāvake
Bahuñ ca so pasavati puññāṃ etādiso naro
Tāya naṃ dhammacāriyāya mātāpitusu paṇḍitha
Idh'eva nam pasaṃsanti pecca sagge pamodatīti"
(*A.* II pp4-5)

"Mother and father and the Enlightended One,
Tathāgatha, and those who follow him,
Whoso entreateth well stores up much merit
For such good deeds to parents in this life

The sages praise that man and afterwards
In the world of heaven he wins happiness."

In the *Sona-Nanda Jātaka* (No. 532 v. 182) it is said : "*Brahmā hi mātāpitaro pubbācariyā ti vuccare*"
"Parents are like unto "Brahma", and they are called the first teachers".
And again verse 164 states : "*maggo saggassa lokassa mātā taṃ varate ise*"
"Mother is the way to heaven ... "
In the *Sigālovāda Suta* (*D.* III 189) it is said :

Pañcahi kho gahapatiputta ṭhānehi puttena puratthimā
Disā mātā-pitaro paccupaṭṭhātabbā "Bhato nesaṃ bharissāmi, kiccam nesam karissāmi, kula-vaṃsaṃ ṭhapessāmi, dāyajjaṃ paṭipajjāmi, atha ca pana petānaṃ kālakatānaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ anuppadassāmiti."

"In five ways a child shoudl minister to his parents as the eastern quarter :–

Once supported by them, I will now be their support ; I will perform duties incumbent on them ; I will keep up the lineage and tradition of my family ; I will make myself worthy of my heritage."

In the *Sutta Nipāta*, v, 98 states :

"Yo mātaraṃ vā pitaraṃ vā jiṇṇakam gata yobbanaṃ
pahu santo na bharati, taṃ parābhavato mukhaṃ."

"Who being rich supports
not parents in their age ;
When gone is all their youth :
A source of suffering that."

It is therefore, very clear that the Buddha exhorts one to pay respect to both parents but it is not clear why in the compound word for parents, *mātā pitaro* the mother is placed first. The usage could hark back in time to a pre-Buddshit matriarchal cult, which the Indian religious cultural tradition carried down through the ages.

It has been pointed out that Early Buddshim refers to the woman as *Mātugāma*, a term unique to Buddshim, as is also the word *mettā* (loving kindness). The word *mātugāma* means motherkind or *genex feminarum*, and demonstrates the esteem in which womankind should be held. The concept is so well ingrained in the Buddhist tration and culture that any mature woman may be commonly addressed as "mother" (a practice followed in the predominantly Buddhist society in Sri Lanka, in a public conveyance, for instance, or in the market place) without giving any offence. On the contrary it is an honorific title given to all mature women by vi rtue of their most important social role, from the Buddhist point of view. Therefore is it said *"Itthi bhaṇḍānam uttamaṃ"* "woman is the commodity supreme" (*S.* I, 43) and the commentary explains, "because she is of indispensable utility or because through her Bodhisattas and world rulers take birth."

Although this explanations has the brahmanical nuance of looking upon women as "useful commodities" and their importance deriving from the fact that they give birth to (male) world rulers and Bodhisattas, it is certainly true that the Buddhist tradition did take over something of this concept that of the importance of motherhood, but it enlarged on it and gave it a different ethical dimension. Consider, for instance, the following :

"sabrahmakāni bhikkhave tāni kulāni yesam puttā
nam mātāpitaro ajjhāgāre pūjita honti, sa
pubbācariyakāni bhiikkhave tāni kulāni yesam
puttānaṃ mātāpitaro ajjhāgāre pūjitā honti,
sā huneyyakāni bhikkhave tāni kulāni yesam
puttānam mātāpitaro ajjhāgāre pūjitā honti ...
tam kissa hetu ?
Bahukārā bhikkave mātāpitaro puttānam āpādakā
posakā imassa lokassa dassetāro ti." (A.II, 132)

"Monks, those families where mother and father are worshipped in the home are reckoned like unto Brahma. Those families where mother and father are worshipped are ranked with the teachers of old. Worthy of offerings, monks, are those families where mother and father are worshipped in the home. "Brahma," monks, is a term for mother and father. "Worthy of offeimgs" monks is a term for mother and father. Why so ? *Because mother and father do much for children, they bring them up, nourish and introduce them to the world."*

The *Sona-Nanda Jatāka* (No. 532) goes into great length and detail to underscore the value attached to the support of aged parents. The *Ghaṭīkāra Sutta*, (*M.* II, 45 ff), describes how the potter Ghaṭīkāra of Vebhalinga in Kosala who lived during the time of Buddha Kassapa, would not renounce lay life because he had to support his blind parents. After death, Ghaṭīkāra was born as Mahābrahma in the Aviha Brahma world as an *anāgami.*

In the *Mettasutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, the mother image is exalted.

"Mātā yathā niyaṃ puttaṃ
āyusā ekaputtaṃ anurakkhe
evempi sabbabhūtesu
mānasaṃ bhāvaye aparimānaṃ"

"Just as a mother would protect her only child with her life, even so let one cultivate a boundless love towards all beings."

Furthermore, it states,

"Mettañca sabba lokasmiṃ
mānasaṃ bhāvaye aparimānaṃ
uddhaṃ adho ca tiriyañca
asambādhaṃ averaṃ asapattaṃ"

Cultivate a boundless heart of loving kindness towards all the world, above below and all around, without hindrance, anger and enmity and.

"Tiṭṭhaṃ caraṃ nisinno vā
Sayāno vā yāvat'assa vigatamiddhho,
Etaṃ satim adhiṭṭheyya
Brahmaṃ etaṃ vihāraṃ idhamāhu"

"Standing, walking, sitting or lying down, one should uphold that state of mindfulness without giving way to torpor. That is noble living (living in the Brahma world) it is said here."

We see, then, that the selfless love of a mother for her only child, when extended to include all beings in the world, is equated to the plane of the *Brahmavihāras* which are reached in medetational *jhānas.*

In the *Mahāsudassana sutta, D.* II. 186, it is said the 'great king of glory' practised these meditational absorptions :

"Mettā-sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā vihāsi, tathā dutiyam, tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catutthaṃ
Iti uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbhāvantaṃ lokaṃ mettā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamānena averena avyāpajjhena
pharitvā vihāsi ... karuṇā-sahagatena cetasā... muditā-sahagatena cetasā...upekhā-sahagatena cetasā...ekaṃ disampharitvā vihāsi, tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catutham..."

"And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of love ; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of love, far-reachi ng, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will..."

The account goes on to say that he practised this meditation with thoughts of pity, sympathy and finally with equanimity towards the whole world in the same manner till there ws no trace of anger or ill will in him. The *Brahmavihāras* therefore refer to the meditational *Jhānas* reach through the practising of *mettā* (loving kindness) *karuṇā* (compassion) *muditā* (sympathetic joy) *upekkā* (equanimity) towards the whole world.

The qualities of compassion and understanding which result from one's identification with some one other than one's self, together with other qualities such as caring, nurturing and non-aggression are epitomized in a mother. Thus, these qualities are usually identified with a mother, and become analogous to the *Brahmavihāras* experienced in the *jhānas,* which go beyond the "I" or "self" notion. When this plane is experienced, it is possible for one to regard one's immediate family and the universal human family without distinction. This is why the Buddhist tradition accords the term "Mother" to even the Buddha with regard to the universal human family. The terms, *Budhu Māniyani* (ambrosial mother) are very unique to the Sri Lankan Buddhist tradition. The texts also refer to Ven. Sāriputta in terms of a mother and Ven. Moggallāna in terms of a foster mother with regard to the dispensation. Thus, the term "mother" need not be gender based as illustrated by those concepts. It is not only a mother who is able to experience *Brahmavihāras.* But the mother is the nearest analogy in the ordinary *puthujjana* plane, to express that concept which reaches beyound the ego centered "I", "My" and "Me" notions to that sublime liberation of the heart experienced in the *Brahmavihāras* when one's consciousness becomes divested of a subject-object duality in the realization of *anattā* in all phenomena.

A very important point to be considered with regard to the concept of motherhood in Buddhism is the fact that there have been practices from the time of the Buddha in recognition of the mother's state of physical and mental well-being having direct bearing on the child developing in the womb.[1]

Firstly, there were practices to protect the unborn child by seeking the blessings of the Triple Gem. The caring of the child is referred to as "*gabba parihāra* or the practices for the protection of the embryo. This involves observing religious practices and following medical advice.

Buddhist texts have described the sufferings experienced by the unborn child in the womb, in connection with the exposition of *dukkhasacca*. This is recommended for reading by the mother. The idea is that the mother should be aware of the unborn child's suffering in order to alleviate that suffering to the best of her ability by composing her mind through religious practices, religious contemplation and imbibing the correct nourishment. This, by the way, presupposes a connection between the mother's conscionce and the embryo or unborn child.

It is seen, therefore, that the maternal concern for preservation and protection of the young has an ethical dimension, which is not self-centered. It is a concern for someone else other than one's self and one's survival only.

Many are the instances occurring in the canon, which demonstrate the status of honour ascribed to the mother. When the chief lay benefactress of the Buddha, Visākhā, converted her father-in-law, Migāra, to Buddhism, he henceforth had her addressed as Migāra Mātā as a sign of honour paid to her. It is said that on her behalf he got a palace constructed for the *bhikkhus* with 500 upper chambers and a thousand peaked roofs in the East Park at Sāvatthi. It was referred to as the storeyed House. (*Sn.A.* II, 502)

A point of interest is how the image of the mother is sometimes presented in the texts. At *S.* I. 37 Chapter VI, *Jarā Vagga*, the following stanzas occur :

"*Kiṃsu pathavato mittaṃ ?*
Kiṃsu mittaṃ sake ghare ?"

"What is a good friend to the wayfarer ?
What is the good friend dwelling in the house ?"
And the answer is as follows ;

"*Sattho pathavato mittaṃ*
mātā mittaṃ sake ghare"

"A guide is a good friend to the wayfarer.
Mother is the good friend dwelling in the house"

Again, at *S.* I. 8, a *deva*, it is said, ask the Buddha who is meditating at the foot of a tree.

"*Kacci te kuṭikā natthi ?*
Kacci natthi kulāvakā ?"

"Has thou no little hut ?
Has thou no nest ?"

The reply is in the negative whereupon the *deva* asks what he meant by the word "hut" and the word "nest". The Buddha replies :

"*Mātaraṃ kuṭikaṃ brūsi*
bhariyaṃ brūsi kulāvakaṃ"

"Mother thou meanest when thou sayest, 'hut.'

And wife thou meanest when thou speakest of 'nest'.

Such words and images bring out a deep psychological association of ideas, for, they both denote the ordinary layman's comforting domestic sanctuary which gives him such immeasurable security in the hurly burly of life.

However, the mother image and the mother's concern for the preservation of one's own young, according to the Buddhist point of view, is still in the realm of *saṃsāra*. Consider, for instance, the line in *S.* I. 174 ; "*punappunaṃ vaccho upeti mātaraṃ*"

1 *Vide* Madihe Pannasiha Maha Nayaka Thero,
A country's development ; the Buddhist standpoint and
A plan for Living, Mrs. H. M. Gunasekera Trust, Colombo 1989.

"Again and again the calf its mother seeks"

In the context of the passage in which it occurs, it refers to the endless cycle of rebirth, which is symbolized here in the bond between the calf and the mother cow. From the Buddhist point of view all bonds have to be given up if *Nibbāna* is to be atained.

Also, V. 284 in the *Dhammapalada* states :

"yavaṃ hi vanato na chijjati
anumato' pi narassa nārisu
paṭibaddhamano va tāva so
vaccho khirāpako 'va mātari ti".

"For so long as the slightest brushwood (of passion) of man towards women is not cut down, so long is his mind in bondage, like the *milch* calf to its mother."

Thus the bond between the calf and the mother undeniably belongs to the realm of *saṃsāra.*

Suvimali Karunaratna

MOTIVE See CETANĀ

MUDITĀ The word *muditā* is derived from the root √ *mud* which means soft heartedness, kindliness, sympathy. It also denotes appreciativeness, an attitude that is complementary and benevolent.

In the *Sutta Nipāta Aṭṭhakathā* (*SnA*. 128), *mettā* is defined as "active love" i.e. "*hita-sukh-ūpanaya-kāmatā*". The desire of bringing (to one's fellowmen) that which is for their welfare and good. *Karuṇā* is explained as the desire of removing bane and sorrow from one's fellowmen. "*ahita-dukkha-apanaya-kāmatā*".

Muditā is mentioned in assocation with *mettā*, *karuṇā* and *upekkahā* as states of mind which are termed the four sublime states - *Brahmavihāra*. These four states of mind are mentioned in several *suttas* such as *Mahā Sudassana Suttanta*, (*D*.II. 186), *Udumbarika Suttanta*, (*D*. III.50), *Tevijja Sutta* (*D*. I.251 and *S*.V. 118). They are developed in meditational practice to attain 'union with Brahma', that is, rebirth in the Brahma realms.

For instance, it is said in the *Tevijja Sutta*, *"Ayaṃ pi kho Vāseṭṭha Brahmānaṃ sahavyatāya maggo."*

"Verily this, Vāseṭṭha, is the way to a state of companionship of Brahmas".

We should note here the word '*Brāhmānaṃ*' which is in the plural. What is really meant in the word '*Brahmānaṃ sahavyatāya*' comes out very cleary in the *suttas*. What is meant is not union with the creator god Brahma of the Brahmanic religion. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*. I. 193-6), it is stated that, when a man knows that covetousness, malice and delusion are not conducive to happiness and he becomes free from these, he is not bewildered but self controlled and mindful with a heart possessed of goodwill, compassion, sympathy and equanimity. Then he practises meditation by suffusing the whole world with four qualities of mind. "Thus in this very life he is free from craving, he is released, he has become cool, he, of himself abides in the experience of bliss, by becoming Brahmā". *"Iti so diṭṭh'eva dhamme nicchāto nibbuto pītibhūto sukhapaṭisamvedi brahmabhūtena attanā viharati ti."*

Are we then to interpret this statement as the Brahma world being here itself ? When the *Brahmavihāras* are practised, apparently it is so. Far from adopting a doctrine that existed during his time, the Buddha elevates the man who practises the *Brahmavihāras* to the level of *Brahma* himself, who is in the Brahmanic religion characterised by these states of mind.

This concept comes out very clearly in the *Mahā Sudassana Sutta* and other *suttas* mentioned above. The *Saṃyutta* reference (*S*. V.118) is of special interest because it gives us a clue to the fact that the meditational practice of the *Brahmavihāras* was in existence among the adherents of other views during the Buddha's time. Certain wanderers of other views asked some Buddhist *Bhikkhūs* how the Buddha's doc trine diferred from their meditational practice of the *Brahmavihāras*. The Buddhist *bhikkhūs*, not been clear in their minds as to the exact distinction, asked the Buddha for clarification and obtained a very comprehensive answer.

He pointed out that his doctrine prescribed a different technique of purification and cultivation of goodwill and that it also diferred as to its goal. Then

the Buddha explained that the four sublime states of mind may be practised in association with the limb of wisdom of mindfulness. That is, *mettā* is mediated on in association with mindfulness, then *karuṇā*, *muditā* and finally *upekkhā*. The Buddha further explained that the heart release experienced by the meditation on *mettā* has the beautiful (*subham*) as it's highest attainment, *karuṇā* has infinity of space (*ākāsānañcāyatana*) as its highest attainment, and *muditā* infinity of consciousness (*viññāṇañcāyatana*) and *upekkhā*, infinity of nothingness (*ākiñcaññāya tana*). But this is not the ultimate goal of Buddhism for the Buddha says that this state of insight is for the monk who has not penetrated to a further relese. "*Idha paññassa bhikkhuno uttarim vimuttim appaṭivijjanto ti.*"

The Buddha says this because there are two more stages for the attainment of total emancipation not attainable by the practice of the *Brahmavihāras*. These states are *neva saññā nāsaññā* and *Nibbāna*.

In the *Kālāma sutta* (A.I. 192) it is mentioned that the person who practises the *Brahmavihāras* attains heaven at his death. "...*kāyassa bhedā param maranā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokam uppajjissāmī ti.*" See also BRAHMAVIHĀRA

Suvimali Karunaratna

MUDRĀ There are various poses (which are sometimes referred to as mystic) in which the hands of the images and the figures round them are shown. The technical term to denote these poses is *mudrā*. Sometimes the word *hasta* is also used. Some of these can be shown by one hand (i.e. *abhaya*, *varada* etc.). Others require both hands (i.e. *dharmacakra*, *añjali* etc.). In iconographic parlane, *abhaya-mudrā* and *abhaya-hasta* and *varada-mudrā* and *varada-hasta* are equally appropriate. The term *hasta* can also be used in association with an emblem or weapon in the hand of the deity. Thus *padma-hasta*, *pustaka-hasta*, *gadā-hasta* etc., would mean a hand holding a lotus, a book and a mace respectively. In the *Sādhanamālā* there are descriptions of a large number of *mudrās*. It is difficult to comprehend some of them unless expalined by the priests.

Hastas and *mudrās* usually indicate some action which the deity or his attendant is shown to be engaged in. The action consists in the expression of an idea by means of a particular gesture. An attempt has been made to distinguish between three broad divisions of *mudrās* i.e. Vedic, Tāntric and Laukik *mudrās* in art. 64 *mudrās* in Hindu art and 108 in Tantra have been recognized by scholars. Out of these, 45 Tāntric *mudrās* have been illustrated in works on iconography i.e. *añjali, vandanī, yoniv aināyākī, hṛadaya, śiras, śikhā, kavaca, astra, netra (dvaya, traya), garuda, galini, surabhi, abhivāhini, stāpini, sannidhāpanī, sammukhī, avakuṇḍanī, prasādani, sannirodhanī, śankha, gadā, padma, paraśu, harina, abhaya, varada, śūla, kapāla, cakra*, five types of *prāṇahuti, śara, cāpa, kūrma, jala, gandha, puṣpa, dīpa, nivedya* and *matsya*. An analysis of these names shows that some of these *mudrās* are connected with the deities to be worshipped, while others with the worshiper, a third set symbolizing the *upacāras* used in worship. Among the 45 Tāntric *mūdrās* named above, it is possible to recognise only a few that were also depicted in early Indian representations. These are *abhaya*, *varada* and *añjali*. Many more *mudrās* or *hastas* in which the hands of the images were usually depicted, such as *dhyāna* or *yoga*, *jñāna*, *vyākhyāna*, *dharmacakra*, *katyāvalambita*, *kataka* or *simhakarma*, *gaja* or *danda*, *sūci tarjanī*, *viśmaya*, *bhūsparśa*, are not included in this list.

Abhaya-mudrā is the gesture of protection. Any hand showing this *mudrā* should be slightly elevated and bent with the palm turned outward, the fingers being outstretched and elevated. This *mudrā* shold be distinguished from the *varada-mudrā* in which case the hand is stretched downwards with the fingers, instead of being elevated, pointed downwards ; and also, from the *capeṭadāna-mudrā*, which shows the r ight hand menacingly extended upwards, just as it happends in dealing a slap. The right hand pose of the Mathura Buddha image of the Kuṣāna period will show that it is *abhaya-hasta*. Texts describe it as 'the hand turned towards the visitor (i.e. turned to the front) with fingers raised upwards (*draṣṭurabhimukha ūrdhvāngulih śāntidah karah*). The representation of King Brahmadatta in *mahākapi Jātaka* at Bharhut, shows the identical pose *abhaya-hasta*. The right hand of the king is shown also in this pose and thus the artist typifies the protection assured by the king, to the monkey chief, who was the Bodhisattva. This *mudrā* stands for fearlessness, tranquility and protection given by the diety to his worshipper.

Añjali is the name of a *mudrā*, which is also known as *Sampuṭāñjali* or *Sarvarājendra-mudrā*. It has also other names such as *vandanī*. It is usually found in the hands of the devotees or in those of the attendant or subordinate deities. The idea of reverence is present in this instance. The two hands are clasped palm to palm, both of which are extended upward with all fingers erect or slightly bent. This is the characteristic *mudrā* of Saḍakṣari Lokeśvara and is also exhibited by Nāmasangīti.

Bhūmisparśa-mudrā is also called *Bhūmisparśana* or *Bhusparśa*. This pose illustrates the story of the Buddha's calling the earth as his witness for testifying to his right to sit on the *vajrāsana* under the Bodhi Tree, which was challenged by Māra just prior to his Enlightenment. In this case the left hand rests on the lap with palm outward and the right with the palm inward touches the seat below or finger tips point towards the ground. This *mudrā* is particularly associated with Buddhist iconography. In developed Mahāyana iconography, *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* was the typical hand pose of the Dhyāni Buddha Akoṣobhya. This *mudrā* should be distinguished from *varada-mudrā* in which case the tips of the fingers do not touch the ground and the palm instead of being turned inward, is turned upward. The Buddha showing the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, must sit in the *Vajraparyanka* attidute.

Dharmacakra-mudra is usually associated with Buddha images. It symbolises the first preaching of the Law by the Buddha at Sarnath. it was alao used in the representation of the Great Miracle at Sravasti. In this instance, the Buddha is in the act of expounding the true knowledge, which he had himself first comprehended through his efforts. This pose is depicted variously but the most artistic and correct representation of this *mudrā* is to be found in the celebrated Prajñāpārmatia image from Jāvā. In this instance, the tips of the middle finger and the thumb of the right hand are joined together and held near the heart. It rests on the left hand having finger tips in similar position.

Dhyāna, yoga or *samādhi mudrā* is that particular pose in which the palm of the right hand is placed in that of the left hand and both together are laid on the crossed legs of the seated image. Thus, it is specially associated with a seated figure and is one of the most correct attitudes for the practice of *dhyāna-yoga*. The yogi should be steady, holding his body, head and neck balanced and motionless, fixing his gaze on the tip of his nose and looking not about him. *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* gives a clear idea about the sitting posture of a yogi in the following words : (*nisīdati pallaṅkam ābhujitivā ujum kāyam paṇidhāya parimukham satim upaṭṭhapetvā*) i.e. he sits cross legged on a raised seat, with erect body and setting up his mind on the object in front. In Gandhara art, Buddha images are shown with hands in this pose. Seated Buddha images of modern days are mostly executed in this pose. One of the celebrated examples of Sri Lankan art of about the 4-5th Century A. C. is the *Samādhi* statue on the Outer Circular Road at Anuradhapura. A similar image of about the same period has been found at Toluvila, Anuradhapura and has now been deposited at the Colombo National Museum. This *mudrā* is associated with asceticism (*tapas*). In the collections of the Lahore and Peshawar Museums, there is a number of figures of the Buddha depicting the *samādhi* post. *Dhyānā sana, Vajraparyaṅkāsana* or *Vajrāsana* are terms, which have a similar meaning. It is the meditative pose, the characteristic sitting attitude of the Dhyāni-Buddhas. Sometimes a small thunderbolt, shown on the seat, indicates the meditative attitude. *Dhyānāsana* should be distinguished from the *paryaṅka* attitude in which case the legs are placed one upon the other, with both soles invisible.

Karaṇa-mudrā is a hand pose in Mahāyānist sculptures. In this instance the hand is outstretched with the index and the little figners erect, while the thumb presses the two remaining fingers against the palm of the hand.

Ksepana is the *mudrā* of sprinkling, exhibited by Nāmasangīti. The two hands are joined together palm to palm with fingers all stretched, the tips of which are turned downwards and enter into a vessel containing nectar.

Namaskāra is a *mudrā* assumed by the Bodhisattvas when paying homage to the Buddhas or by the minor deities to the principal one. The hand, slightly bent, is raised above in a line with the shoulder with fingers outstretched or slightly bent and palm turned upwards.

Sanmudrā means the six *mudras*. The meaning of this *mudrā* is quite different from the *mudrā* meaning mystic gestures. It has been translated as auspicious ornaments or symbols. The six ornaments are enumerated in the following verse in the *Sādhanamālā*.

Kanthikā rucakaṃ ratnamekhalaṃ bhasmasū trakaṃ
Sat vai pāramitā etā mudrārupena yojitāh

(The torque, the bracelet, the jewel, the girdle, the ashes and the sacred thread are ascribed to the gods in the form of *mudrās* (Ornaments), which represent the six *Pāramitās*).

These ornaments or symbols are generally of human bones, the *Khaṭvāṅga* being the sacred thread. When one of the six is absent, they are called *Pañcamudrā* and *Caturmudrā*, when two are absent.

Sūci-mudrā is used generally in the act of dancing, though it is to be seen in other cases also. All the fingers are stretched with tips joining at the end, so as to resemble a needle.

Tarjanī-mudrā is the pose of the raised index finger in a menacing attitude. In the hand showing this *mudrā*, the index finger only is raised while the other fingers are locked up in the fist. If a *pāśa* or noose appears round the index finger, it is called *tarjanīpāśa*. The word *Vajratarjanī* signifies the *vajra* held in the fist while the index is raised in a meancing attitude.

Tarpaṇa is the *mudrā* of doing homage to the Departed Fathers. Any arm showing this gesture is bent and is raised upward in line with the shoulder. The palm of the hand is turned inward with fingers slightly bent and pointed towards the shoulder.

Vajrahuṅkāra-mudrā has been explained as follows : "The wrists are crossed at the breast with two hands holding the *vajira* and the bell, both of which are turned inwards." But if the two symbols and the hands are turned outward, the *mudrā* will be called the *Trailokyavijaya-mudrā*.

Varada-mudrā is the gesture of the hand shown by deities while bestowing boons. The hand showing this gesture is pendent with its palm outward and fingers all stretched. Sometimes a jewel is seen stamped on the hand showing the *mudrā* ; it is known as the *Ratnasamyukta-Varada*, that is, the gift bestowing att itude together with a jewel. *Vara* or *varada-mudrā* is typically common in iconographic art of ancient and medieval India. In standing images, the arm usually hangs down by the side of the body. In seated figures, the arm is sometimes flexed according to artistic requirements. (*Uttāno 'dho 'ngulirhasto varadaḥ*).

Vitarka-mudrā represents the attitude of discussion or a subtle point of the doctrine being e xplained. This *mudrā* is almost unknown in the *Sādhanamālā*. It is shown in a number of forms of Avalokiteśvara which appear to have been influenced by Tibetan art and iconography. This *mudrā* is represented with the right arm bent and all fingers erect except either the index or the ring finger which touches the thumb so as to resemble a ring. The hand is extended forward with the palm outward.

The *kaṭyāvalambita* or *kaṭisaṃsthita-hasta* is the pose in which the arm is let down so as to hang by the side of the body and the hand is made to rest on the lion, indicating thus a posture of ease. The standing images of Buddha, *nāgas* and various other divinities of the early Kusan and subsequent periods found at Mathura and adjacent places very frequently display this attitude. Images of the seated Buddha from Katra, Anyor and Mankuwar also show the same pose.

Two other *mudrās* which are also found in the iconographic art of ancient and medieval India have been named as *jñāna* and *vyākhyāna*. *vitarka* or *cin-mudrā*. These have been already referred to above. *jñāna*, *vyākyāna* and *dharmacakra mudrās* are almost identical but there are minor differences. *Vitarka* and *cin-mudrā* also appear alike. Arguments have been adduced to the effect that *cin-mudrā* is the exact counterpart of *jñāna-mudrā*. *Sandarśana* is another name for *vyākyāna mudrā*.

In Vajrayāna *sādhanas*, *Mārīcī* and several other goddesses have been very often described as *tarjanī-pāśahasta* i.e. with a hand holding a *tarjanī-pāśa*. One of the earliest representations of this particular *hasta* is to be found in a *Jātaka* relief on one of the coping stones at Bharhut. This is the *Gahapati Jātaka* (No. 199). Here the Bodhisattva is the householder. He is threatening and admonishing with the projecting forefinger of his raised right hand another made figure, shown seated below, crouching in fear.

Bibliography :

1. B. Bhattcarya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, London, 1924
2. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, New Delhi, 1985

Nandasena Mudiyanse

MŪLAMADHYAMAKAKĀRIKA
See MADHYAMAKASASTRA

MŪLAMAHĀSĀṄGHIKA See MAHĀSĀṄGHIKA

MŪLAPARIYĀYASUTTA: The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* is a discourse of the Buddha placed as the first *Sutta* of the collection of middle-length discourses of the *Sutta Pitaka*, the *Majjhimanikāya*. According to the information provided in the Sutta itself, it was preached by the Buddha when he was dwelling in Ukkatthā, at the foot of a royal Sāla tree in the Subhaga Grove. As related in Buddhaghosa's commentary to the *Sutta*, it was taught with the specific objective of shattering the conceit of five hundred bhikkhūs, who were formerly accomplished in the Vedic learning. They had become overconfident about their intellectual grasp of the teaching of the Buddha and consequently become disrespectful to the teacher and negligent in their duties. The manner in which the Buddha had presented his teaching in this particular Sutta would have been definitely challenging to anyone who had developed such simplistic overconfidence. In almost all instances in the *Suttas* where the Buddha had taught the *dhamma* to the *bhikkhūs* on his own initiative, they had invariably expressed their delight. Perhaps it was due to the challenge posed by this discourse that the bhikkhus who listened to it did not express their delight regarding what was taught.

The Buddha begins the discourse by expressing his intention to talk about the root of everything (*sabbadhammānam mūlapariyāyam*). In order to understand the full significance of the *Sutta*, directing one's attention to its mere literal meaning is insufficient. The profundity of what is conveyed in the *Sutta* can only be grasped by paying adequate attention to the cryptic expressions used by the Buddha relating them to the principal objective of the Buddha's teaching, which is the liberation of man from bondage to perpetual suffering. As in the case of the *Brahmajāla Sutta*, which is placed as the first in the collection of long disourses (*Dīghanikāya*), the fact that this Sutta is placed as the first in the collection of middle-length discourses is not without significance. Both discourses are challenging to those imprisoned in habitual emotive and cognitive patterns of responding to the world of experience. The Brahmajāla Sutta points out how one becomes enmeshed in the web of speculative views, thereby wasting one's energies on the construction of metaphysical dogmas that eventually lead to one or the other of the two extreme dogmatic positions, eternalism (*sassatavāda*) and annihilationism (*ucchedavāda*). Both dogmatic positions, eternalism and annihilationism are identified as forming the core of wrong views (*micchāditthi*), at the root of which is the notion of the ego (*sakkāyaditthi*) that hinders a person's freedom from bondage to the cyclic process of suffering. The objective of the *Mūlapariyaya Sutta* appears to be an exploration of the deep rooted sources of the same malady that characterizes the cognitive and emotive constitution of enenlightened beings. As the name of the *Sutta* itself suggests, the Buddha's intention in the *Sutta* is to explore the root of existence. However, it is not done in the manner of one, who constructs dogmatic speculative systems, leading to the affirmation of transcendental entities. It is done by a thorough analysis of the workings of the perceptual and cognitive processes of human beings with a view to unravelling the psychological sources of human bondage.

The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* mentions four distinguishable levels of understanding at which people interact with the world of experience. The first and the lowest is that of the uninstructed ordinary person (*assutavā puthujjano*), who has not had the fortune to meet with the noble ones , the morally elevated individuals, and has had neither the opportunity to become proficient in their teaching nor to acquire the discipline that accords with such teaching. The second is that of the person who is on the path of training, aspiring to the incomparable release from bondage to suffering. The third is that of the worthy one, the Arahant, who is released from all bondage, who needs no further training, whose cankers are eradicated, who has fulfilled all the requirements of the path, laid aside the burden, and attained the ultimate goal of liberation. The forth is that of the fully enlightened Buddha, The Tathāgata.

The point of the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* can be properly understood only by paying careful attention to these four levels of understanding distinguished therein. The terminological variation in describing the responses of individuals at each distinct level of eperience is significant. The data of experience taken into account at each response level are the same. The *Sutta* has taken into account as exhaustively as possible all the data of common experience as well as the data recognized in ontological conceptual schemes Including that

of Buddhism known at that time. In its enumeration of the data in terms of the categories familiar to the thought of the time, it begins with the grossest ones that constitute the material world. They are the four primary elements, earth (*pathavi*), water (*āpo*), fire (*tejo*) and air (*vāyo*) which represent the four "basic behavioural patterns of matter-extension, cohesion, radiation, and oscillation".[1] The next set of categories enumerate sentient existence in terms of the Buddhist cosmological scheme begninning with the lowest, referred to as *bhūta*, 'living beings' and ascending to the realm of heavenly beings designated in a progressive order of superiority and ending with the highest point of sentient existence expressed in terms of the meditative refinement of consciousness as the realm of neither perception nor non-perception (*nevasaññanasa ññayātanam*). The third takes into account all the data of experience in terms of their perceptual bases as whatever is seen (*ditthaṃ*), whatever is heard (*sutaṃ*) wheatever is sensed by smell, taste or touch (*mutaṃ*) and whatever is mentally cognized (*viññātam*). From this point onwards the *Sutta* mentions the more abstract categories, unity, diversity, and totality, and finaly, *nibbāna*. Special note should be taken of the fact that *nibbāna* a term used to designate the ultimate goal of Buddhism is also included in the enumeration.

The main point made in the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* is that the uninstructed ordinary worldling's congnitive response to the phenomena conceived under the above conceptual categories does not involve a higher level of cognition that culminates in a comprehensive understanding. The uninstructed worldling remains within the confines of what the Buddha considered as the *saññā* level of perception. He does not attempt to progress to a higher level of cognition. Therefore, according to the *Sutta*, his cognitive relationship with the data conceived in terms of earth (*pathavi*), etc. is only from the perspective of *saññā* (*pathavim pathavito samjānāti*). Since he remains at the level of *saññā* he exhibits a pattern of psychological response referred to in the *Sutta* as *Maññati*. *Maññati* is a word derived from the root *man* "to think", and it literally means minding.

It connotes the proliferation of thought and imagination involving an egocentric concern that eventually engenders unwholesome emotions. The *Sutta* mentions four ways in which such imaginative reconstruction of the data of experience takes place. It attempts to express what goes on in the mind of the perceiver by putting the designative noun representing the datum in different declensions. If we take the datum earth (*paṭhavi*) as an example, the accusative, locative, and ablative are used respectively as *paṭhaviṃ paṭhaviyā* and *paṭhavito*, finally relating the datum to oneself by assuming ownership of it (*paṭhaviṃ me ti maññati*). Bhikkhu Bodhi renders it as "He conceives earth ; he conceives in earth ; he conceives from earth ; he conceives 'earth is mine.'"[2] According to Bhikkhu Bodhi, these four modes in which the necessarily unwholesome thought process of the uninstructed worldling proceeds has, deep ontological significance. He points out that this pattern of thinking represents an attempt by the worldling 'to give postive being to the conceptual negativity of the intended ego, by positing a relationship between himself as the subject of cognition and the perceived phenomenon as its object."[3] This is a mistaken attempt based on the lack of comprehensive understanding of the nature of the diverse relationships invlolved in a perceptual situation. The point becomes evident from the explanation given of the unenlightened worldling's response to each of the categories mentioned, showing as to why he responds in that manner. "What is the reason for this ?" the Buddha asks, and explains," Because he has not fully comprehended it." (*tam kissa hetu ? apariññātam tassā ti vadāmi*) "There is an unwarranted attempt to presuppose an "I" or self. The thinking patern of the uninstructed person is plagued by this delusive endency leading to imagination in terms of "I and X", "I inhere in X", "I am distinct or have emanated from X". In the fourh instance of what goes on as *maññati*, one seeks to appropriate the phenomenon as of oneself with the thought "X is mine".

1 See Bhikkhu Bodhi *The Descourse on he Root of Existence* (Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, 1992) p.3.

2 *ibid*. p.9.

3 *Ibid*.

The discourses of the Buddha repeatedly emphasize the tendency to cling to the notion of a self. It is the essence of what Buddhism calls ignorance (*avijjā*). The notion of a separate selfhood is no simple or innocuous error in human thinking. It is at the core of all unwholesome emotions. What Buddhism describes as psychological cankers proceed from this notion. The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* is immediately followed by the *Sabbāsava Sutta* according to the traditionally accepted editorial arrangement of the *Suttas* of the *Majjhimanikāya*. In the latter, the Buddha points out that the destruction of cankers becomes possible for the person who knows and sees, but not for the person who does not know and see. The knowing and seeing here is related to a wise and guided direction of the mind (*yoniso manasikāra*). The thought pattern attributed to the uninstructed worldling in the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* is a typical instance of unwise thinking (*ayoniso manasikāra*). As Bhikkhu Bodhi aptly observes "The notion of an ego is the anchor of our impulses to grasp and to possess, the root of our attachments and aversions, and via these, the root of our suffering."[4] The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* implies that the eventual pleasure seeking tendency of the mind that assumes the form of a deep rooted latent tendency (*anusaya*) to craving or lust (*taṇhā, rāga*) proceeds from the notion of the ego. The process described by the term *maññati*, as pointed out in the *Sutta*, leads finally to taking delight, or seeking pleasure and gratification with intense craving and attachment to the objects of experience (*rūpaṃ abhinandati*).

The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* has as its main theme one that recurs in many other discourses of the Buddha that offer a psychological analysis of the arising of suffering. In all such instances reference to the invariable connetion between the unreflective mechanical response to the world of sense experience and the engendering of unwholesome process of thought involving the bondage of the person to the continued process of *dukkha* is evident. Reference to the sources of conflict in the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*[5], the *Sakkapañha Sutta* [6] and the *Mahānidāna Sutta*[7] of the *Dīgahanikāya* and the constant allusions to the deceptive role of *Saññā* in the *aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*[8] are some of the more conspicuous examples. The *Madhupiṇḍika* and *Sakkapañha* Suttas explain the problem of human bondage relating it to the concept of *papañca*. The pattern of thought atributed in the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* to the uninstructed worldling can also be considered as typically exemplifying the thought pattern designated in Buddhist psychology as *papañca*.

After dealing with the uninstructed worldling, the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* directs attention to the way in which the trainee (*sekha*) in the Buddha's path of emancipation responds to the same categories of experience previously enumerated with reference to the uninstructed worldling. The learner is one who has not yet fulfilled all the requirements of the Buddhist path of emancipation, but who has attained one of the three stages of progress towards the final goal. Such a person has not yet become an *asekho* (one who needs no further training). He may have attained the stage of *sotāpati*, (stream entry), *sakadāgāmi* (status of being once returner) or *anāgāmi* (status of being non-returner). Any one who has entered the path or attained the fruit of any of these three stages is also distinguished from the unistructed worldling and is called an *ariyapuggala* (a noble person). It is to be noted that the word used to denote the cognitive response of such a trainee is *abhijānati* suggesting that he has transcended the *saññā* mode of response of the ordinary worldling. Although the conceptual structures of the ordinary worldling such as *paṭhavi* still remain the mind of the trainee, he understands the relations invloved differently, i.e. from the higher perspective of a cultivated understanding (*abhijānati*). Yet, until the attainment of the destruction of cankers or attainment of Arahantship, the emancipation of mind of the learner is not complete. Therefore, the Buddha urges the learner who has cultivated the understanding of all the data such as *pathavi* from that perspective, to refrain from engaging in the kind of distorted thinking that goes on in the mind of the uninstructed worldling. He is urged to exercise such restraint because he is yet to understand comprehensively (*pariññeyyaṃ tassa*) the nature of those data so that all the residual corruptibility in his mind would eventualy be destroyed.

[4] Ibid p.2
[5] Majjhimanikāya Vol. I p.108f
[6] Dīghanikāya Vol. 2. p.263f
[7] Ibid. p. 55f.

[8] Aṭṭhakavagga emphasizes the necessity to comprehend saññā and to cultivate detachment towards it. — Suttanipata 779 Sn. 847 ; Obsessive thought is due to saññā (saññānidānā hi papañcasankhā) Sn. 874 ; those who grasp saññā and dogmatic views (diṭṭhi) come into conflict with the world.—Sn. 847

The Arahant has already overcome all corruptibility. Therefore, he does not engage in any of the distorted imaginative thinking that produces suffering. He is one who has already fully comprehended the nature of all phenomena (*pariññātaṃ tassa*). He has undergone a complete tranformation in the emotive and cognitive structure of his personality. This distinguishable nature of the Arahant's response is explained by saying that his thinking pattern is such, because he has eradicated lust, hatred and delusion and is entirely free from them (*khayā rāgassa vitarā gattā... khayā dosassa vitadosattā... khayā mohassa vitamohattā*).

Finally the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* speaks about the Buddha's response to the enumerated categories. According to the *Sutta*, the Buddha's response is not diffenent from that of the Arahants, his disciples who had attained the destruction of cankers. However, there is a distinction made between the Buddha's comprehension of these categories and the comprehension of them by the other Arahants. The Buddha's response to them is explanied as a consequence of 'fully comprehending them to the end' (*pariññāttam tathā gatassa*).[9] The suggestion is that there was greater perfection in his understanding, he being the person who was able to penetrate through the veil of ignorance for the first time without the aid of any other teacher. There is also a second explanation given in the *Sutta* for the Buddha's enlightened response. The Buddha has seen that hankering after things, seeking delight in them is the source of suffering (*nandidukkhassa mūlanti iti viditvā*). He has seen the relationship between such hankering after things and the process of becoming causing the birth of beings. One who thus enters the process of becoming has to go through decay and death. This causal nexus has been discovered by the Buddha with his unaided insight and therefore he could rightfully claim to be the person who has attained incomparable full enlightenment.

The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* puts *nibbāna* as the last category to which one is likely to respond inappropriately. This reminds us of the admonition in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* that "those who really understand should abandon even good things ; and much more should they abandon the bad things" (*ājānantehi dhammā pi pahātabbā pageva adhammā*). The *Mulapariyaya sutta* draws attention to the fact that in the process of recognizing the world of experience through our familiar conceptual schemes, we consider our experience not as a complex of dependent relations, but as a relation between an object of experience and an enduring ego. The presupposition of a non-existent ego is made by relating the perceived object in different ways to an imagined self. This is the delusion that keeps us in bondage to the cyclic process of becoming. This delusion has to be overcome at all levels. Even identifying ourselves with a more refined category like *nibbāna* would not help. The only way to overcome it is to develop a higher level of understanding that puts a halt to mere habitual and mechanical responses, paving the way thereby, to the full comprehension of the nature of everything however refined it may be.

P. D. Premasiri.

MŪLASARVĀSTIVĀDA see SARAVĀSTIVĀDA

[9] Note that in the PTS edition of the *Sutta*, the ending *tam* has been omitted whereas the commentarial explanation of the corresponding passage specifically notes that it is to be taken as *pariññātantam* and not *pariññātam*. By the time of the commentaries the attribution of omniscience to the Buddha had become established in the Theravada tradition. So the explanation is in terms of the distinction between the limited knowledge of the ordinary Arahant and the omniscience of the Buddha.

MŪLĀYATANA. Mūlās (or Mūlāyatanas) were ancient religious foundations dating from the Anuradhapura period and every *bhikkhu* in the island appear to have attached himself to one of them. The headquarters of many of these *āyatanas* were originally at Anuradhapūra (for example, Uttaramūla which is the same as Uttarālha or Uturulumula mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa*). Some of the principal colleges of the Abhayagiri monastery such as the Uttaramula and Kappūramūla, maintained themselves (after the fall of Anuradhapura Kingdom) in the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1056-1111) and in the decades following his death. The grammarian Moggallāna, who made the Velaikkāra forces agree to the protection of the Tooth Relic during the troubles that followed the death of Vijayabahu (I), (is stated in the Tamil inscription set up by the mercenaries) to have belonged to the Uttaramūla fraternity. The shrine of the Tooth Relic was entrusted to the mercenaries (Velaikkāras) by this grammarian Moggallāna-thera. King Vijayā bahu's daughter Yasodharā is said to have built an image house for the Kappūramūla.

In the reign of Jayabahu I (1108-1145) there had been eight *mūlāyatanas*. The *Cūlavamsa* states that the heads of these eight *āyatanas* were given eight *vihā ras* by Parakramabahu II (1234-1269). But these eight *āyatanas* have not been named. The word *mūla* appears to be synonymous with *samūha* which means a group. It may mean the headquarters of a particular institution or group of monks. They were mostly of an educational character. In an inscription from Kottange, the term Vilgammūla (P. sarogāmamūla) occurs. Several authors who flourished in the 14th century belonged to this institution.

In the tablets of Mahinda IV (975-991) there is a reference to *mūlāyatanas*. In another inscription of about the same period, there is a reference to Kapārā mula of the Pūrvārāma. Both Kapārāmula (P. Kappuramula) and Vilgammūla were connected to the monastery at Abhayagiri. In like manner was Uttaramū la which was of a more important character. In a Sinhala classical text named *Pūjāvaliya*, it is stated that Uttaramūla and Vādummula (Vādumūla, Vahadumula, Vāhadī pa-mula ?) were constructed by King Mā navamsha (691-726 A. D.) These two *mūlas* have been mentioned in *Daladā Sirita* (14th C.) *Anuruddha-sataka*, a Sanskrit text in verse was composed by a monk belonging to this fraternity. He was also the author of *Abhidhammattha-samgaha*. In an inscription of Kassapa V (929-939) Kapārāmūla has been mentioned as one connected with Abhayagiri. *Pūjāvali* (of which mentioned has been made of earlier) was composed by a monk named Buddhaputra who was of the fraternity named Mahanettapāsādamūla. *Vuttamāla* (a verse composition of the 14th C.) was composed by a monk named Gatārā-upatapasvi who had connection with the Senāpatimūla.

Towards the end of the reign of Parakramabahu II (1234-1269) convocation was held (in 1266 A. D.) to purge the *samgha* of its undesirables. A formal act of the order embodying rules for the conduct of its members was also promulgated. This document which is known as Dambadeni-Katikāvata gives information about the ecclesiastical officers which then existed.

At the head of all the *bhikkhus* in the island at that time was the hierarch who is referred to as Mahāsvāmi (S. āhimi), or Nāyaka. Under this hierarch were two dignitaries with the title mahāsthavira (S. mahathera) one placed over village dwelling monks (*grāmavāsi*) and the other over forest dwelling monks (*āranyakas*). Next in order of importance in the hierarchy came the heads of the eight *āyatanas* (S. *ayatān*) which are also referred to as mulas (literally 'herds') These were (1) Galaturumula (P. Selantarāyatana-mūla) (2) Uturumula (P. Uttaramūla) (3) Vilgammula (P. Sarogāmamūla) (4) Mahanetpāmula (P. Mahanettapāsādamūla) (5) Pañca-mūla (S. Pasmahamūla) (6) Kapāramūla (P. Kappu-ramūla) (7) Senāpatimūla, (P. Senāpatimūla) (8) Vahadiv, Vahadumula (P. Vāhadīpaka).

Selantara-samūha-vihāra (S. Galaturumula) appears to have been near Mahagama. When Parakramabahu I

(1153-1186) held a convocation to purge the *samgha* and clean the Augean stables, it was presided over by Mahākassapa-*thera* of Dimbulagala (P. Udubaragiri). There were other great *theras* who were present there. One the abbots of Selantara-samuha represented the monks of Rohana. After the convocation, the corporate existence of Abhayagiri and Jetavana fraternities ceased for ever but colleges of the Abhayagiri such as Uttaramūla and Selantara-samūha, maintained their identity within the framework of the Māhāvihāra constitution, for 3 or 4 centuries after this date. The antiquity of Selantarāyatana goes back to at least the time of Vijayabāhu I (1056-1111) if not earlier, for we hear of his daughter Yasodharā donating a *pāsāda* for the monks of Selantarāyatana (Galaturumula). Samgharākkhita (author of *Vuttodaya*) who was a pupil of Sāriputta-*thera* (who flourished in the reign of Parakramabahu I), speaks of the *thera* of Selantarā yatana as one of his teachers. The Pāli work named *Vuttamālā* refers to this institution as Upalantara-mū la. The head of this fraternity is spoken of by this author in very praiseworthy terms. In the reign of Vī rabāhu II (1391-1396) a convocation of the *samgha* was held by the *thera* Dhammakitti (author of *Nikāya Samgrahaya*), in collaboration with his colleague Galaturumula Maha *Thera*.

Uttaramūla was one of the offshoots of the Abhayagiri sect. In the Tamil inscripiton of the Velaikkā ras this name has been spelt as Uttorulamula, Uturala, Uttarola, Uttarālha are other variations in spelling of the same name. The headquarters of this fraternity was probably at the Uttarole-vihāra build by King Mā navamma (691-726) and given to the monks of the Abhayagiri Vihāra for having consented to take into the order his elder brother, in spite of the fact that he had lost one eye as the result of some *yoga* practices. The first cheif of Uttarola was the king's brother himself, and he was in charge of the monks. He was granted great honours and privileges together with five classes of servants to minister to him. He was also appointed to supervise the guardians of the Tooth Relic. From an inscription of Mānavamma we learn that he kept up his patronage of the Uttaramūla Nikā ya. It is also stated that he gave over the custodianship of the Tooth Relic to a monk of this fraternity named Moggallāna (E. Z. II p. 250) The author of *Anuruddha Sataka* and *Abhidhammattha-samgaha* describes himself in the colophon to the former work as an "Upasthavira" of the Uttaramula Nikāya. In later years this Nikāya produced many illustrious literary figures such as the grammarian Moggallāna, Vilgammula Maha Thera and Srī Rāhula.

During the reign of Parakramabahu II (1234-1269) every year, the Tooth Relic was taken in procession round the capital city and exhibited to the populace. The casket containing the Relic was taken out for its progress through the streets of the city. It was taken out in the presence of the head of the Uttaramūla College and placed on an ornamental chariot. When the relic was taken out of the casket, the seals were broken in the presence of the king, the head of the Uttaramūla College and some other dignitaries. Once the exhibition was over, the Relic was placed back in the casket in the presence of the king. An examination of these facts makes it evident that the Uttaramūla (Uturulumula or Uttarālha) College, with the cult of the Tooth Relic was associated in the Anuradhapura period (*Cū lavamsa*, lvii, v. 20-22) continued to hold that position till the 14th century.

Sarasigāmamūla or Vilgammula also produced some scholars of repute. The well known author who was the author of the *Elu Bodhivamsa*, was sometines referred to in his life time as Parakramabāhu-mahā-sthavira (according to the colophon of *Sūryasataka-sanne*). That was because he was the incumbent of Parakaramabāhu- parivena, founded by the monarch who was the 4th of that name, (about the year 1325/6 A. C.) This great Elder was also the head of the Sarogamamūla fraternity. It therefore appears that a religieux of these days could be the head of a *parivena* while being a member of one of the *āyatanas*. Some of

these *parivenas*, due to the personal distinctions of their heads and the endowments which they disposed of, wielded great influence in the body politic. Appointments as heads of such institutions required the unanimous consent of the *samgha* and the approval of the king. The incumbencies of the lesser *parivenas* were allocated by the Mahāsāmi without reference to the *samgha* as a body, or obtaining the approval of the king.

The author of the Pāli poem *Vuttamālā-sandesa-sataka*, Gatārā Parivena Upatapassi, calls himself the nephew of Sarasi-Gāma-Mula-Mahā-Sāmi, incumbent of the Jātigama monastery (*sarasi- gāma-mula-maha-samino-bhagineyya bhutena-racitayam*). Sarasi-gāma-mula (or Saro-gāma-mula) is the same as Sinhala Vilgammula (the Vilgam being Seruvavila) the modern Thoppur (in Trincomalee district) The author therefore belonged to the Saro-gāma fraternity. In this work there is a description of the chief Buddhist monastery. Names of eminent scholars who flourished at the time are also mentioned. This poem was written during the time of Parākramabāhu V (1344-1359) of Dedigama. The Mahāthera of the Lanka Senevirat Pririvena, the author of *Vimukti Samgraha*, written during the reign of Vikramabahu III (1357-1374), was a pupil of Vilgammula Maha Thera. A Sinhala poem called *Sandakindurudākava* (based on *Candakinnara Jātaka*) was also composed by an author who came of the Vilgammula fraternity.

Totagamuve Sri Rāhula Samgharāja who lived during the reign of Parakramabahu VI (1412-1467) of Kotte refers to himself as *Uturumula Maha Teriñdu Munuburu* (grandson of the Great Thera of Uttaramūla) He was a poet and grammarian and was president of Vijayabahu *Parivena* at Totagamuva and was probably a member of the royal family. He was a master of Six languages in addition to his own. He is credited with the authorship of *Parevi* and *Sālalihini Sandesas*, *Kāvyasekharaya*, *Moggāllana-pañjikā-pradipa* and the *Pada-sādhana-tikā*.

Mahānettapasadāmūla, according to the Cūlvamsa, was founded by Aggabodhi (V) (726-732) (*kāretvana pariccehedam Mahānettādipadakam*). It finds mention in the Anuradhapura slab inscription of Kassapa V (927-929) as Mahanetpā. This was a monastery (referred to as a *mūla* in subsequent times) for the incumbent of which Vijayabahu I (1056-1111) build a *Vihāra* in Vātagiri. The most illustrious *thera* who belonged to this fraternity lived in the 15th century during the reign of Parakramabāhu VI of Kotte. He was the author of *Buduguṇālamkāraya*, *Lovadasangarāva* and *Kavlakunuminimaldama*. He is generally known as Vidāgama Mahasami and was a monk renowned for his piety. Authorship of *Hamsa-sandesa* has also been attributed to him. Parakramabahu (VI) is said to have been helped in his youth by Vidāgama-Mahāsami of Mahanetpāmula at Rayigama. The name of the educational establishment at Rayigama was called Sri Ghanānanda Parivena. He is also referred to as Maitreya Mahā Thera, contemporary of Sri Rahula Samgharaja of Totagamuva.

Kappūru-parivena, a buidling in Abhayagiri-vihāra, was erected by King Dathopatissa II (664-673). Later Aggabodhi IV (673-689) build a *pasada* there. Sena I (846-866) erected a *pariccheda* (probably rows of single cells). With regard to the building by Dathopatissa II, the words of the chronicler are : In the Abhayattara (vihāra) he built the Kappūra-parivena and he build the *vihāra* called Tiputthulla and added it to the same *vihāra*. With regard to the erection of *pāsādas* in this Kappura-parivena monastery by Aggabodhi IV, the *Cūlavamsa* says that, as he was a wealthy man, he granted villages (for its maintenance). When Sena I was still *Mahādipāda*, he built in the Kappuraparivena and in the Uttarālha-parivena, single cells which bore his name. The word used in the *Cūlavamsa* is *pariccheda* (which is a term difficult of explanation). It may have been meant to mean 'single cells for the

inmates' Kappūra-parivena is mentioned in the Anuradhapura Slab inscription of Kassapa V (929-939). This institution is referred to as Kappūramūlā yatana in the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1056-1111). Yasodharā the king's daughter is said to have built a massive, charming and large image house (within the percincts)

Kappūramūlāyatane rañño dhātā Yasodharā
Akāresi thiram · rammam mahamtam patimāgharam (*Cv.* 60-84)

An author, about whom much information is not available, is referred to as Pañca-parivena adhipati (*Pancamūla-parivenādhipati*) (S. *Pas mula-mahasā mi*). He was the author of *Bhesajja-mañjūsa*, a medical work written in Pāli verse. This is the only medical work of its kind still extant. According to the *Culavamsa*, it was written during the reign of Parā kramabāhu II (1234-1269) of Dambadeniya. (*Cv.* 97-59). This institution named Pañcamūla-parevena is mentioned in the reign of Gajabāhu II (1131-1153). At the time an ascetic named Abhaya was the chief. (*Cv.* 67.61). The medical work named was written (in the words of the *Cūlavamsa*) : by that discerning *thera*, assiduous in well-doing, who was head of the *Bhikkhus* dwelling in the Pañcaparivena, with the wish that thus who have devoted themselves to the spiritual life should be spared illness. Saranamkara Samgharāja who flourished in the reign of Kirttisri-Rājasimha (1747-1782) wrote a commentary to it. It has been said that this medical work is a collection of recipes of the character of the Indian *Bhaisajyaratnāvali*. As it was composed for the use of monks, the earlier part of the commentary (*sanne*) may have been written by the author himself. It is quite possible that the author has drawn a great deal of the material from Sanskrit medical texts of the time. The work is divided into 60 sections - charms, incantations, auspicious times etc. Treatment of women and children has not been included in this text. As the *sanne* to *Bhesajjamanjusā* is also mentioned in *Pancikāpradipaya* of Sri Rahula (15th C) the commentary of Saranamkara Samgaharaja was probably a revised work of the earlier document. *Yogaratnākaraya*, in the colophon (14th C) says that the *Manjusā*, a medical work was composed by Atthadassi Thera about the year 1267. If this information is correct, the author is undoubtedly the Pañca-mūla-parivenadhipā. The *Bhesajja Manjusā* is also mentioned in a Burmese inscription in Pagan, dated 1442 (Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 108). It is possible that the author wrote a *Tīkā* (sub-commentary) and Saranamkara Samgharaja wrote a paraphrase in the 18th century.

To the same thera i. e. author of *Bhesajjamanjusā* (13th C.) is also attributed the authorship of *Sikka pada-valañjanaya*, the Pali translation of the sinhala *Sikha Valañda and Sikha valañda-vinisa* (according to the Preface to *Sikhavalañda* by D. B. Jayatilaka). The author of the Sinhala work is unknown. Both Pāli and Sinhala works contain quotations from *Samantapā sādikā* and other works on *Vinaya*. The Sinhala work belongs to the early part of the 10th century. the author of the Pali work states that it is a translation of the Sinhala original. It is however not a word to word translation but an abridged compilation of the original. The author gives clue to his identity but in copies of his work made by later day scribes is usually found the subscription "The *Sikkha-pada-valañjanaya* of Pañca-mula-Parivevādhipati MahaThera".

Seneviratmula (Senapātimūla, Camupatimūla) was founded by a minister called Potthasata in the reign of Aggabodhi IV (673-689).

Potthasatavhayo pañño Vihare Jeta nāmake
Senapati rājanāmam parivenam samāpayi
(*Cūlavamsa* 46, 22-23)

In later times this institution became headquarters of several other *vihāras*. The name occurs in an inscription from Anuradhapura (now in the Anuradhapura Museum and datable to the 10th century) *Senevirad Mula vu vana-sang Mahalu Sangu......*) Batalagodavava inscription of Queen Kalyānavati (datable to about the year 1207) says that this *pirivena* was build (probably some *pāsādas* attached to it) by Lakvijaya San Siñgu. Donations made to the *pirivena* are mentioned here. The pāli poem

Vuttamālā of the reign of Parākramabāhu V (1344-1359) mentions the *thera* of Senāpatimūla as residing in the Kingdom at Dedigama. The name of the institution occurs again in Palkumbura Sannasa in the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI of Kotte (1472-1480). Senevirat Mula Maha Thera Sāmi is referred to here. He was probably a successor to the hierarch who lived at the time *Vuttamālā* was composed.

Vāhadīpaka (S. Vahadu-Mula) was founded, according to the *Pujāvaliya* (13th C.) in the reign of Mā navamma (691-726). The founder's name is given as Māhalapāna (who was no other than Mānavamma himself). It is called Vahadumula. Later Aggabodhi VII (781-787) build some *pāsādas* (within its premises). Udaya I (901-912) build the Senaggabodhi-pabbata-pāsāda for the use of the inmates of this monastery. Agghabodhi IX (843-846) rebuild the ruined *pāsāda* in Vahadipa monastery. Thus institution is also referred to in the Anuradhapura Slab inscription of Kassapa V (929-939) along with Mahanettapāsādamula. In another inscription from Abhayagiri are (published in *E. Z. I.*) there is a reference to a monastery (in line No. 9) which is believed to be Vahadipaka (*Vaha) due veherat lakar magul piriven karay..* in the relevant reading of line No. 9. The reading *Vahadu* is conjectural.

Māhābodhivamsa-gatapadaya (12th C.) also refers to this monastery as Vādu. The name of this monastery occurs againg in *Daladā Sirita* (which may be attributed to about the year 1325)

An institution called Dakkhinamula finds mention in the *Mahāvamsa* in the reign of Vohārika Tissa (215-237). In the Abhayagiri-vihara and in the *vihara* called Dakkhinamula (this king) caused to be placed parasols over the *stupas* of these *vihāras* (*Mhv.* 36, 33). This appears to be different from that founded by Saddhā tissa (*Mhv.* 33, 7). It has been called Dakkhinagiri, and was situated in Anuradhapura. From Kaludiyapokuna inscription we learn that the ancient name of the monastery of Kaludiyapokuna was Dakinigiri (P. Dakkhinagiri). It is likely that Dakkhinagiri and Dakkhinamula were names used indifferently for the same monastery, referred to in the Kaludiyapokuna inscription. As such it is possible to regard it as one of the so-called *mūlas* (although not positively certain). Dakkinagari monastery (of the Kaludiyapokuna inscription) was in the neighbuorhood of Kaludiyapokuna in Matale District. Ruins of a *stūpa* and several buildings indicate that there had been a monastery at the site. Three inscriptions were found at the place and two of them have been published. In one of these is found the word *Dakinigiri-veher (P. Dakkhinagiri-vihara)*. To this monastery several pious individuals (who have been named) have donated *salā ka-bhatta* (ticket-meals). One such donor was Dalanā (P. Dāthānāga) who gave 23 *kalañdas* of gold for giving ticket-meals to monks. The inscription which is in characters of about the 9th century, has been dated in the 12th year of a monarch named Sirisangabo (P. Sirisañgabodhi) who could have been either Sena II (866-901) or Kassapa IV (912-929)

According to the *Cūlavamsa* (38/46) this monastery was restored by Dhātusena (463-479) and Kassapa V (929-939) granted a village for its maintenance. (*Cv.* 52/60) The *Cūlavamsa* also refers to a monastery called Dakkhinagiridalha vihāra for which Aggabodhi I (564-598) erected an assembly hall for holding the *uposatha* festival. (*Dakkhinagiridalhavhe.... cā'kā vihāre posathālaye*). It was once the residence of Appihā Sāmanera and of Kalabuddharakkhita Thera.

If the monastery named Dakkhinagiri (Or Dakkhinamūla) is to be regarded as an institution coming within the meaning of '*mūla*'. it is possible that it was also performing the functions mainly of an educational character. There is hardly any information available about the hierarchs who were associated with it or of literary activities conducted at the place.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

MUNI : The *PTS* Dictionary defines the word as one who has taken the vow of silence. Etymologically, the word is connected to Vedic *mūka*, which means silent, dumb, and form the Pāli *mukha* derived from the root *mu*, giving the meaning of mouth or face. Another meaning the word imports is "inspired" or "moved by the sprit".

The commentator, Dhammapāla, describes *muni* as a holy man, a sage, a wise man (*VvA* 114 and 231) in the *Brahmanas*, the word *muni* has a specialized meaning but in the Buddhist texts it is applied generally to any man striving to attain perfection in self-restraint and insight. It occurs in very old collections of Buddhist poetry such as the *Suttanipāta* and the *Dhammapada*. *Munibhāva* means Munihood which inplies meditation, self-denial and abandoning the house-hold life. In the *Dhammapada* commentry (*DhpA*. III 521) is found an explanation of *Munayo* as "*Moneyya-patipadāya-maggaphalam pattā asekhā munayo*". It is a refence to an arahant who has attained the fruit of the path by the practice of moral perfection.

With regards to the meaning of silence contained in *muni* what is stressed in the Buddhist texts is the idea that one does not become a *muni* merely by observing the vow of silence :

Na monena muni hoti
mūlharūpo aviddasu
Yo ca tulam va paggayha
varam ādāya pandito Dhp. 268

"Pāpāni parivajjeti
sa muni tena so muni
Yo munāti ubho loke
muni tena pavuccati" Dhp. 269

"Not by silence (alone) does he who is
dull and ignorant becomes a sage ; but that wise man who as if holding a pair of scales, embraces the best and shuns evil, is indeed a sage"

Dhp. v. 268

For that reason is a sage, He who understands both worlds is therefore, called a sage.

Dhp. v. 269

(Translated by Narada Thera)

The *PTS* Dictionary continues that the commentarial and *Abhidhamma* Literature have produced several schedules of *muni* qualities, especially based on the threefold division of character as revealed in action, speech and thought. Just as they are exhibited in good or bad ways of living (as *sucaritaya* and *duccaritaya*), they are applied to a deeper quality of saintship in *kāya moneyya, vaci-moneyya* and *mano-moneyya*. Niddesa 514[a] gives a division of 6 *munis* : *Agāra-muni, anagāra muni ; sekhamuni (bhikkhus)*, and *asekha muni (arahants), Paccekabhddhas* and *Tathāgatas*.

More light is shed on the meaning of *muni* when we consider other words that are either derived from or connected to it, such as *mona, moneyya and munāti* :

Mona (nt.) is derived from *Muni* and means wisdom, character, and self possession. It contains the original meaning *tunhibhāva* or state of silence.

Moneyya : (nt.) describes the state of munihood, good character and moral perfection, represented as threefold : *Kāya-moneyya, Vaci-moneyya, mano-moneyya* (*e. g. D. III. 220* ;) *Moneyya-dhamma* are the properties of a perfect character.

Munāti : the *Dhātumañjusa* gives the root as *mun*, meaning *ñana*. To be a wise man or *muni*, to think, ponder, to know.

There is a hymn in the Rgveda (Rg. *X*. 136) where the *muni* is described as a "Long haired" ascetic possessing magic powers. He is no doubt, the precursor of the ascetics of later India.

With regard to these verses, Sukumar Dutt[1] thinks that the stanzas are describing the sun and that "*kesi*" is a metaphor of the sun, but Macdonell[2] Keith[3] and also Srinivasa Iyengar[4] think *Kesi* really refers to a *muni*. Dutt points to verse 7 where it is said :

"When he with long locks hath drunk with Rudra water from the cup".

And remarks that if it refers to a *muni* it becomes nonsense whereas if it is a metaphor for the sun, it makes good sense. Whatever it be, the description is of a *muni*, whether as a metaphor of the sun or as a *muni*, plain and simple.

This figure of the *muni* is descrbied as having long hair, clad in dirty, tawny colored garments walking on air, delirious with "*maunya*" and inspired. The description shows that the author of the *Kesisutta* was filled with awe at the strange sight of the "*muni*" performing miracles whom he ignorantly thought to be delirious. It is clear that the "*muni*" was a figure alien to the Rgveda.

As time went on, Vedic seers seem to have accommodated the "*muni*" though they could not have welcomed him with open arms. *Munis* stood for a culture quite antithetical to that of the Vedas. In the *Satapatha Brahmana* (II p. 104). Tura Kāvaseya is addressed as *muni* Sankarācārya quotes a *sruti* according to which the kāvaseya seers did not see the point of Vedic study and sacrifice (commentary on the Brahmasutras III 4-9). The *Taittiriya Āranyaka*, on the other hand (I. P. 166) makes obeisance to the *munis* of Ganga and Yamunā.

Many scholars such as Piggot, M. I. C. Marshall, M. Wheeler, G. C. Pande, S Dutt, etc, are of the opinion that the *munis* originated in the ancient institution of asceticism the roots of which go back in time to the pre-vedic Indus Valley Civilization. It is believed that these ideas would have influenced Vedic Philosophers, especially during the time of the *Āranyakas* and *Upanisads*. As the Ariyanization process spread eastwards form the Punjab to the Gangetic valley, there would have been some cultural osmosis taking place. The *yogis* and *munis* in vedic literature and the *sramanas* in the age of the Buddha and Mahavira, were the survivals from pre-vedic times. The *muni* is certainly alien to the general drift of the Rgveda and the Brahmanas. G. C. Pande states :

"We find, thus that is in the Vedic period there existed two distinct religious and cultural traditions- the strictly orthodox and Aryan tradition of the Brahamanas, and at the fringe of this society, the struggling culture of the *munis* and *sramanas*, most probably going back to Pre-vedic and Pre-aryan origins. Towards the close of the Vedic period, two streams tended to mingle and the result was that great religious ferment from which Buddhism originated."[5]

The Rgveda and Brahmanas promoted a "this worldy" religion in which the dominant values were desire for children and the acquisition of wealth through the performance of sacrifice and *daksina*. This being the Vedic mind-set it is not probable that Jainism and Buddhism could have borrowed their ascetic ideal from the fourth *āsrama* of the Brahmanas. It is more probable that the ascetic vows of the *sannyāsin* were influenced by the ascetic culture that originated in the Indus valley civilization which culture persisted over the centuries as a subterranean trend in spite of Vedic domination.

Though the *muni* occurs seldom in the Vedas, perhaps because he is an alien figure of Vedic philosophy and outlook on life, Jaina and Buddhist literature of the 6th century B. C. presents a large community of

1. Vide Sukumar Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, London (1924) 1984 pp. 40 ff
2, 3 A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*.
4. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in the Age of the Mantras*
5 G. C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (Alahabad 1957) Delhi 1983 p. 261

world forsakers existing outside organized society. They were called variously *Parvirājaka, Bhikku, Samana, Yāti, Muni, Brahmacāri, Ājivaka, Sannyāsin, Yogi*, etc.

Most of these terms refer to one or the other aspects of the Paribbājaka life, and some of them were specifically said to denote a member of a particular group of religious practitioners. But the use of these terms is overlapping.... since their terms are interchangeable to a certain extent, it is very difficult to draw dividing lines between them so various scholars according to preference have chosen one or other of those terms as more representatives of the entire phenomenon."[6]

From the present point in time, it is difficult to distinguish the differences that existed among them and to separate genus from species. The *Jaccandavagga* in the *Udāna* gives a description of the *Parivrājaka* (*Paribbajaka* in Pali) community.

"*Sambahula nānātitthiya samanabrahmanā paribbājakā......*
nānādiṭṭhikā nānākhantikā nānārucikā nā nādiṭṭhiṇissayanissito"

"Numerous medicants, both *samanas* and *Brahamanas* of various denominations of various views, opinions inclinations, doctrines and doxies".

Paribbājaka and *Samanas* seem to have been a blanket term to cover all kinds of world forsakers. The main characteristic are that they leave home to lead a homeless life of celibacy in pursuit of realizing "Ultimate Reality". They live on alms and observe the rain retreat. Their basic requisites (*paccaya*) of an ascetic were *rukkhamūlasenāsana* (living at the root of trees, the latter affording the recluse the necessary shelter) *pindapāta* (going on alms rounds) *pansakū lacivara* (wearing robes made of rags collected from dust heaps) and *pūtimutta bhesajja* (using putrid urine of a cow as medicine when ill) These were the bare minimum of items necessary to sustain the ascetic life.

The Buddhist *bhikku* was not restricted to only these four though he could not complain if the four basic requisties were available to him. Besides, these features which were common to all asectics among world forsakers, it is difficult to generalize on them since they are of a miscellaneous nature following varying doctrines.

The *muni* (if we take the word to signify the strict recluse) and other forest dwelling ascetics would not have observed the rain retreat since they lived solitary lives and did not come under the regulations of a *gana cariya* (teacher of a group). The word "*bhikku*" also may have been a blanket term to cover wandering mendicants but, in the 6th century B. C. the terms came to be applied specifically to Buddhist monks. Jaina renunciates were called *Srāvakas*. Though Buddhist monks came to adopt a more settled form of celibate, coenobitic life, the texts do speak of the *muni* ideal which runs through like a tenacious fibre in the fabric of the Buddhist community of monks as presented in the texts, both in the *Suttapitaka* and the *Vinaya Pitaka*. The *muni* ideal, that of extreme asceticism, was extolled though not made compulsory for *bhikkhus*.

Words such as *appicchatā* and *kulesu ananugiddho* point to that ideal which was supposed to inspire the bhikku.

The *Nātakaragga* of the *Sutta Nipāta* contains many verses exhorting the *bhikkhu* to follow the *muni* ideal :

"*sa pindacāram caritvā vanantam abhihārayāe upaṭṭhitorukkhamūlasmim āsan upagato muni*"

Sn. v. 708

"The sage who has gone on his alms round shall betake himself to a forest glade and drawing nigh to the foot of a tree and taking his seat there."

6 Chandima Wijebandara, *Early Buddhism : Its religious and intellectual melien*, Colombo 1993.

"Sa jhānapasuto dhiro vanante ramito siyā
jhāyetha rukkhamūlasmim attānam abhitosayam" -
v. 709

"The wise sage devoted to (ecstatic) rapture (in contemplation) shall take delight in the forest glade and contemplate at the foot of a tree greatly satisfying himself" - v. 709

"yo ca jānam yatatto jānam na bahu bhāsati
sa muni monam arahati, sa muni monam ajjhagā ti" - v. 723

"And he who knows and is self-restrained : knowing (ly)
does he not speak much - he is the sage worthy of the way of the sage and he is the sage who has reached the way of the sage."

(Translation by Narada Thera)

The *Theragāthā* and *Therigāthā* also reinforce this ideal of the *muni* :
(Here is) a man with limbs the knots of the kāla plant, thin, with his veins showing, knowing moderation in food and drink, with undaunted sprit"
- v. 683

Be a forest-dweller and one who lives on alms-food
be a cemetery-dweller and one who wears rags from dust-heap ;
be one who remains in a sitting position always delighting in shaking off ; so you used to urge me, mind - v. 1120

(Translation by K. R. Norman)

Utterences in the *Thera-theri gāthā, Dhammapda* and *Suttanipāta*, not to mention the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Suttas* in the four *Nikāyas*, do give expression to this ideal, ever set before the Buddhist *bhikkhu*.

Bhikkhu is from the root *bhiks* which means an almsman, *Sannyāsin* also means and ascetic recluse.

We can safely assume that the *muni* is meant as ascetic sage. The Buddha was also referred to as Sakyamuni and everywhere we find references in the texts to *Samana Gotamo* or the ascetic Gotama.

The *munigāthā* is included in the recluse strophes in the *Suttanipātha* of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. It speaks in praise of the recluse.

The following are some examples from the *Munisutta* of the *Suttanipātha*, which give an idea of the *muni*.

"Santhavāto bhayam jātam niketā jāyate rajo
aniketam asanthavam : etam ve munidassanam" -
v. 207

"From intimacy has arisen danger, from the household (life)
arises the dust (of defilement) ; this, the homeless state and freedom
from intimacy is, indeed the vision of the sage." -v. 207

Paññābalam silavat ūpapannam
samāhitam jhānaratām satimaṁ
sangā pamuttam akhilām anāsavaṁ
tam vā pi dhirā munim vedayanti" - v. 208

"Him whose strength lies in wisdom, is endowed with virtue and (austere) vows, concentrated in mind, devoted to rapture (in contemplation) mindful, released from clinging, free from stubbornness of mind and rid of the cankers-him too, do the wise again proclaim as the sage."

v. 208

(Translation by N. A. Jayawickrama, *Suttanipāta*, Colombo 2001)

In the words of A. K. Warder the recluse "goes alone to find calm annihilating the production of future

existence, who is strong in understanding virtue and concentration, finds pleasure in meditation and self-possession, is fearless as a lion, clean as a lotus and so on."[7]

The *Khaggavisāna Sutta* in the *Suttanipāta* is another set of stanzas extolling *munihood*. It seems somewhat extreme in its advocacy of solitary wandering in pursuit of the aims of recluseship. There seems to be a tension between that kind of extreme anti-social ascetism on the one hand and the example set by the Buddha on the other hand, of ceaseless activity in the service of mankind in society.

However, the sentiments expressed in the *Khaggavisānasutta* shows clearly that the "*muni*" ideal is never far away from the Buddhist *bhikkhu*.

"Puttan ca dāram pitarañ ca mātaram
dhanāni dhaññāni ca bandhavāni
hitvāna kāmāni yathodhikāni
eko care khaggavisanakappȯ" v. 60

"Abandon son and wife, father and mother, treasures and grain and kinsmen and objects desired in accord with their limits let one fare alone like the horn of a rhinoceros." v. 60

"Sango eso parittam ettha sokhyam
app'assādo dukkham ettha bhiyyo
galo eso iti ñatvā mutimā
eko care khaggavisāna kappo" v. 61

"This (the fivefold pleasure of the senses) is a clinging, trifling is the happiness therein, it is of little enjoyment and much more is the pain herein, this is fish-hook-knowing so the man of wisdom shall fare alone like the horn of a rhinoceros."

v. 61

"Patisallānam jhānam ariñcamāno
dhammesu niccam anudhammacārī
ādīnavam sammasitā bhavesu v. 69
eko care khaggavisānakappo"

"Not giving up withdrawal (from the world in meditaiton) and (the ecstatic) rapture (in comtemplation) even faring in accord with the phenomena (conducive to attaining analytic insight) and being one who reflects on the evil consequences in the states of becoming let one fare alone like the horn of a rhinoceros"

v. 69

(Translation by N. A. Jayawickrama, *Suttanipata*, Colombo 2001)

The Buddha has bee:. represented as a *muni* in several passages in the canon (see *Kasibaradvāja Sutta* and *Pabbajjā sutta* in the *Suttanipāta*). He has also been called Sakyamuni. However, though an ascetic sage he may have been, he did not appear to hold the view one should be totally silent, specially if one had something meaningful to say[8]. The positive aspects of speech have been highlighted by the Buddha in the words "*peyyavajja*". It is a mark of treating people well, originating in feelings of amity. The Buddha often engaged visitors in pleasent polite conversation when they came seeking an audience with him, prior to his delivering a *Sutta*.

The silence of the *muni* and pleasant speech, which are both extolled in Buddhism do not present a contradiction but indicates too strands in the religious tradition. The forest dwelling recluse and the Buddhist monk residing in a monastery, both pursued their goal of liberation. The *muni* ideal finds expression in the texts of the *Vinayapitaka* as well as the *Suttapitaka*. The meaning in the context of the Buddhist philosophy is a sage who has no clinging to wordly possessions, is celibate, purifies himself through meditation and is satisfied with very few wants required for the sustenance of life.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

7. A. K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, Delhi (1970) 1991 p. 256
8. Vide Asanga Tilakaratne, *Nirvāna and ineffability*, Colombo, 1993 p. 99

MUSIC : It is generally held that Buddhism is averse to arts, particularly music and dance, and the Buddha has been quoted as dissuading his monks from indulging in music, dance or drama. But there is no evidence whatsoever that the Buddha prohibited on any grounds the laity from engaging in artistic pursuits.

According to the traditional account of the early life of Siddhârtha, the prince had received a good education in all arts and sciences, including music and dance. And as a young prince he used to be regularly entertained by singers and musicians in his palace apartment usually in the evenings. It is difficult to say how authentic is the account found in Buddhist sources about Siddhârtha's developing an aversion towards music and dance after witnessing his tired troupe of singers, musicians and dancers fallen asleep in ugly postures, for there is a very similar scence described in the Rāmāyana, in which Hanumān who surreptitiously enters the seraglio of Rāvaṇa in the dead of night witness musicians fallen asleep hugging their respective musical instruments.[1] The two descriptions are so close in details that it is almost certain that one has been influenced by the other, but it is difficult to say which is earlier.

Since the Buddha preached a doctrine that advocated detachment from sensual pleasures, we cannot expect him to have encouraged his followers to indulge in music, dance and drama. He was in fact worried that his less disciplined monks were in the habit of visiting in secret hill-top carnivals (*giragga-samajjas*) and other festivals that went gay with music, dance and other forms of entertainment.[2] He was, therefore, reluctantly complelled to forbid such monks to visit such shows. However, the Buddha's listing dance, song and music along with unseemly shows (*nacca-gīta-vādita-visukadassana*) would suggest that music he was referring to was of the same quality as 'unseemly shows', that aroused feelings of the people and left them in the lurch in spite of enlightening and ennobling them.[3] There is no evidence that he ever despised noble art. On the other hand, he was a good critic of music. Once after listening to a vocal recital by the divine musician Pañcasikha to his own music, the Buddha is reported to have commented on the presentation in the following terms : 'O Pañcasikha, your music did not drown your singing, neither did your singing drown your music. Both your singing and music were mutually supportive of each other'[4].

References to Music in Buddhist Literature :

There are numerous references to music and dance in Buddhist literature. The *Cullavagga* makes several references to *samajjas* (Sk. *samāja*)*and also to the so called giragga-samajjas* or *girivalgu-samāgamas* (hill-top carnivals) which were frequented even by ministers and other dignitaries.[5] These carnivals provided all sorts of entertainment attracting people from all quarters. Not only monks but even nuns used to visit such shows on the sly. Instances where nuns too were forbidden to go to see dancing or to listen to singing and music are found in the *Suttavibhaṅga*.[6]

These unwholesome spectacles were collectively called *visūkadassana* and included among other things song, music, dance, drama (*pekkham* ; Sk. *prekṣā*), ballad recitations (*ākkhānam*) and pantomime (*sobhanagarakam*). Music and dance presented in these shows must have been of a debased kind arousing feelings of the spectators instead of sublimating them.

The above refernces to music and dance in the Buddhist literaure can be assigned to a date considerably anterior to the third century B.C. It can be deduced from these that the common folk in pre-Christian India were very fond of attending festivals and social gatherings mainly because of the various amusements they provided. Such convivialities in the early Buddhist India were in no way connected with religion, and on the countrary, not looked upon with favour from the religious point of view.

There are a number of *Jātaka* tales which refer to music. The most interesting and widely known among them is the *Guttila Jātaka* which describes a bitter competition between two musicians, the Budhisattva Guttila and his own pupil Mūsila, in which God Indra had to come down to the rescue of the broken-hearted old maestro.[7] Gittila was the court musician of King Brahmadatta of Kāsi. Once a band of traders from

1. *Rāmāyana*. V.x. 36-50.
2. *Vin* ed. by H. Oldenberg. Vol. II, London, 1880, VI. ii.7 ; Vol. IV, London, 1882, p. 85.
3. *Cullavagga*. V. ii. 6.
4. *Dīghanikāya*, Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Granthamala, Colombo, 1962-76, II, p. 396.
5. *Cullavagga*. *ibid*.
6. *Vin*. Vol. IV p. 267.
7. *The Jātaka or stories of the Buddha's former births*, ed. E.B. Cowell, London, PTS, 1957, Vol. II, Jātaka No. 243.

Benares went to Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, for trade. A holiday was proclaimed in the city and the visiting traders decided to hold a musical soiree to while away the time. They managed to obtain the best musician in Ujjayinī, named Mūsila, on hire. But he failed to impress the merchants with his music. When asked for the reason for their indifference to his music, they replied that they had listened to much better music of a great musician in Benares names Guttila and that they thought he was just tuning the intrument all the while. This reply made Mūsila feel much ashamed of himself and of his *śāstra*. He forthwith returned the fee to the traders and asked them to take him too to Benares on their return journey. The traders did as requested and Mūsila was shown the way to the house of the great musician.

Guttila was an expert in physiognomy, and noticing unfavourable signs on Mūslila's body, refused to take him as his pupil, But Mūsila entreated Guttila's blind parents to persuade the musician to teach him music. At the beginning Guttila was unrelenting, but when he could no longer displease his old parents, he accepted the young man an his pupil and taught him everything he knew himslef.

When Mūsila had completely mastered the art of *vīṇā* playing under Guttila, the teacher took the pupil to the king's court. On the teacher's recommendation the king agreed to take the pupil also into his service and a salary as half as his teachers' was fixed for him. The dispute between the teacher and the pupil arose when the latter demanded equal pay for equal service. The pupil's demand made the teacher extremely unhappy for he thought that his pupil was treating him with contumely in his old age when he could no longer perform as he did before. He appealed to the king not to yield to the ungrategul pupil's demands. This put the king in a dilemma because it was not his wish to displease either, and a contest to decide whose stand was just became inevitable. Obviously the King's sympathies were with the promising young musician.

This story shows that even the ordinary people in ancient India were able to appreciate good music. The *vīṇā* referred to here definitely belonged to the harp family, consisting of seven strings plucked with fingers. This appears to be the archetype of the *citrā-vīṇā* described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as having seven strings and played with fingers (*citrā cāṅgulivādana*)[8]. The seven strings were tuned to the seven notes of the middle octave (*madhya-saptaka*).

The *Dadhivāhana Jātaka* relates the story of four ascetic brothers whose eldest died early and was born in heaven as Śakra (King of Gods). The latter descends to the world to give a helping hand to his remaining three brothers. He presents a miraculous drum to one of his brothers who are still practising penance in the highlands of the Himālaya, saying 'If you beat upon this side, your enemies will run away ; but if you strike the other, they will become your firm friends, and will encompass you with an army in fourfold array'.[9]

The *Mahājanaka Jātaka* refers to four great sounds (*parama-mahā-śabda*) that were produced to honour a great persongage by the king. These were the sounds produced by the drum, the horn, the gong and the cymbals. An empty chariot went in front, followed by the musicians who sounded the four instruments. Next followed the chariot in which the personage being honoured was seated.[10]

That ancient Indian kings employed musicians in their royal courts is also attested by the *Mahāsāra Jātaka*.[11] The *Takkarīya Jātaka* too makes reference to song and dance.[12] The *Bherivādaka Jātaka* asserts that there were professional drummers who eked out their living by beating their drums at public places.[13]

The origin of these *Jātaka* tales can be traced back to some centuries prior to the Christian Era. Scenes from certain *Jātaka* have been depicted in relief on the walls of Sāñci and Barhut *stūpas*. These stories must have, therefore, originated at least in the 5th or 4th century B.C. for them to have gained recognition by the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. during which time the *stūpas* mentioned above were most probably built.

As mentioned above, the *vīṇā* often mentioned in Buddhist literature took the form of an upright harp. It had seven strings. The lower part was wooden and boat

8. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, xxix. 118.
9. *The Jātaka*, Vol. II, *Jātaka* No. 186.
10. *The Jātaka*, Vol. VI, *Jātaka* No. 539.
11. *The Jātaka*, Vol. I, *Jātaka* No. 92.
12. *The Jātaka*, Vol. IV, *Jātaka* No. 481.
13. *The Jātaka*, Vol. I, *Jātaka* No. 59.

shaped which was wider towards the front and narrower towards the rear. The hollow of the boat-shaped part was covered with parchment (*carma*) and this part functioned as the sound-box. The rear part was continued into an upstanding narrow arm called *daṇḍa* which terminated in a little scroll called *pokkhara* (Sk. *puṣkara* meaning a lotus). One end of each string was fixed to the covered portion of the sound-box and stretched over tightly to be tied on to the lower part of the *daṇḍa*. Each string was a little longer than the other thus allowing easy tuning to the seven notes of the scale. The strings were plucked by the finger-nails (*aṅganakhehi*). The other varieties of *vina* mentioned in the Buddhist sources are *parivādinī*, *vallakī*, *mahatī*, *nakulī*, *kacchapī* and *tumbuvīṇā*. The details in which they differed from one another are not known. Some other instruments mentioned in the *Jātakas* are *āḍambara*, *ānuka* (drums), *samatala* (cymbals), *kumbhathūṇa* (archetype of the *jalataraṅga?*) and *saṅkha* (conch).

The *Mahāvagga* refers to a conversation between the Buddha and his disciple Sona concerning the tuning of a *vīṇā*. Before he entered the Order, Soṇa had been an accomplished *vīṇā*-player. One day the Buddha asked him : "Soṇa, were you an accomplished *vīṇā*-player when you were a layman ?" "Yes, my Lord", came the answer. The Buddha then asked him, "When the strings of your *vīṇā* were stretched taut, did they produce sweet sound or was the *vīṇā* fit for playing ?" "No, my Lord", answered Soṇa. "If the strings of your *vīṇā* were loosely tuned, would they have produced sweet sound, or would the *vīṇā* have been fit for playing ?" Soṇa again replied in the negative. The Master again asked him, "Soṇa, whenever the strings of your *vīṇā* were neither drawn taut nor loosely drawn, but moderately tuned, did they produce sweet sound, or was the *vīṇā* fit for playing ?" "Yes, my Lord", answered Soṇa. This conversation shows that the Buddha had a good practical knowledge of music.[14]

On another occasion, the Buddha uses the parable of a *vīṇā* to illustrate a point. A king who had never heard a *vīṇā* in his life hears the sound of a *vīṇā* and aks his people what it was. The people then bring the *vīṇā* to him and show it to him. Then the king says that he has nothing to do with the *vīṇā*, but wants them to bring him the sweet sound. Then they try to explain to him the different elements the *vīṇā* is made of and that it is through the right effort on the part of the player that the *vīṇā* sounds so sweet. The king loses his temper and breaks the *vīṇā* into pieces. This story is found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*.[15]

The *Dīghanikāya* also mentions about a sermon preached by Arahant Kumāra-kāśyapa using the parable of a conch-shell.[16] The story runs as follows : A certain blower of the conch takes his conch to a far-off place. There he goes to a certain village, blows his conch three times, places it on the ground and remains quiet. The villagers come there and ask the blower what that sweet sound was. The conch-shell blower then shows them the conch. Then they address the conch and ask it to produce sound. The conch remains silent. Then they turn it this way and that way and order it to sound but to no avail. Next time they beat the conch and bid it sound. Still no response.

The blower who is watching the happenings all the while, becomes amused at the foolish behaviour of the villagers. He takes the conch as they are watching, blows in three times and goes away with it. Seeing this the villagers thought to themselves : "This conch when in association with a man, when in agreement with the effort of the man, and when in association with the air, is able to produce sound. When such conditions are not fulfilled, it is unable to produce any sound !"

The *Avadānaśataka*, an early Sanskrit work belonging to the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, provides some information about music. This work which can be placed around 100 A.C. mentions in one *avadāna* that during the time of the Buddha there lived in the city of Sravasti five hundred musicians. At this time a great musician (*gandharvarāja*) named Supriya came to the city of Srāvasti from elsewhere and displayed his skill in prjoducing the seven notes and the twenty-one *mūrcchanās* (seven *mūrcchanās* for each of the three registers) on a single string. The then ruler of Kosala, King Prasenajit, too was an accomplished musician. During this time the celestial musician Pañcaśikha arrived with his lyre Beluvapaṇḍu at the invitation of the Buddha, and produced various notes and many *mūrcchanās* on a single string. The feat of Pancasikha made Supriya feel disgusted with his

14. *Mahāvagga*. Buddha Jayanthi Tripitaka Granthamala, Colombo, 1957, I, p. 480.
15. *Samyutta-nikāya*. Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Granthamala, Colombo, 1960, IV, p. 374.
16. *Dīghanikāya*. BJTG, Colombo, 1962-76, II, p. 504.

knowledge of music. He gave up his profession to become a monk in the Buddha's Order.[17] The same *avadāna* mentions the instruments *mrdanka* (a kind of earthen drum), *venu* (flute) and *paṇava* (a drum with wooden body). The *Lalitavistara* records that Prince Siddhārtha studied *vīnā*, vocal music and dance in his childhood.[18] It must be this knowledge of music that gave the Buddha the ability to distinguish between good music and bad music.

The Dambadeṇi Katikāvata and its far-reaching Effects :

The wide acclaim that Buddhist aversion to music has received has been largely due to the attitude of the Sinhalese Buddhists who have been guided by a royal decree (*katikāvata*) issued in the 13th century by King Parākramabāhu II who ruled from Dambadeṇiya (not very far away from the ancient capitals of Kuruṇegala and Yāpahuva). One sentence in this lengthy document runs as "Buddhist monks should neither pursue the despicable arts like dance, song and music, nor teach them to others"[19]. Sri Lanka being the stronghold of Theravāda Buddhism, this kind of attitude comes as no surprise. And this decree has had far-reaching effects on the pursuance of arts. Education in ancient Srī Lanka rested in the hands of the Buddhist clergy who were associated with the only kind of eduational institution that existed in Sri Lanka, called *pirivena* in Sinhalese. These *pirivenas* provided courses in traditional studies such as Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhala, the *tripiṭaka*, astrology (*jyotiśāstra*) and indigenous medicine (*āyurveda*). They could not possibly include courses in fine arts such as music, dance and drama. This perhaps accounts for the absence of any works on music, dance and drama in the ancient Sinhalese literature which is quite rich in many other literary genres.

It is, however, a paradox that it is the Sinhalese Buddhist temple that has fostered the performing arts in Sri Lanka by using them for the illustration of Buddhist ideals in the exposition of the *dharma*. Until recent times, dance-dramas like Maname *kavi-nādagama* which is a versified version of the *Culla-dhanuddhara Jātaka*, the *Vessantara Jātaka* and the *Sandakinduru Jātaka*, all of which depicted past lives of the Buddha, were performed on festive occasions in temple compounds. Even at present times dramatic discourses like the *Ālavaka-damana* (subduing of the demon Alavaka) and *yugāsana-baṇa* (a sermon in dialogue form presented by two priests seated facing each other) mostly delivered in verse are occasionaly held in Buddhist temples. This shows that though Buddhism as a doctrine discouraged the clergy from indulging in performing arts, the temple did make use of them as and when needed, specially for the propagation of religous ideals.

This was done more vigorously by the Mahāyāna school which encouraged the pursuance of fine arts and used them for the propagation of the religion. The Sarva stivādi scholar-monk Aśvaghoṣa (1st century A.C.) who later became a convert to Mahāyānism wrote dramas for the purpose of religious edification. The Chinese traveller-pilgrim Fa-hsien who visited India in the 5th century A.C., saw Asvaghosa's play the *Śariputra-prakaraṇa* being staged in the public to inculcate religious ideals on the masses.[20] Another Chinese traveller-pilgrim I-tsing who came to India in the 7th century records that the Buddhist play *Nāgā nanda* by Śrī Harṣa was staged at various places of the country by employing singers and musicians.[21]

Although Sri Lanka claims to be a country where Theravada Buddhism flourishes, the popular Buddhism practised in that country bears many traits of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As a result, the socio-religious culture of the Sinhalese has received a multi-faceted look, having assimilated elements from sub-cultures and sub-religions. The orthodoxy of the Theravāda Buddhism had to be relaxed to a certain degree so as to accommodate popular cultural elements of the life of the people. From about the mid-Anurādhapura period, Mahāyānism in Sri Lanka was vying with Theravāda

17. *Avadānaśataka*, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1958, Avadana No. 17.
18. *Lalitavistara* ed. by Mitra, Calcutta, 1877, p. 178.
19. Katikāvat-sañgarā, ed. by D. B. Jayatilaka
20. *Chinese Literature*, 1956, Part 3, p. 149.
21. *A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and Malay Archipelago*, tr. by J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, pp. 163 ff.

Buddhism for a long time for religious supremacy, and as a result, many Mahāyāna elements seeped into the religous practices of the Theravāda Buddhists. And through Mahāyāna even HIndu beliefs and practices found their way into pupular Buddhism of the Sinhalese. This gave the strength to Sri Lankan Buddhism to stand up to the intrigues of Hinduism, which unfortunately did not happen in India. The Mahāyānic influence encouraged religious rites and festivals, and this paved the way for lavish use of music and dance in popular worship.

Elements of Music in Tibetan Buddhism :

Tibetan Buddhism is a mixture of the Bon religion, the primitive religion of the Tibetans, and Mahayana Buddhism. Sāntaraksita who went to Tibet from Nalanda in the 7th Century A.C. to establish Buddism in that land at the invitation of the Tibetan monarch, had to face strong opposition from the Bon priests and the people and was forced to return to India. Padmasambhava another Mahāyānist teacher from Nālandā, who succeeded Santaraksita was a shrewd customer. Instead of clashing with Bon priests as Sāntaraksita did, he came to terms with the primitive religion and absorbed many Bon elements including music, dance and drama into the new religion he brought. The unique character of Tibetan Buddhism is, therefore, largely due to the efforts taken by Padmasambhava to accommodate the popular elements of the Bon religion in the new religion he introduced.

Thus Tibetan Buddhism uses music much more freely in the course of services conducted in the temples. Drums are beaten, loud trumpets and horns are sounded and with the clashing of cymbals a great din is produced, sometimes to the extent of piercing the ears. The leaders of choir have a psalter or score before them indicating the instances where notes swell, rise and fall. Various hymns are also sung in chorus.[28]

Dalai Lama is regarded and honoured by the Tibetans as the living Buddha. When the reigning Dalai Lama passes away they go through a cumbersome process guided by various visions and omens to trace his successor generally found in the form of an infant or child, in which case he is brought to the holy city of Lhasa together with his parents. He is then kept in a special palace and looked after with great care. When the living Buddha is ready to be enthroned in the chief temple of the holy city, he is ushered into the temple and led in procession amidst the sounds of horns and trumpets. When he is seated in his throne, each Lama bows three times before him and then seats himself cross-legged in the divan provided, according to rank. Then a bell is rung and all murmur the Three Refuges, the Ten Precepts and other formulas. This marks the begining of the service. After a moment of silence, the bell is rung again and the priests then sing in chorus larger portions from the sacred texts. As the service progresses, the voices of the singers and the sound of bells and drums and trumpets grow louder and louder.[29]

Festivals : The regular Buddhist festivals are all celebrated by the Tibetan Buddhists, In addition to these, they also celebrate many more festivals of an indigenous and local origin, mostly related to demonist cults or the worship of nature. The New Year festival is also celebrated on a grand scale. It commences with a grand carnival which lasts the greater part of the month. The people decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of juniper and other materials, prepare cakes and wine and spend the time eating, drinking, singing, dancing and other pastimes. [30]

Muttering prayers by the people is a daily ritual. The prayers are chiefy addressed to the devils, " imploring them for freedom or release from their cruel inflictions". Or they may take the form of a simple prayer soliciting material gains and worldly comforts.

28. L. Austin Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism, New Delhi, 1996, p. 432.
29. Manmatha Nath Satri, The history of Buddhism. New Delhi, 1996, p.271
30. L. Austin Waddell, op. cit. p. 505.

The Pirit Chant :

The sacred texts chanted at a *pirit* ceremony are taken mainly from the Sūtra Pitaka. There are three sutras which form the nucleus of a pirit repertoire. They are the Ratanāsutta. The Karanīyamettāsutta and the Mahāmangalāsutta. A pirit Sajjhāyanā (Chant) which contains only these three sūtras is called Mahapirita or Grand Chant. The *pirit* proper which begins with a sūtra (sermon) from the Sūtra Pitaka, is usually preceded by a fairly long introduction which includes the following common formulas chanted in that order :

1. Homage to the Buddha
   Namo tassa bhagavato arahato Sammā sambuddhassa (repeated thrice)

2. The Three Reguges

   Buddham Saranam gacchāmi

   Dhammam saranam gacchāmi

   Sangham saranam gacchāmi

   This is also repeated thrice each line preceded by the words *dutiyam pi* (for the second time) and *tatiyam pi* (for the third time) in the second and third round respectively.

3. The Five Precepts

   Pānātipātā veramani sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi

   Adinnādāna veramani sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi
   Kāmesu micchācārā veramani sikkhāpadam samā diyāmi

   Musāvādā veramani sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi

   Surāmerayamajjapamādatthānā veramani sikkhā padam samādiyāmi
4. The Nine Noble Attributes of the Buddha

   Itipi so bhagavāaraham sammāsambuddho vijjā caranasampanno sugato lokavidu anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānam buddho bhagavā ti

5. The Noble Attributes of the Dhamma

6. The Noble Attributes of the Sangha
   This is followed by the preamble to the first sū tra, which usually runs as follows : *Evam me sutam ekam samayam bhagavā sāvatthiyam viharati jetavane ananthapindikassa ārāme*

   (Thus have I heard : Once upon a time the Blessed One was living in the city of Sravasti, at the Jetavana Monastery donated by Anathapindika ....)

The Jayamangala Gāthās

Ex. Bahum sahassamabhinimmitasāyudham tam Girimekhalam uditaghorasasenamāram/

Dānādidhammavidhinā jitavā munindo

Tam tejasā bhavatu te jayamangalāni //

The Narasīha Gāthās

Ex. *Cakkavarankitarattasupādo*
Lakkhanamandita āyatapanhi/
Cāmarachattavibhusitapādo
Esa hi tuyha pitā narasiho//

A Wailing Song from the Vessantara Jātaka :

The two children, on the verge of their being handed over to the suppliant Brahmin, address their father, King Vessantara, in the following terms :

Mohu hāra vena dan ganno nāddo ?
Vena dan dun kala budubava nāddo ?
Pin gannek oba misa vena nāddo ?
Ammānāti tāna apa dan deddo ?

(Is there no-one else but he to accept gifts ? Would the Buddhahood be denied when other kinds of gifts are made? Are you the only desirous of acquiring merits? Are you going to give us away while our mother is away?)

E. W. Marasinghe

MUTIYAṄGANA is an ancient thūpa in the centre of *Badulla*, the capital of the Uva province of Sri Lanka. It is the second most sacred *thupa* in the Uva province, the first being Mahiyangama which the Buddha is supposed to have sanctified during his first visit to Lanka. According to popular tradition Mutiyangana *Thupa* is built on the spot sanctified by the Buddha on his third visit to Lanka. Mutiyangana is recognized as one of sixteen sacred places (*solosmasthāna*[1]) in Sri Lanka (sanctified by the Buddha) and it is also included in the *Nampota*[2] the list of shrines written in the 18th century during the reign of king Rajadhirajasingha (1787-1798) of Kandy. However it is seen that Mutiyangana is found listed as *Baduluwehera* (*thupa* of Badulla) under the number 157 of the list (*Nampota*) and not as Mutiyangana.

The exact year of foundation of the *thupa* as well as it's original builder is not known with certainty. The popular tradition ascribes the building of the *thupa* to Devānampiyatissa. But Pāli chronicles are silent on the Mutiyagana *Thupa*. The oldest extant reference to it is found in the *Samantapāsādika*, Buddhaghosa's commentary to *Vinaya pitaka* of the 5th century A. C. the Samantapāsakikā (*Vin A. I. p. 89*)[3] for the first time says that the Buddha on his third visit to Lanka sanctified the (future) Mutiyangana Thupa site (*Mutiyangana cetiyaṭṭhāne*) by entering the attainment of cessation (*Nirodhasamāpattim Samāpajji*). The *Samantapāsādikā* giving the sites sanctified by the Buddha during the third visit to Lanka, identified the site as "Mutiyangana Cetiya site".

Therefore it is possible that the Mutiyangana cetiya was already in existence by the time *Samantapāsādikā* was written.

The *Mahavamsa* too describes the Buddha's third visit to Lanka. But conspicuously does not include Mutiyangana among the sites sanctified by the Buddha[4] nor the *Vamsatthappakasini*, it's commentary (ṭīkā) include Mutiyangana among the sanctified sites.

The next oldest reference to it is also found in a Buddhaghosa's commentary, namely the *Papañcasūdani*, the commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya*. While commenting on the *Chachakka Sutta* (*MA*. V. 101f), Buddhaghosa states that the elder Maliyadeva preached the sutta in several places in the island and on each occation 60 monks attained arahanthood as a result. It is seen that the Mutiyangana cetiya premises (*Mutiyangana cetiyaṭṭhena*) is also listed among the places where the elder Maliyadeva preached the *Chachakka Sutta* and also where 60 monks attained arahanthood. This too indicates that Mutiyangana had already attained the status of an important shrine by that time (5th century A. C.) where eminent *theras* proceeded to preach.

The other important reference to it is found in the *Dharmapradipikāva*[5] a Sinhala Glossary on the *Pali Māhabodhivamsa* written in the Polonnaruwa period (12th century). Here the author is relating the same story, how Maliyadeva thera preaching the *Chachakka Sutta* and helped 60 monks to attain *arhathood* on

---

1. *Mahiyañganam, Nāgadipaṃ, Kalyānaṃ, Pādalāñcanaṃ, Divāguhaṃ, Dighavāpi Cetiyañca Mutingānaṃ, Tissamahāvihāranca, Bodhim Maricavaṭṭiyaṃ, Soṇṇamāli Mahacetiyam Thupārāma Bhayagiriṃ, Jetavanam Selacetiyaṃ Tathākācaragāmakaṃ, Etesolasa ṭhānāni*
2. *Nampotha* Ed. Somapala Jayawardena, Colombo 1986, (Sinhala Script) p. 13
3. Tatiyaṃ Pañcasatabhikkhu parivāro āgantvā Mahacetiyathāne, Thupārāmacetiyaṭṭhāne, Mahābodhipaṭiṭṭhāne ca Mutiyañganacetiyaṭṭhāne ca. Digavāpicetiyaṭṭhāne ca, Kalyanacetiyaṭṭhāne ca nirodhasamāpattim samāpajjitvā nisidi
4. Pūjavaliya a Sinhala Literary work of the 13th century describes the places sanctified by the Buddha on his third visit to Lanka. but has not included Mutiyangana as a place sancifited by the Buddha. It is observed that the sanctified places mentioned in the *Pūjavaliya* are in or around Anuradhapura only. (Pujavaliya Library Services Board edition, Colombo 1998 p. 483)

each occasion. But there the place is referred to as *Mutgaluvehera* and not as Mutiyangana. Scholars consider that it refers to Mutiyangana. Sometimes *Mutgaluvehera* would have been the Sinhala equivalent of Mutiyangana cetiya. *Rajaratnakaraya*[6], a Sinhala literary work written during the reign of king Wirawickrama of the Senkadagala kingdom in 2085 Buddhist Era (*circa* mid 16th century A. C.) by a monk named Walgampaya, head of the Abhayaraja Pirivena provides a valuable information regarding Mutiyangana. *Rajaratnākaraya* says that King Jetthatissa (262-272 A. C.) repaired the Mutiyangana Thupa. However it may be noted that it is referred to as the *Baduluvehera* and apparently, instead of repaired, it is stated that he build it (*karavā*). But it is a matter for concern when we discover that the *Mahāvamsa* account of Jetthatissa (*Mhv.* XXXVI, verses 118 ff) does not say so. The *Vamsatthappakāsini*, its commentary too is silent on this. It is not clear whence the author of the *Rājaratnākaraya* in the 15th century obtained this information, which is not supported by the chronicles. The *Pujāvaliya*, another Sinhala literary work written in 1266 A. C. too gives the same information (here, too it is stated that *Jetthatissa* built *Baduluvehera* instead of repairing it (*kalakenjetatis.... Badulu vehera..... karavā*).

It is of vital importance that Mutiyangana is mentioned as one of the 32 places where *bodhi* saplings of the Jayasrimahā Bodhi (*Dvattimsa Bodhilattiyo*) have been planted after the bodhi brought from Jambudivipa was established. As the *Mahāvamsa* says (*Mhv.* XIX 56 ff.) at the moment the bodhi was planted one ripe fruit fell from the tree. Maha Mahinda Thera collected it in his bowl and gave it to the king (Devanampiyatissa) requesting the king to plant it. The king planted it and immediately eight saplings came up (as the *Mhv.* says) and they were planted at eight important sites and are called *Atthaphalaruha bodhi* (eight bodhis born of fruits). The Mahāvamsa further adds that from four other fruits, 32 more saplings sprang up and they were planted in the viharas one yojana apart (from one another). These are called "*dvattimsa Bodhilatthiyo*" (thirty two *bodhi* saplings).

But neither the *Mahāvamsa* nor the Pali *Maha bodhivamsa* gives the places where these 32 saplings were planted. It is in the Sinhala *Bodhivamsa*[7] the Sinhala translation of the Pāli MahaBodhivamsa of the Kurunegala period (13th Century A. C.) that we come across for the first time, the list of places where the 32 saplings have been planted. Here Parākrama Vilgammūla Sangharāja, the author, provides an information not fund in the Pali *Maha Bodhivamsa*. A perusal of this list reveals that Mutiyangana is mentioned as the eleventh place. Here, not only the name of the shrine is given, but it also gives the provincial town were the shrine is located (*iwa Badulle Mutiyangañayehi da*).

The *Sulubodhivamsa*[8] (Minor Bhodivamsa) a Sinhala literary work of the 18th century written during the reign of king Rājādhi Rājasinghe (1787-98) by Hinatikumbure Sumangala, provides information on the other (minor) *bodhis* as well, while giving the list of places where the 32 *bodhi* saplings were planted, which includes Mutiyangana (infact the Sulu Bodhivamsa list exceeds 32 places). Further it is mentioned that the 32 saplings were distributed so as to cover the entire island.

In this connection Welamitiyawe Dhammakkhitha[9] says that it should not be thought that the list concerned came from nowhere. He says that though the authors of the earlier sources referred to above, did not include the list in their works, it would have been contained in

5 *Dharmapradipikava* Ed. Baddegama Vimalavamsa, Colombo 1967, p. 283
6 *Rajaratnakaraya*, Ed. P. N. Tisera Lankabhinava Visruta Press, Colombo 1929, p. 22
7 *SinhalaBodhivamsa*, Ed. D. P. R. Samaranayaka, Colombo, 1970, p. 329030

a source, which is not extant today. Therefore it is possible to infer that the source concerned (containing the names of the 32 places) was extant at least up to the Kurunegala period from which the author of the Sinhala Bodhivamsa copied. This takes the history of the list, to the period of Devanampiyatissa itself and the arrival of the Srimahabodhi to the island.

If Mutiyangana was selected as a suitable place to plant one of 32 Bodhi saplings at that remote era, it would have had an important place already. Under the circumstances it is not possible to discard the tradition that takes the history of Mutiyangana to the Devanampiyatissa period at least, if not to the Buddha's third visit to the island as accepted by the popular tradition.

Unlike the other major thupas in the island aparently no important bodily relic of the Buddha is enshrined in the Mutiyangana thupa. According to one popular tradition, a drop of sweat of the Buddha, like a pearl, is enshrined there. Another popular tradition says that a bodily relic of the Buddha the size of a pearl is deposited there. the Bhikkhu in charge of the temple maintains that it had been patronized by kings such as Dhatusena (463-79 A. C.) Vijayabahu I (1059-1114 A. C.) Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A. C.) Rajasinha I (1581-93 A. C.) and Rajasinha II (1635-87 A. C.). Though there is no literary or any other evidence to support the claim, it cannot be rejected, for the Buddhist monks, as a practice used to preserve history of important events by oral tradition from ancient days. He also says that king Kumarasinghe[10] who ruled Uva had given land grants to the temple.

The aged bodhi tree still surviving is believed to be the original bodhi (one of the 32 saplings stated to have been planted). There are three image houses. They are known as the Mahāviharaya, the Meda Vihāraya and the Uda Vihāraya. The Mahāviharaya is in front of the *thupa* and it has a Samadhi Statue and is the ancient image house, which has recently been repaired. The Medavihāraya has a reclining Budha image. The third Uda Vihāraya is a rare one, wherein has been depicted how the Buddha spent the first seven weeks after his enlightenment. It is also called the Satsati- Vihāraya.

The ancient Petikada, a cloth painted with the drawings of 28 Buddhas, Jātaka, etc. in the possession of the temple is significant, but its age is not known. People believe that in time of drought, if it is taken to the summit of mount Namunukula, and Pirith is chanted, it could produce rain. The archway (*torana*) decorated with human and animal figures with a Buddha statute on top is also a peculiar one. God Indika is said to be the guardian deity of the shrine. Daily and annual rituals are being conducted up to date according to ancient rules for which kings have provided land grants. The tenants of the lands perform various duties to the temple. The annual peraharas connected to other temples and Devales are normally conducted in the month of Esala (July-Aug), but Mutiyangana perahera is conducted in the month of Vesak (May).

The Mutiyangana temple belongs to the Asgiriya chapter of the Siamese Sect. A Nāyaka Thero is in charge of it.

K. Arunasiri

8 SuluBodhivamsaya, Ed. Somapala Jayawardena, Colombo, 1991
9 Welimitiyawe Dhammarakkhita - Sri Maha Bodhi It's history and culture connected (in Sinhala Language), Colombo 2000, p. 292-93
10 A son of king Senarat, King of Kandy

MYSTICISM. Usually mystical experience is considered as a form of religious experience. In particular in the Judeo-Christian religion mysticism is understood as a major form of experience associated with religion. In general, by mysticism is understood and experience the source of which is conceptually and rationally (ineffable). In the present discussion I take these two characteristics as the key to understanding mysticism.

Writing on mysticism, Ninian Smart (*The Encylopeadia of Philosophy*, Vol. V. p. 420) quotes from W. R. Inge the following definitions of Mysticism : "Mysticism is the immediate feeling of the unity of the self with God" (Otto Pfleiderer) ; "Mysticism is that attitude of mind in which all relations are swallowed up in the relation of the soul of God" (Edward Caird) ; "True mysticism is the consciousness that everything that we experience is an element and only an element in fact, i. e. that in being what it is, it is symbolic of something else" (Richard Nettleship). Of definitions, as Niniam Smart rightly observes, the first two are based clearly on theological implications, which means that any Buddhist religious experience cannot be identified with them. The third, although without theological implications, still may not be accepted by a Buddhist for the ultimate Buddhist religious experience of any other stages prior to it cannot be taken as 'symbolic of something else'.

In spite of obvious lack of correspondence still it is customary that discussions of mysticism have references to Buddhism indicating that at least ; it contains a different kind of mysticism. I propose that this is not an accurate representation of Buddhism in general and, the early form of Buddhism based on the Pali canon in particular.

William James (*The varieties of Religious Experience* 1936. pp. 371-2) one of the early writers to define mysticism, identifies four main characteristics in mystical experience. They are *ineffability* by which he means the possibility that the experience cannot be communicated to one who has not had a similar experience ; noetic quality that the experience is also a state of knowledge ; transiency, that the experience does not last long, and passivity, that one is only a passive receiver of the experience.

William Stace (*Mysticism and Philosophy*, 1960, pp. 78-9, 110-111) a more recent writer, classifies mysticism into two, namely, extrovertive and introvertive by which he means mystical experience of the unity of the diversity of Nature and the experience of being one with God or the Tanscendent, respectively. Subsquently, he suggests the following list of characteristics for extrovertive experience ; the unifying vision, the apprehension of the One as being an inner subjectivity, feeling of blessedness, feeling that what is apprehended is holy, paradoxical nature and ineffability alleged by mystics. The introvertive experience, according to Stace, share the last four characteristics with the former. The first three are the unitary consciousness (which is not very different from unifying vision given as the first character of the extrovertive experience), being nonspatial and nontemporal and a sense of objectivity or reality.

The extrovertive mysticism is alternatively called nature mysticism for the reason that the experience is a result of awareness of the multiplicity and variegatedness in Nature which ultimately is believed to produce this unitary vision in which the recipient feels that he or she has become one with nature. The other type of experience is basically one associated with religion. It is clear that Stace's characterization comes from analyzing the theistic religious experience. In his effort to identity characteristics of mysticism

common to all religions stace finds that the no-soul doctrine (*anatta-vāda*) in the Pali canon is "inconsistent with the experience of non-Buddhist mystics" (p. 124). He thinks, however, that this difficulty can be overcome by accepting the possibility, as suggested by a number of Western Buddhist Scholars, that the Buddha did not deny the Universal self although he rejected the individual self. The crux of his arguments is that if the existence of soul, in some form or another, can be accepted, the apparent difference of the *nirvānic* experience from that of theistic tradition is only a matter of different interpretation of the same (tarnscendental) experience.

We do not plan to make a detailed study of Stace's position in this context. What needs to be said is that his argument for the inclusion of Buddhist religious experience in the total picture of universal mysticism is far from being satisfactory. The problem common to most of the writers of this genre is their inability to see that religious experience can be of totally different character from what is represented by theistic religious traditions. What we intend to do in the present exposition, therefore, is not to show how Buddhism is a kind of mysticism but how it is not one. Most of the writers who have discussed the Buddhist religious path and its attainments (*jhānas*, paths and fruits) first assume, without much questioning that all religious expereicence are invariably mystical and subsequently (based on that unsubstantiated universal statement) proceed to characterize Buddhism in those terms. (A closer look will prove that the Buddhist religious experience, either at its path or at its fruition, cannot be characterized as mystical.

The Buddhist religious path is described, in well-known terms : *anupubba-sikkhā, anupubba-kiriyā, anupubba-paṭipadā* methodical training, methodical action and methodical procedure (*Pahārāda sutta*). In compliance with this general characterization, the path is described in the discourses as comprising a threefold training, namely, *sila, samādhi and paññā* (morality, concentration and wisdom) and elaborated into various types of morality, gradually progressing stages of concentration and acquisition of konwledge characterized usually by what is called *tisso-vijja* : three kinds of knowledge, namely knowldege of recollection of (one's own) past existence, knowledge of departure and appearance (of other beings) and the knowledge of exhaustion of cankers. These stages of the path and their various steps have been enumerated meticulously and clearly and this clarity can be considered an outstanding feature in the early Buddhist expositions of the gradual path to *Nirvana*.

Nirvana is achieved by liberating one's mind (*vimutti*) of influxes (*āsava*) bonds (*bandhana*) or shackles (*saññojana*) or purifying it (*visuddhi*) of defilements (*kilesa*) two ways of describing the same procedure. The purificatory process and its culmination cannot take place without the knowledge and the full understanding of the person concerned. It is not something affected by any external agency. According to another well-known statement. *Suddhi asuddhi paccattam-ñāñño aññam visodhaye (Dhammapada)* purity or impurity is up to oneself ; none can purify another ; When one's mind is liberated one has the distinct knowledge to that effect (*vimuttasmim vimuttan iti ñānam hoti*). It should be clear that any kind of mysticism cannot be a characteristic of a procedure marked by this degree of clarity.

States achieved by following the path have been, sometimes, understood as representing mystical states of forms of mystical experience. There are two groups of *jhānas* (absorptions) namely, fine-material or *rūpa* and immaterial or *arūpa*, each group having four progressive stages. The first group represents the four

stages characterized by gradually increasing aloofness from sensory experience.. This is achieved by systematically withdrawing attention from the external world. The second group of *jhānas* are basically characterized by even more advanced sense of aloofness coupled with development of mental states leading to gradual thinning of any external sensations. The last of these four stages is called ; *nevasaññā nāsaññā āyatana* or the state of neither perception nor non-perception, and as the name itself highlights, is characterized by almost total absence of perceptions and conception. The states are characterized by gradual disappearance of sensory and psychological data. Hence the consequent experience is described to be characterzied by calmness, serenity and mental quietude. There is nothing extraordinary, unexplainable or hence mystical about this experience.

The case of the 'attainment of cessation' or *nirodha-samāpatti* is interesting in this regard for, although it is usually mentioned as the head of the above-mentioned two groups of *jhānas*, it is significantly differenct from them owing to its total absence of any experience. Whereas the last of the four immaterial *jhānas* is still with a shade or semblance of experience, the *nirodha samāpatti* is totally devoid of any experience at all. It is to make onese lf 'dead' temporarily. There seems to be nothing remaining, mystical or otherwise, in this state of the 'stopping of the machine'.

The ultimate goal of the Buddhist religious practice is Nirvāna attained at the total purification of mind. In the early discourses Nirvāna is often described in such experiential terms as the highest happiness (*parama sukha*), peace (*santi*), cessation of suffering (*dukkha nirodha*) and extinction of thirst (*tanhakkhaya*). the somewhat later Theravada tradition is fond of describing Nirvāna as a transcendental phenomenon (*lokuttara dhamma*). The concept of transcendence accepted by these Buddhists is essentially an ethical one meaning thereby an experience characterized by purity and freedom that surpass anything experienced by ordinary worldlings. A metaphysical concept of transcendence seems to imply a state of ineffability as in the case of the concept of God. In the Buddhist tradition the alleged ineffability does not seem to have been an issue or a problem, In the discourses we do not come across any instance where *Nirvāna* has been called ineffable. Nor do we find any arahant who realized Nirvāna complaining that his/her experience to be so. The definition given to *Nirvāna* is that it is the extinction of lust, hatred and delusion (*ragakkhayo dosakkhay mohakkhayo nibbānam*). Since the existence of an ordinary worldling is characterized by the dominance of these factors *Nirvāna* is duly characterized as the cessation or the absence of them. The tradition does not ever understand this as some state existing independently of a particular (human) being who realizes it. Furthermore, even at the level of personal experience and knowledge this has never been considered mystical in the Buddhist tradition.

Although the general picture regarding the matter is like this, the texts are not altogether absent from statements open to transcendental interpretation. In an often-referred to statement at *Udāna* (p. 80) a state (though not directly but obviously referring to *Nirva na*) is described as not-born, not -become, not-made and not constructed (*ajāta, abhūta, akata, asamkhata*) and is contrasted with what is born, become made and constructed (*jāta, bhūta, kata, sankhata*) the characteristics shared by everything that belongs to the world. The past participles used seem to describes a state that transcends the world and we have to admit that a direct and literal reading of the text supports such an interpretation. According to some critics, the statement marks a stage in the evolution of the Buddhist thought in which Nirvāna was increasingly, seen as

metaphysical entity. According to some others, however, the statement can be interpreted differently. In their view, it simply describes Nirvana as something that is qualitatively different from the worldly experience. If we accept this second way of reading it is clear that there is no room to describe *Nirvāna* as something metaphysically transcendent, and hence mystical.

The identical question, however, has been discussed with reference to the person who has realized Nirvāna, namely arahant. In responding to Vacchagotta who wanted to know what happens to the arahant after his passing away the Buddha says that the question is not applicable to him who can no longer be identified with one who is associated with the experience of the five aggregates. The Buddha further characterizes the person in this state as deep, immeasurable, and unfathomable like the great ocean. (*gambhiro appameyyo, duppariyogālho seyyathāpi mahasamuddo M.* I. p. 487). This latter characterization seems to put the nature of the arahant beyond human comprehension. There is a somewhat similar statement elsewhere : The person who has attained the end does not have a measure ; he does not have that with which one can speak of him. When all the phenomena are totally destroyed, all the ways of speech too are destroyed. (*Sn.* 1076). Clearly such statements as these indicate to the possibility that an arahant passes after his death (or while he is still living, depending on how one interprets *attham+gata*) into a state which cannot be comprehended and hence cannot be described or conceptually understood. The statements nevertheless are open to interpretation. The Buddha's characterization of the arahant as deep etc. to Vacchagotta could well be contextual for the latter being an outsider to the Dhamma may have deemed by the Buddha as incapble of seeing the true meaning of the life of an arahant. The *Suttanipāta* statement can simply be taken as indicating the nature of the arahant which is diametrically opposed to that of the ordinary worldling.

Some of the textual examples quoted towards the end of this discussion testify to the problems of interpretation. It is, nevertheless, true to say, in an overall manner that early discourses in the Pali canon do not support characterization of either the Path or the ultimate goal as anything to do with mysticism. This does not necessarily mean that the later Buddhist schools did not develop trends close to mysticism. Different branches of Mahāyāna, in particular seem to have believed in states or kinds of realization surpassing the limits of the conceptual domain. According to a story in the Zen tradition, the very inception of Zen took place when the Buddha held up a flower and smiled. It is said that only Maha Kashyapa Thera understood and this is said to be the beginning of the tradition. This story is symbolic in the sense that it refers to a kind of non-verbal communication. Zen method is characterized as a special tradition outside the scriptures, no dependence upon words and letters. The use of *koans*, usually without any consistent meaning as themes for meditation is also understood as indicating to the dawn of an experience, which is beyond conceptualization. The terms *anabhilāpya* meaning that cannot be said or described is seen in works such as *Lankāvatārasutra* to indicate the ultimate reality as understood by the Mahāyāna tradition. It is not our intension in this essay to discuss in detail this aspect of the later shcools of Buddhism. What can be siad in brief is that mystical elements seem to have gradually crept into the Buddhist tradition which seems to have begun originally as a form of religious naturalism.

Asanga Tilakaratne.

NĀGA, a term used both in Pali and Sanskrit to mean an elephant, a serpent and also a semi-divine being. It is also the name of an Indian tribe inhabiting the Himalaya regions. This tribe is extant even at present and its members are serpent-worshippers. It is also an epithet for the *arahant*. The present article deals only with *Nāgas*, a class of semi-divine beings who are represented as serpents in folklore, literature and art.

The belief in *Nāgas*, who are classed as semi-divine beings and are said to possess miraculous powers, goes back to pre-Buddhist times. This belief is not quite developed in the *Rg-Veda*. Yet it appears as an element of religion in the *Yajur-veda* (A. Macdonell, *A Histroy of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900 p. 120). Max Muller opines that...... there cant be no doubt that a belief in serpents had its origin in the *Veda*, though the serpents meant there were at first the serpents of the dark night or the black clouds, the enemies of the solar deities such as the Asvins, and not yet the poisonous snakes of the earth. The latter development of these serpents and the idea of pacifying them by sacrificial offerings is likewise, and has been well shown by Dr. Wintenitz. E. W. Hopkin is of opinion that serpent-worship was prevalent in Vedic times (E. W. Hopkin, The *Religions of India*, Boston and London, 1902, p. 154) The *Athararedа* contains numerous spells against serpents. In the *Brāhmanas* serpents occupy an important place. By the time of the *Mahābhāratha* they are established in the rank of semi-divine beings.

The traditional belief describes the *Nāgas* as the race of Kadru or Surasa inhabiting the waters of the city of Bhāgirati under the earth. They are supposed to have human faces and serpentine lower extremities (Monier William, *Skt. Eng.* Dict. s. v. nāga). In the Buddhist tradition, folk-lore and art frequent references are made to *Nāgas* who are described and represented either as serpents, half human and half-serpentine beings or as ordinary human beings. However, it is not quite clear from these references whether the *Nagas* referred to are real serpents or members of a human tribe who either worshipped the Nāgas or had Nāgas as their totem (see C. R. Oldham, The *Nāgas* and a *Contribution to the History of Serpent-worship JRAS* 1901, p. 461 ff ; J. Kennedy, *Nagas and Serpent-worship in India*, JRAS, 1891, p. 480 ff) Oldham distinguishes between the Nāga, the semi-gods in heaven and *Naga* the people on earth, the former being considered as the deified ancestors of the latter. He surmises that the *Asuras*, *Sarpas* (serpents) of the *Rg-veda*, the *Asuras* and *Nāgas* of the *Mahābhāratha* and also the *Auras* of the brahmanical tradition represent hostile tribes who opposed the JRAS, 1901 p. 46 (ff). The Buddhist conception of Nagas seems to be the results of a peculiar admixture of the beliefs about a very gifted and powerful human tribe and serpent-lore. According to the descriptions found in Buddhist literature, *Nāgas* are basically semi-divine serpentine beings who are gifted with miraculous power. They could perform astonishing feasts. Thus they create mansions and whatever other objects they desire, assume different forms and appear and disappear at will. They are said to possess deadly poison and are displeased even over trivial matters. Any angry glance of them is capable of reducing to ashes an object that comes within their glance. They are also said to possess a wish-conferring gem (*J.* II, p. 113 and also *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, No. 543, *J.* VI, 158 ff).

The *Nāga*-world is often referred to in Buddhist literature. The *Nāgas* are said to dwell in the Nāga-world beneath the ocean (*J.* I. 158). The *Samyutta Nikāya* says, supported by the Himalaya, *Nāgas* develop their body and gain strength. When they have developed their body and gained strength there they go to small

pools of water, from there to large pools and thence to rivulets, thence to great rivers and thence down to the sea, the mighty ocean. There they get great size and growth of body (*S.* V. 47,61,). The commentary describes the journey of the *Nāga* mothers from the ocean up to the Himalaya, by way of the five great rivers, to bring forth their young, safe from the attacks of the boys and the violence of the sea-waves and *garudas*. Sometimes they are described as dwelling at the foot of Daddara Mountain (*J.* III, 116) They also haunt banyan trees and ant-hills (*J.* IV, 350, VI 169)[1] However the popular Buddhist belief is that they live in the *Nāga*-world located under the sea.[2]

Their cities are said to be very prosperous and full of all manner of luxuries. They are filled with food ; gaily attired *Nāga*-maidens, flowers, garlands, music dance, and sports, (*J.* VI, 150) Their kings dwell amidst great splendour, comfort and pleasure (*loc. cit.*). Many *Nāga*-kings are referred to in Buddhist texts. Dhataraṭṭha is one of their famous kings. Varuna and Virūphakka too are well known.[3]

Buddhist lietrature also makes references to connections between *Nagas* and human beings Intermarriages between Nāgas and human beings are also mentioned (*J.* VI. 158,66). The children by these marriages are said to be of watery nature (loc. cit.). Sometimes they are captured by snake charmers and archers. Reference is made to a spell known as Alambā yana which is used against the *Nāgas*. Reference is also made to their dancing ability. However, the Nāgas considered dancing in public, specially in the presence of their kinsmen as an act of disrepute (*J.* IV, 459, VI, 1191). Sometimes great *Nāgas* were honoured and worshipped by men with offerings of sweets, perfumes, milk, rice, fish, meat and strong drink (*J.* I, 498, II, 456).

The *Nāgas* are at enmity with *Garudas* who are also called *Supannas*. Often fights ensue between them and generally the *Nāgas* are the vanquished. The *Nāgas* in order to defend themselves aginst *Garudas*, swallowed large stones and made themselves heavy. When the Garuḍas swooped down to attack them the Nāgas opened their mouths and showed their teeth. Then the *Garudas* seized then by their mouth and attempted to fly lifting them. But the *Garudas* being unable to carry so much weight dropped dead (J. V. 76) However, this secret was given out by a *Naga* himself and thereafter the *Garudas* seized the *Nāgas* by their tails making them disgorge the stones they had swallowed (*loc. cit.*)

1 These descriptions, too, reflect a jumble of beliefs about a human tribe residing at the foot of the Himalaya and the snakes who frequent watery obodes, trees and ant-hills.

2 Thier conneciton with water may be due to the facr that some of the serpents lived in or near water or in marshy ground or due to the fact that their sinuous course and appearance resembled these of water.

3. Waddel gives a list of fifty-six Naga-kings as found in the Tibetan version of the *Mahavyutpatti* JRAS. 1894 p. 91 ff)

4. This spell was first given by a garuda to an ascetic who in turn gave it to a brahman. See ALAMBAYANA and s. v. CPD

5. The garudas are a kind of mythical birds. This also suggests a connection between the later conception of the Naga with the early Vedic conception wherein the serpents meant are serpents of the dark night or blakc clouds, the enemies of the solar deities, The garudas meaning devourer represents the solar deities, perhaps the all-consuming power of the sun's rays.

6. The bowls of the three previous Buddhas of the present kappa are also in the abode of Naga king Kala (J. I. p. 70)

7. This episode in depicted at Nagarjuni-konda and in Thailand (The ways of the Buddha, p. 79 pls. 192) In Thailand and Cambodia as well as in temples of Sri Lanka this episode is often depicted

8. This scence is depicted at Sanic (see A. Foucher, Buddhist Art pl. 9, 1)

The *Nāgas* are connected with numerous episodes in the life of the Buddha. The bowl in which the bodhisatta had his last meal before attaining Englightenment and, which he sent adrift in the river saying "if today I should become Buddha let this bowl go upstream ..." is said to have sunk into the abode of *Nāga*-king Kāla[9]. In the third week after enlightenment when the Buddha went to the foot of the Mucalinda tree a *Nāga*-king of the same name shelterred the Buddha from the great shower of rain by winding his coils seven times around the Buddha and holding his hood over the Buddha's head.[1] On another occasion the Buddha, by his magical powers, overcame two fierce Nāgas who inhabited the hermitage of Uruvel Kassapa[3] (*Vin*. I, 246 f. *AA*. I, 165 ff, *ThagA*. I. 1. 434 ff.). The Buddha's relics were for sometime in the *Nāga* realm called Mañjerika[4] from where Asoka tried without success to obtain them. However, Sonuttara of Pujā Parivena succeeded by his *iddhi*-power to obtain the relics to be enshrined in the Mahāthupa at Anuradhapura (*Mhv*. xxviii-xxx). There is a tradition which says that the Buddha preached his more profound teachings to the *Nāga* from whom Nāgārjuna got to know them (cf. *Philosophy of India* pp. 518-524, see also *Buddhist India*, p. 232).

Nāgas are represented in numerous Buddhist sculptures. At Amarāvati they are represented as worshipping a *stupa* (Zimmer, *Art of India and Asia*, plts. 95) (top left) and 97). Generally they are represented as human beings with halos of expanded hoods. In Sri Lanka Nāgas are represented in guard stones where they are regarded as guardians of water and treasure[10]. Sculptured figures of many hooded cobras are found in sluices of tanks. Such figures are also found placed at the four corners of the relic chambers of stupas. In guardstones the *Nāga* is normally represented in human form with the body decked in rich princely attire. In one hand he is holding a *pū rnaghaṭa* a pot of plenty and in the other a sprouting branch, with leaves buds and flowers. Around and above his human head is a five headed, seven headed or at times nine-headed expanded hoods of a cobra.[11] Zomorphic representations of *Nagas* too are occasionally found as for example at Medirigiriya in the precincts of the Vaṭadāge and at Kuttam-pokuna at Anuradhapura.

Bibliography

R. J. Ferguson, Tree and Serpent-worship, London, 1873 ; Grundwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, London, 1901, J. ph. Vegel *Indian Serpent-lore and the Nagas in Hindu Legend* and Art.

T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, ; Max Muller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, London, 1987 ERE. Vol. II, pp. 399

S. K. Nanayakkara.

9. This was the abode of Nāga King Mahākāla, where the bowls of the Buddha are deposited.
10. These also are very old beliefs common to many races. The snakes living in crevices of the earth are often identified with deceased ancestors and are regarded as guardians of treasure buried in the earth (*ERE*. Vol. II, p. 412 f.)
11. Some remarkable representations are found at Ratna Prāsāsda, Anuradhapura ; Vaṭadāge at Polonnaruwa (for illustrations see D. T. Devendra. *The symbol of the sinhalese Guardstones*, Art A xxi 3. 259 ff ; *Guardstone*, pub. Archaeiological Dept. Colombo, Ceylon)

NĀGADĪPA, a province of Sri Lnaka, identified with the modern Jaffna peninsula and the north-west of the Island. The Buddha's second visit to Sri Lanka was to Nāgadipa, to settle a dispute between two Nāgas, Mahodara and Cūlodara (*Mhv.* I, 47). Jambukola was a harbour in Nāgadipa identified as Sambilturai, and there a *vihāra* was built by king Devānampiyatissa circa. 250 B. C. (*Mhv.* xx, 255) and later restored by king Kanittha Tissa (*Mhv.* xxxvi. 9) This vihāra was probably called Tissa-vihāra (cp. Mhv. xxxvi, 36) Another vihāra, called Salipabbata, was build by king Mahallaka-nāga, (*Mhv.* xxxv. 124). The Unnalomaghara, the Rājāyatana-dhātucetiya and the Amalacetiya were probably all places of worship in Nāgadipa (*Mhv.* xlii, 62). The *Valāhassa Jataka* (*J.* II, 128) says that the coast of Sri Lanka from the river Kalyāni to Nāgadipa, was once infested by *yakkhinis*, Once Nāgadipa was known as Sermunadīpa (*J.* III, 187) and nearby was Karadipa, earlier known as Ahidīpa (*J.* IV, 238). An old story, given in the commentaries (eg. *VibhA*. 444) speaks of a king called Diparājā, who reigned over Nā gadipa in great splendour. Nāgadipa was once an important centre of Buddhism in Sri Lanka (eg. *VibhA*. 446, 457 ; *AA* 1, 422) and contained many places of pilgrimage. There is a legend (*DA*. III, 899 ; *VibhA*. 433) which relates that, when the Buddha's *sāsana* comes to an end, all the Buddha's relics deposited in Sri Lanka will gather together at the Mahācetiya and travel to the Rājāyatanacetiya in Nāgadipa, and then form there to the Mahābodhi tree at Gayā.

The visit of the Buddha to Nāgadipa has been differently described in the texts, but the basic facts remain the same. According to the *Mahāvamsa* (*Mhv.* I, 44 ff) the Buddha in the fifth year of his enlightenment, saw, while residing at Jetavana in India that a war, caused by a dispute over a gem-set throne was likely to come to pass between the *nāgas* Mahodara and Culodara, uncle and nephew, and their followers, and came to Nāgadipa. *Nāga* Mahodara was then a powerful king in the *nāga*-kingdom of the ocean. His younger sister had been given in marriage to the *naga* king of the Kannāvaddhamāna Mountain. Cū lodara was her son. Mahodara's father had given a splendid throne of Jewels to his daughter on the occasion of her marriage. When she died, Mahodara claimed it back and consequently a war between the uncle and the nephew was imminent. The *Mahāvamsa* also mentions that a *deva* named Samiddhisumana who, in his former birth was an inhabitant of Nāgadipa carried his own dwelling - a *rājāyatana*-tree standing in Jetavana-like a parasol over the Buddha and accompanied him. Hovering there in mid-air above the battlefield the Buddha is said to have first terrorized the *nāgas* by bringing forth dense darkness over them. Then, by spreading light he caused them to see him. who, being delighted did reverence to the Buddha's feet. Thereupon the Buddha preached to them the doctrine that begets concord, and both *nagas* gladly gave up the throne to the Buddha. Subsequently the Buddha alighted on the earth, sat on a seat there, refreshed himself with celestial food and drink offered by the *nāgas* and established eighty *kotis* of *nāgas* in the three refuges and the moral precepts.

The *nāga* king Maniakkhitha of Kalyāni, mother's brother of the *nāga* Mahodra, who had also taken part in the battle at Nāgadipa thereupon requested the Buddha to visit his kingdom (on a later occasion). When the Buddha had consented by silence, he planted the *rājāyatana*-tree on that very spot as a sacred memorial, and the Buddha gave over the *Rājāyatana*-tree and the precious throne-seat to the *nāga*-kings to do homage thereto. Subsequently the Buddha returned to Jetavana.

The *Dipavamsa* account of the same incident (*Dpv.* II. 1ff.), which incidentally, is earlier than the *Mahā vamsa* account, agrees in the essential details but does not name Nāgadipa. According to this account, too the seat was made up of *lapis lezuli* (*veluriya*) and the *nā gas* ultimately offered it to the Buddha.

It is very interesting that a Tamil Sangam work of the 2nd century A. C. called the *Manimekalai*,

corroborates the *Mahāvamsa* account of the visit of the Buddha to Nāgadipa almost in every detail. In this work Nāgadipa of the *Mahāvamsa* is called by the name Manipallavam which is said to be an important place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists. The sanctity of the place was due to the presence of a gem-set seat of the Buddha, which had the inherent virtue of enlightening the beholder about his previous births and to the fact that the Buddha visited the island to settle a dispute between two *nāga* kings, each of whom claimed the seat as his. The *Manimekali* describes this gem-set seat as '........ a seat of becoming splendour, spreading effulgent rays of light and rising from the ground to the standard height of three cubits and extending towards all directions into a width of nine cubits, set all round with crystal glass cut to different forms and shapes, and exhibiting a square with *padma* (lotus) design.

The *Sihalavatthuppakaraṇa* (ed. A. P. Buddhadatta thera. 1959, pp. 148 f.) a Pali literary work, of unknown date contains a story entitled *Candanapallanka-vatthu* wherein the story of the Buddh'a visit to Nāgadipa is given. Here the main difference from other versions is that the couch is said to have been made of sandalwood (*candana*). Incidentally, the tree that the deity carried along with him is named rājāyatana in the *Mahāvamsa*, *Khirapala* in the *Dipavamsa* and Pātalirukkha in the *Sihalavatthupakarana*. The spot where this tree was planted is in the *Sihalavatthupakarana* as Pātalicetiya and also a Andhakāra-cetiya and Aloka-cetiya.

The harbour Jambukola in Nāgadipa occupies an important place in the history of early Buddhism in Ceylon. It was at Jambukola that king Devānampiya tissa's nephew Mahārittha and the other envoys sent to king Dhammāsoka of India took ship and also landed on their return voyage (*Mhv*. xi, 24, 38). Later, when Arittha was sent again to bring the sapling of the Bodhi-tree and the theri Sangamittā, he agian embarked at this harbour (*Mhv*. xviii, 8). Bringing the Bodhi-tree and the *theri*, Arittha arrived by ship at Jambukola where king Devanampiyatissa had already gone to receive them and waited in a hut, which later was known as Samuddapaṇṇasālā (*Mhv*. xix, 23 ff). Seeing the ship coming, the king is said to have descended even neck-deep into the sea, taken the great Bodhi-tree upon his head and brought it to the shore where it was set in a beautiful pavilion. There he commanded solemn ceremonies of many kinds to be carried out for three days (*Mhv*. xix, 29 ff).

From this pavilion, the Bodhi-tree was carried to Anuradhapura in a vehicle, accompanied by the king, Mahinda thera and others. On the way, before noon, the procession halted for the forenoon meal. The Bodhi-tree was placed at a spot where the Eastern Monastery (*Pācinārāma*) was later established, and the great thera Mahinda related fully to the king the subduing of the *nāgas* by the Buddha. When the king heard this from the thera he caused monuments to be raised here and there in such places as had been frequented by the Buddha (*Mhv*. xix. 33 ff).

A 15th century Sinhalsese literary work called the *Nam Pota* contains a list of religious centers in Nā gadipa as follows :Nāgakovila, Kadurugoda-Vihāraya, Telipola, Mallāgama, Minivangomu- vihāraya, Tanni Divayina, Nāga Divayina, Puvangu Divayina and Kā ra Divayina. Some of these place-names are identifiable with the modern Tamil names.

It is the general opinion of the devout Buddhists of today that the spot marking the visit of the Buddha to Nāgadipa is located in the small island off the Jaffna coast, now known as Nayina Tivu on account of the fact that a modern Buddhist Vihāra stands there and the present name of the island closely resembles the ancient word Nāgadipa. This opinion, however, receives no scholarly approval.

The scholars believe that the term Nāgadipa refers to the entire Jaffna Peninsula with its islands.

Considerable light on the identification of Nāgadipa and the sites there sacred to the Buddhists was shed by Paul E. Peiris who conducted investigations in about 1917 when he was the District Judge in Jaffna.

In 1917 Paul E. Peiris discovered the first Buddhist *stūpa* in the Jaffna Peninsula, near Chunnakam. Some years ago the limestone terminal of the spire of this *stū pa* had been unearthed. In 1902, a Buddha image of limestone had also been dug up at Koddiya Vattai. Here, Paul E. Peiris uncovered the brick platform of an ancient *dāgaba*, measuring roughly 40 feet a side.

The most important of the sites where Paul E. Peiris carried out excavations was the village of Kantaraodai, identifiable with the Kadurugoda-vihāraya of the *Nam Pota*. It is situated six miles south by west of Kankasanturai. Excavations at this site brought to light roofing tiles mixed with large fragments of strong lime plaster about three inches in thickness. To a width of about six feet the tiles found were glazed or enamelled on the upper surface, which was grooved, in a rich blue colour laid on very thickly and fired. There is grooving on both sides of the tiles for the tiles to fit into each other. Below these tiles were a large deposit of slabs of coral stone, all wedge-shaped, manifestly used in a *dā gaba* or other circular building. Fragments of tiles similar to those discovered here also been discovered at Taissmaharama and assigned to the 1st century B. C. Apparently ; these tiles from Kantarodai had been used in a roof over a *dāgaba* of special importance.

Further excavations showed that the whole village was scattered all over with broken tiles, masses of brickwork and wedge-shaped coral blocks. The presence of several mounds of moderate size indicates that these were *dāgabas* of ancient times and this surmise is strengthened by the fact that not less than sixteen finials of such *dāgabas* have been discovered. In various parts the sites of buildings were indicated by rows of stone bases of columns, sometimes, three feet across, roughly rounded, and showing on the top a deep socket of about six inches square, meant to receive a column.

Another part of this village was abundant in limestone remains to the extent that nearly every dwelling compound yielded some interesting specimen. These include several fragments of statues of the Buddha, parts of stone railings and pillars and finials of stūpas.

In a field nearby were discovered some stone pillar bases, in situ, a fragment of a large statue of the Buddha, which when complete must have measured nearly 5 1/2 feet across the shoulders, and fragments of several other statues. The size of this image can leave little doubt as to the degree of sanctity which was once attached to the place. This shrine in which this image was housed has a floor of concrete and measures 56 feet from east to west and 36 feet from north to south.

Referring to the extent of ruins discovered at Katarodai, Paul E. Peiris says that the site appears to him like a miniature Anurādhapura buried in the Tamil Country. The extent and the nature of the ruins of this site couples with the location of the site in relation to the account of the bringing of the Bodhi-tree have led Paul E. Peiris and other scholars to believe that this was the site of the Buddha's visit to Nāgadipa. It appears from the *Mahāvamsa* that the procession carrying the branch of the Bodhi-tree on the first day of its progress halted for the morning meal at a spot which would command the utmost venerations of all Buddhists, viz. the place where the Buddha alighted on his visit to Nāgadipa. It was the place where the Pā cina-vihāra was later established. It was opportune for the thera Mahinda to describe here at this spot to king Devanampiyatissa the visit of the Buddha and the bringing to an end the war between the two nāga kings and for the king subsequently to erect monuments to commemorate the event. This site it is worthy of note, is located at a distance of a morning's stroll from Sambilturai, identifiable with Jambukola, which was the landing-place of Sangamittā with the Bodhi-tree and from where the procession started in the morning (*JCBRAS*, XXVI, pp. 11 ff)

Now, this harbour Jambukola in Nāgadipa, famous in Buddhist literature had been as said above, identified with Jamburai or Sambilturai, three miles west of Kirimalai,. The *Mahāvamsa* states that king Devā nampiyatissa planted here a sapling of the Bodhi-tree

and erected a vihāra there. He also erected the Tissamaha-vihara and the Pacina-vihāra at the same port. The ruins of a vihara and a *dāgaba* at a spot still called by the villages Gothumaluwa - a corruption of Bodhimaluwa - within a hundred yards of Jambuturai, probably marks the spot where the Bodhi-tree was planted. An extensive tract of land about half a mile to the south of Jambutura, called Tissamaluwa probably preserves the memory of king Devanampitatissa's visit and of his Tissamaha-vihāra. At Tissamaluwa as well as at Bodhimaluwa can even now be seen the bases of pillars such as are so frequent at Kantarodai (*JCBRAS*, XXXVI, 35)

In Vallipuram, a village in the Vadamaracci division of the Jaffna District has also been found some early Buddhist remains. Here, in an area about four miles in length and a mile in breadth foundations of buildings, bricks, pottery and coins have been discovered. Among the other finds from Vallipuram is a fine standing image of Buddha in Amaravati style. The most important of the finds from this place is an inscribed gold plate, now famous as the Vallipuram Gold-Plate Inscription, discovered in or about 1936, along with other minor antiquities, beneath the foundation of an ancient structure on the land belonging to the Visnu temple of the village. The script of the inscription is Brāhmi and the language old Sinhalese, both of the 2nd century A. C. The inscription is dated in the reign of king Vaha(ba) ie. Vasabha and records the establishment of a vihāra at a place called Badakara-atana by an individual named Piyaguka Tisa when the minister Isigiraya was the governer of Nakadiva, ie. Nāgadipa. It is also possible, according to S. Paranavitana (*EZ*. IV. 233) that Piyaguka Tisa was the name of the monastery at the site, named after the thera Tissa of Piyangudipa who lived in the time of king Dutthagāmani (*Mhv*. xxiv, 22-27)

Referring to Paul E. Peiris's identification of Nā gadipa and the light of Vallipuram Gold Plate Inscription sheds on it, S. Paranavithana (*EZ*. IV, 234) says "......this identification though it was boubted by some when it was first suggested, has now found general acceptance. Whatever doubts one may have had about the identification are now set at rest by the present document which clearly proves that Nāgadipa was the name by which the Jaffna Peninsula was known in ancient times.

"The circumstances of the discovery of the plate leave us in no doubt that is was found where it was originally deposited in the second century. The inscription, in recording the foundation of the *vihara*, not only gives the name of the supreme ruler of the island at the time but also that of the local governor of Nāgadipa. This last detail regarding the foundation of the *vihara* has no significanace if the shrine was not within the territorial division then known by the name of Nāgadipa. As the site of the religious foundation is within the Jaffna Penisula, it follows that Nāgadipa and the Jaffna Peninsula are identical.

"This inscription also proves that Nāgadipa was governed in the second century by a minister of the Anuradhāpura king, that Sinhalese was the prevailing language, and that Buddhist shrines were then being built there. In such references as there are to the Nā gadipa in the chronicles, as well as in other Pali writing of Ceylon, there is no indication that in early times this area differed, as it does to day, from the rest of the island in the nationality of its inhabitants and their language and religion. In fact there are indications that the extreme north of the island played a very important part in the political, religious and cultural histroy of the ancient Sinhalase people..."

Apart from the above localities in the ancient Nā gadipa, which have yielded ramains of ancient Buddhist monuments, two other sites, viz. Mallakan and Mahiyapiti are also of some interest. Of them Mallakan is identical with the Mallagāma of the *Nampota*. Here the site of a Buddhist Vihāra is still known. A pond cut in the rock is still called the Kal Pokanai, the Tamil form of the Sinhalese Gal Pokuna. Two fragments of a *yantra-gala* were also discovered here. The other village Mahiyapiti had also yielded a stone spire of a *stupa*, a fine standing statue of the Buddha which, when complete must have been about 8 1/2 ft. in height, and also a stone pedestal (*JCBRAS*, XXVIII, 40 ff)

H. R. Perera.

NĀGĀRJUNA : The founder of the Madhyamika School of Buddhism, lived in India at the beginning of the "Christian Era" and is undisputedly accepted as one of the greatest philosophers of the post Buddhistic period. He is known as the Second Buddha, a Bodhsattva and the 13th patriarch of the Northern school of Buddhism. Venkataramanan, K.[1] adores him thus: Nāgarjuna as a Buddhist philosopher has few equals in the Histroy of Buddhism, there has been hardly another personality so exclusive as him Hiuen Tsang includes Nagarjuna among the four suns that illuminated the world from four directions. the other being Asvaghosa, Aryadeva and Kumara Laddha. Subramāniam K. R.[2] calls him the 'Aristotle of Buddhist Lore', 'The Christ of Mādhyamika' and 'St. Paul of Mahayana', a magical name baffling the brainiest in sheer intellectual power and moral force. It is stated that one hundred years after his death apparently the time when (his) biography was written (first half of the fourth century) he was worshipped as a Buddha at shrines dedicated to him in the states of South India.[3]

Sources : - Several sources are extant for the study of Nāgrajuna and his works, such as Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan out of which most of the Chinese and Tibetan works are the translations of original Sanskrit texts. Among the Sanskrit sources are Bāna's *Harsha Carita* and Kalhāna's *Rājatarangani* are the most prominent. In Chinese we have the *Biography of Nā garjuna* translated into Chinese by Kumārajiva in 405 A. C. and the Biographical account of Hiuen Tsang's *His-Yu-Cui* (Watters on *Yuan Chang* II pp. 200-208). The Tibetan sources constitute the History of Eighty four sorcerers - *Pag-Sam-jon-zan*, Taranath's *History of Buddhism* and Buston's *History of Buddism* (English translation by E. Obermiller). In addition to the above literary sources there are some archaeological evidence unearthed at Amarāvathi and Nagarjunakonda that throw some light on Nāgarjuna.

Credibility of Sources : - The traditional accounts of the life of Nāgarjuna, many of them are short and scrappy and mostly filled with legends, It is a universal phenomena, more frequent in India and surrounding countries that legends myths grow spontaneously around such outstanding personalities in the course of time. Venkataramanan[4] in this context notes, "The tendency to mystify and build stories of embellishment around a momentous personality seems to have reached its zenith in his case". These legendary accounts which indirectly go back to Indian sources which thereby, in spite of many historical impossible details deserve attention. Kalupahana D. J.[5] agrees with Venkataramanan saying "Myths of huge proportions have developed around the spiritual and philosophical personalities in almost every school of Buddhism." Wallesser M.[6] apparently goes to the extreme when he says "In this quite legendary Biography of Nagarjuna perhaps only the names of place of his birth and the place of his later residence show some traces of historical truth."

Birth and the Early Part of his life : The Tibetan accounts say that Nāgarjuna's birth had been predicted in several *sutras* and *Tantras*. Among them are Lankā vatāra *Sūtra, Mañjusrimulla Tantra, Mahā Bheri Sū tra, Mahameghasūta* etc. As found in the *Lankāvatāra* the question that who would uphold the path after his *Parinirvana* has been put to the Buddha. As an answer to the question the Buddha is supposed to have predicted birth of Nāgarjuan, 400 years after his *Parinirvāna*, According to the Tibetan accounts and also Nāgarjuna's Biography (translated to Chinese by Kumārajiva) Nāgarjuna was born to a Brahmin family of South India. The exact country of his birth is unknown though it is said to be the Vidarbha (Berar). The astrologers are said to have predicted that the would live only up to seven years of age[7]. His parents, unable to witness his predicted death sent their son on a pilgrimage accompanied by a servant at the end of seven years. The two travellers came to Nalanda where they met Sāraha or Rahulabhadra the Abbot of Nalanda.

Sāraha having learnt the plight of the boy, and said to have advised him that if he could abandon the worldly life and enter monkhood he could escape death, to which the boy agreed, Saraha afterwards instructed the boy to recite *Dhārani Mantras* throughout the night of his seventh birthday and was able to overcome the Lord of Death. Subsequently he received the initial monk ordination. He became proficient in all the branches of knowledge and in both Hinayāna and Mahā yanā *sutras*. Saraha also gave him many teachings on the esoteric *mantrāyana* such as *Guhyasamāja* etc. He received all the Tantric teachings and their entire oral tradition. He received full ordination from his Abbot and was given the name Sriman (Palden). He is said to have attained *siddhi* charms by the favours of Tāra at Kanchi according to one version, and by the grace of Goddess Chandrika at Nalanda according to another.

Chinese Sources : According to the *Biography of Nāgarjuna*[8] translated in Chinese by Kumarājiva in 405 A. C. Nāgarjuna is described not only as a great magician, but also as a person versed in Astronomy, Medicine, production of precious stones. There the reason for his renunciation of the worldly life is quire different from what is given in theTibetan sources i. e. predicted death. Kumarajiva tells us that Nāgarjuna was overpowered with lust and passion in his early days. Having learnt science of being invisible with two of his firends, he used to enter the royal palace and seduce the court ladies. However his friends were caught and were killed but Nāgarjuna escaped death narrowly. This stirred him deeply and awakened him to the truth that the origin of suffering is passion. Thereupon he entered the Buddhist Order. He is said to have recited and mastered the *Tripitaka* (some Hinayana Canon)[9] in 90 days, He obtained the Mahā yāna sutras from an old bhiksu at a stupa in the snowy mountains (Himalayas) and recited and understood them. Not being satisfied with them he wandered in search of other texts. Kumarajiva further says that a Nāga chief (mahānāga) who met him in the course of his search for texts let him to the sea and opened for him the Treasury of the Seven Jewels (*Saptaratanakosa*) Nagarjuna read the *Vaipulya* (Mahayana) *Sutras*, which the Mahanaga selected for him to read and having read them he deeply penetrated into their meaning. He told Mahanaga that what he had read there were ten times of what he had read in Jambudvipa and eventually brought with him a boxful of them[10] Venkataramanan K.[11] in this context observes : "The tradition that Nagarjuna brought these Sutras from the country of Nagas may be taken as pointing to the preservation of another tradition of Buddhist teaching in the south different from those in the north, and it bears the fact that from his time onwards the *Prajnāparamitā* teaching came to overshadow more and more the other lines of Buddhist Philosophy.

Nāgārjuna and the Tibetan Sources . A special word is needed as regard how Nāgarjuna appears in the Tibetan texts. The Tibetan texts carry more details of him than the other texts. But there he appears as a great sorcerer, a figure into which he had been changed seemingly under the influence of the Tantra School of Buddhism that became influential as from the 9th century A. C. As a sorcerer he is glorified in the text *grub-thob brgyad lu rtsa Bshihi mam thar*, which refer back to an unknown Sanskrit original. The life of Nā garjuna, according to these texts "a chain of magical adventures" observes Wallesser.[12]

The Tibetan accounts on Nāgarjuna are stuffed with numerous legends and magical events. Yet these legends - contained in the ancient Tibetan texts deserve our attention, for they describe various powers, skills, charms attributed to Nāgarjuna in the Tibetan tradtion. The Tibetan texts describe how once he converted iron into gold in order to feed the starving population at Nā landa. Once during a severe drought, the authorities found it difficult to feed the inmates of Nalanda, as the story goes. Nāgarjuna on the instruction of Sāraha the Chancellor of Nalanda learnt the science of turning iron into gold from a Brahmin living in an island, and

provided food to the inmates of Nālanda with the wealth thus accrued. This legend reveals his knowledge of Alchemy. But the scholars think Alchemist Nāgarjuna[13] was a separate Nāgarjuna who according to Ray, P. C[14]. lived in the 6th 7th century A. C. The latter is considered as the author of *Rasaratnākara* a treatise on Indian Chemistry.

Nāgarjuna is supposed to have been versed medical science, too. Subramaniam[15] says that no medical treatise would fail to invoke this blessings: "He (is said to have) himself revised *Susruta* and witten *Kakshaputa Tantra* and *Arogyamañjari*. His eye prescription was well known in China. His cure for poison is deservedly praised by the poet Bana."[16]

Nalinakasha Dutt (Indian Historical Quarterly 7, 637 ff) says that two traditions (of Nāgarjuna) one originated in the *Lankavatāra* and the other in the *Mahasiddivrttanta* has been mixed up in the *Mañjusrimulakalpa*, taking Nāgarjuna to be a single person.

Venkatarāmanan K.[17] had observed that the Tibetan sources have mixed up Mādhyamika Nāgarjuna and Siddha Nāgarjuna, who lived 400 years later. Winternitz[18] too, says that Nagarjuna who is mentioned as the author of *Sādhanas* and numerous *Tantic* works not the founder of the Madhyamika system, but a teacher who probably lived about the middle of the 7th century. Winternitz[19] further presumes : "Most likely the Buddhist Philosopher, the *Tantric* writer, a medical writer and the alchemist were four different persons, who were confused owing to the identity of the names.

Nāgārjuna and Nālanda : According to the Tibetan accounts Nāgarjuna has had strong connecitons with the Nālanda monastery, which later became a reputed seat of learning. Accordingly his ordination is supposed to have taken place at Nalanda under his teacher Sāraha or Rāhula Bhadra, the Chancellor of Nalanda. It is also said that Nāgarjuna succeeded his teacher as the Chancellor of Nālanda. The Tibetan accounts further state that Nāgarjuna brought discipline to Nalanda. He is said to have paid great tribute to those members of the Sangha who observed the Three training properly and expelled those bhikkhus and sramanas who ere morally corrupt. He is reputed to have banished as many as eight thousand monks whose purity was suspected. It is said that under the patriarchate of Nāgarajuna, Nalendra (Nalanda) flourished more and more soon obscured entirely the splendour of *Vajrāsana* (Buddhagaya) the main seat of the followers of the Lower Vehicle Hinayana. But Kmuarajiva's *Biography of Nagarjuna* does not connect Nagarjuna at all with Nālanda. However, the scholars are of opinion that Nālanda had not yet attained the status of a reputed seat of learning, which it attained in the 6th and 7th centuries during the period Nāgarjuna. But other argue that even though Nālanda was not yet a reputed seat of learning, it is not impossible that his ordination took place at Nālanda.

Nāgārjuna and Nāgas : - Nāgarjuna is supposed to have had many connections with Nāgas. His connection with the Nāgas gave him the name Nāga. As he spread Mahayana as fast as the arrow of the archer Arjuna, he got the name Arjuna. Thus he got the name Nāgarjuna.[20] The poet Bana (7th century A. C.) relates in his *Harsha carita*[21] that Nagarjuna received a necklace of pearls from a Nāga king which served as a remedy for snakebites, and in fact, all pains. Nāgas used to come to listen to sermons in human guise. Once they invited him to the Nāga reamls which he accepted. He is said to have proceeded there preached to them, but refused to stay there permanently though requested so by them. He returned with costly presents. It was on this trip that he is said to have brought *Prajnāpāramita sutra*.[22] All sources agree that he brought the *Prajnāpāramita sutras* from the Nāga world.

Nāgārjuna and Sātavāhanas : According to Chinese sources Nagarjuna is said to have had an intimate friendship with a South Indian King Sātavāhana or Sadvahana. It is to the same king Nāgaruna is said to have written the letters of admonition such as *Suhrlekhā* (letter to a friend) and *Ratnāvali* (garland of

jewels). This king is reported to have built a temple for Nāgarjuna at Sriparvata, where Nāgarjuna is said to have spent his last days. This king cannot be identified with certainty. The name Sātavahana does not refer to a personal name of a particular king, but to a royal dynasty that held sway over South India from the middle of the 3rd century B. C. till the beginning of the 3rd century A. C. Nāgarajuna's royal friend is generally accepted as Gautamiputra Sātakarna, who is described as the only Brahmana in his lineage as well as the "lord of the three seas" in the Nasik Edict issued by his mother Bālasri to commemorate the victory over king Ksaharāta Nahapāna, Scholars have assigned possible two dates for Gautamiputra *viz.* the first quarter of the second century or the last quarter of the first century. Those who assign an earlier date for Gautamiputra place his reign between 80-104 A.. C. and those who consider him to have reigned later prefer to assign him to 106-130 A. C. regnal years (Wallesser (*The life of Nāgarjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* p. 31) relates a tradition that Nāgarjuna always carried a red flag before him for seven years, to draw the attention of a South Indian King who persecuted Buddhists and favoured "*tirthakas*" and was able to convince that he was a man all knowing).

Period of Nāgārjuna : Due to the conflicting nature of the records on Nāgarjuna the scholars find it diffcult to ascertain the definite period Nāgarjuna lived. The Tibetan texts say that he appeared four hundred years after the passing away (Parinirvāna) of the Buddha. Hiuen Tsang mentions Nāgarjuna as a contemporary of Asvaghosa, who is himself mentioned as a contemporary of Kaniska, Hiuen Tsang as already stated recounts a tradition according to which Nāgarjuna is considered as the sun that shine in the west, one of the four suns that illuminated the world from four directions. *Rajatarangani*, a late Indian text of Kalhā na speak of Nagarjuna as a contemporary of Huska, Kuska and Kaniska. Huska and Juska are tentatively indentified as Huviska and Vajesaka the contemporaries of Kaniska II, who were ruling 41 year after the accession of Kanisha I, whose accession is generally accepted as taken place in 78 A. C. Howeveer it is difficult to ascertain a definite period of Nagarjuna as long as the dates of Sātāvahana King or Kings he associated remain unsettled.

Having taken into consideration, whatever extant information that is available Venkataramanan says" "still we may not doubt Nagarjuna's contemporaneity with Kaniskha I and if the later date (106-130- A. C.) be accepted for Gautamiputra it is possible that a considerable part, if not the whole of his reign, coincided with the later years of Nāgarjuna.....Nāgarjuna must have been quite advanced in age when Gautamiputta came to power, well beyond eighty. And if we have to reckon with the fact that there is ground in the Tibetan sources, with which Hiuen Tsang seems to agree, to hold that Nāgarjuna was a friend for a long time with the same king to whom he wrote letters of admonition, not withstanding the possibility of his having been comtemporaneous and friendly with several Satavahana kings, then he might have lived up to the end of the reign of Gautamiputra. In such a case it may be surmised that he lived a fairly long life, perhaps over hundred years.....Accepting tentatively the later date (106-130 A. C.) for Gautamiputra and reckoning with the possibility of Nagarjuna being contemporaneous, not only with him but also with Hala[24] (earlier Satavahana king) it could perhaps be taken as a highly probable working hypothesis that the upper and the lower limits of the philosophical activity of Nagarjuna lay somewhere between 50 A. C. and 120 A. C. if the earlier date (80-104 A. C) is to be accepted for Gautamiputra, these limits have to be pushed back by about twenty years. The period between 50 A. C. and 130 A. C. would be synchronous also the reigns of Kaniska I and Kanisha II. This corroborates the other traditions that Nāgarjuna was a contemporary of these kings."

Nāgārjuna's Death : There is not historical account of his death extant, though historians infer that he would have enjoyed a fairly long life, "perhaps hundred years as Venkataramanan thinks. Wallesser observes : life of Nāgarjuna has been a chain of magical adventures, so also his death." (Wallesser *op. cit.* p. 5)

According to Tibetan accounts Nagarjuna had a diamond body. He discovered the elixir of life. He lived "71 less than 600 of the duration of each of half a year (Wallesser op. cit. p 12). The passing away of Nā grjuna though differently told amount to his having himself put up and end to his life or having given his consent to his own death at the hands of another. As the story goes, Suskti the youngest son of king Sadvā hana was worried about the longevity of his father for he could not succeed him. The royal mother gave the secret to his grieving son that Nagarjuna possesses a diamond body, he cannot die and the king's life is connected with that of Nāgarjuna, the king will not die unless Nagarjuna dies. But there is a way out for he is a Bodhisattva ; if you ask for his head he would give. The boy followed the mother's instructions. Nagarjuna consented to give his head. Further it is said the boy was unable to cut his head with his sword, but was able to cut the head with a blade of kusa grass as advised by Nāgarjuna. However, its is said in future the severed head and the body would join and Nāgarjuna would come back to the world.

Glorified Nāgārjuna : Over enthusiastic followers specially the Tibetans have glorified him to the maximum possible degree, As Subramaniam[25] says "There is no branch of knowledge with which Nā garjuna was not associate". He was supposed to be omniscient or at least subsequent adherents thought him to be omniscient. Kenneth Inada[26] observes that the veneration of Nāgarjuna "At time reached such ridiculous heights that his same was sanctified and stamped everywhere with reckless abandon even for frauding scripural authority". Kalupahan thinks that Inada was probably referring to the attempt on the part of some of the later Tantric writers to seek authority and sanctity for their ideas. Kalupahana[27] sees an atempt to elevate Nāgarjuna above the historical Buddha by later Mahayana writers : In the Mahayana tradition, the stage was thus made ready for a philosopher like Nagarjuna, who was supposed to have best expounded the doctrine to be elevated to the level of a second Buddha, nay even to the status of a Supreme Buddha more exalt than Sakyamuni".

Historicity of Nāgārjuna : Various accounts of the life of Nagarjuna appear as a jungle of legends that some historians were compelled to entertain doubts whether such a person really existed. While commenting on the legendary nature of various accounts, Venkataramanam[28], observes : "It is therefore not strange that eminent scholars like Professor Max Wallesser should strike a very skeptical note only in regard to the different and sometimes conflicting traditional accounts of the life and work of this Buddhist master, but also in regard to the very question of his having ever existed". However there exist some archaeological and literary evidence that corroborate to some extent certain broad facts about Nāgarjuna's life on which traditional Biographies agree. Sriparvata where Nāgarjuna is supposed to have spent his last days is identified as Nagarjunakonda (Hill of Nagarjuna) However Nalinaksha Dutt says that it was the Tantric Nāgarjuna who lived 400 - 500 years after the Madhyamika Nāgarajuna who spend his last days at Sriparvata. He states that the Mādhyamika Nāgarjuna who lived in Mādhyadesa had nothing to do with Sriparvata. He further adds that the Tantric Nagarjuna converted Sriparvata into a centre of Tārā Worship (Indian Historical Quarterly, 7, 935 ff. *Confusion between Madhyamika Nagarjuna and Tantric Nagarjuna*; Nalinaksha Dutt). They very name Nagarjunakonda (Nāgarjuna's Hill) suggests his association with the place. Findings of excavations at the site agree with the description of Hiuen Tsang. His name is mentioned in inscriptions discovered from the Amarāvati Stupa, not far from Nagarjunakonda. But Subramaniam[29] considers of a later date. His authorship

of the *Madyamaka kārika* is undoubtedly accepted. Similarly his authorship of *Suhrlleka*, his admonition to his friend Sātavahaana, too is undisputed. Chaudheri[30] goes to the extent of suggesting that the relics found from the stupa at the site may be that of Nāgarjuna (Chaudhery B. N. *op. cit.* p. 241).

However, apparently in the face of the above facts, Wallesser who was skeptical as to whether a person by that name really existed concedes as regards Nā garjuna's historicity thus : "In the case of Nagarjuna must have lived in the third century A. C. which is not unlikely having regard to the other reports of his co-existence with kings Kaniska and Sātavāhaana (Wellesser, *op. Cit.* p. 5). Murti does not suspect the histroricity of Nāgarjuna "Though the tradition of his life are greatly overlaid with legendary details there is no reason to doubt that Nagarjuna was a real person" (Murti, T. R. V. *op. cit.* p. 87-88)

Nāgarjuna and Mahāyāna : Nāgarjuna was among the greatest Mahāyāna teachers and is generally accepted as the founder of Mahāyāna. But Nagarjuna's works themselves show that the earliest forms of Mahayana Sutras such as *Prajnāpāramitā, Vimalakirti Nirdesa* etc. were already in existence when Nagarjuna came to the scesce. Venkataramanan[31] thinks that "earliest recension of these Sutra may have been in existence a century before Nagarjuna. "In fact Nāgarjuna is found quoting from numerous Mahāyāna Sutras. But it was Nagarjuna who systematized and developed the Mahayana philosophy. It was after him that Mahayana flourished in an unprecedented way. Venkataramanan[32] described Nāgarjuna's contribution to Mahāyāna thus : The depth of insight, vigour of logic and the felicity of expression which he brought to bear upon his work as a teacher of the Great Way (Mahayana the way of perfection of wisdom (*Prajna pramita*) made revolution almost startling in the history of Buddhist Philosophy and influenced profoundly the subsequent philosophical thinking both within and outside in the Buddhist Fold. Further, on the tradition that Nagarjuna brough *Prajnaparamita Sutras* from the Naga realm Venkataramanan[33] notes : "although he is siad to have brought from the Naga the *Prajnā paramitā Sutras* in 100,000 *gāthas* on the recension of which the *Sāstra* is the commentary, is that of 25,000 *gāthās* which seems to have been an abridgement of the former, it is possible that he himself had a hand in settling the reading of the abridged version."

Nāgarjuna's Three Great Deeds : Tibetan accounts say that Nāgarjuna accomplished "three great deeds" in his career and these three deeds are compared with those of the Buddha himself. Nāgarjuna's teaching of the *vinaya* is compared to the Buddh'a "Turning of the wheel of Dharma" His teaching of an 'emptiness' (*sunyatā*) is comparable to the Buddha's "Second turning of the wheel". His composition of such texts *praise of the Dhamadhātu*" is equaled to the Buddha's "Third Turning of the Wheel".

Apart from his service as a spiritual leader and a philosopher, he is reported to have been involved in the construction and development of the monasteries and shrines as per Tibetan texts. On the instruction of his teacher Rāhula Bhadra (Saraha) he is supposed to have established 108 monasteries 1000 temples and 10,000 *caitiyas*. When the Bodhi Trees at Buddhgaha was being damaged by elephants he erected stone columns to protect it. Tarānatha mentions that he erected "the inner rail" at Amaravati which enshrined some relics of the Buddha.

Nāgārjuna's Works : There exists a great controversy as regards the books attributed to Nā garjuna. Scholars hold divergent views on the books attributed to him. They have observed that some of the books are erroneously attributed to him perhaps in order to get authority for the books. It is seen that books of various disciplines such as Buddhist Philosophy, medicine, chemistry, arts and worldly sciences are attributed to him. Venkataramanan (op. cit. p. 34) points out that in the Chinese collection *Aksara Sataka* of Aryadeva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of

Shantideva, *Mahāyānavimsati* of a later author of the same name, *Upāyahrdaya* which has hardly any bearing to the principal theme of Nāgarjuna, most probably of someone else etc. have been erroneously attributed to Nāgarjuna. Among the works attributed to Nāgarjuna are Praises, *Tantras*, *Mādhyamika* works, *Sutras*, *Abhidharma* and *Vinaya* works. The Tibetan accounts (according to *bstam - gyur* Peking and Sae edition) attributed to him 19 *praises*, 66 *tantras*, 33 *Mādhyamika treatises*, 4 *sutras*, 01 *Abhidharma work*, 6 *Vinaya treatises*, 3 on arts, 3 on worldly sciences one letter and 4 special works. It is highly incredible that one person was able to author such a large nunmber of books pertaining to various disciplines. Apparently this is due to the assumption of several persons of the same name Nāgarjuna.

Kumarajiva's Biography of *Nāgarjuna* mentions five kinds of Nāgarjuna's works (i) *Upadesa* in 100,000 stanzas (ii) *Buddhamārgalankara sastra*, the "Treatise on the Factors of the way of the Buddha" in 5,000 *gā thas* (iii) *Mahākarunopāya Sāstra* - the "Treatise on the skilfulness of great compassion in 5,000 *gāthās* (iv) The *Madhyamika Sāstra* - The "Treatise on the Middle way" in 500 *gāthas* and (v) *Akutobhaya Sā stra* - the Fealess Treatise in 100,000 *gāthas*. The biobrapher Kumarajiva mentions that *Madhyamaka Sastra* is contained in *Akutōbhaya Sastra*.

Based on the Tibetan sources Nāgarjuna's works are three fold, collection of discourses, collection of tributes and the collection of logic writings. Under the discourses are classed *Ratnāvali, Suhṛlekha, Prajnā sataka, Prajnadanda and Janaposane bindu Dharmadhātusatva, Lokātitāsatva, Acintyasatva and Paramārthasatva* are classed as tributes. The collection of logic writings contain *Mulamādhyamika Kārika* and its four limbs *Yuktisasika, Sunyata saptati, Vaidalya Sutra* and *Vigraha Vyāvattani*. *Lindtner*[34] classifies Nāgarjuna's works into three categories (1) correctly attributed (ii) wrongly attributed (iii) dubious. He counts 12 treatises only as genuine Nagarajuna's works such as *Mūlamādhayamika Kārikā, Sunyata saptati Vigrhavyāvartani, Vaidalya-prakaraṇa, Vyavahā rasiddhi, Yuktisastika, Catuhstava, Ratnavali, Pratityasamutāpāda-hrdayakārika, Sūtra-samuccaya, Bodhicittavivaranaya, Suhrllekhā and Bodhisambhā raka (ka).* To the second spurious group he puts *Mahaprajna- pāramitopadesa, Abudhabodhak-aprakaraṇa, Guhyasamāja-tantraṭika, Dvadasadvaraka Prajnāpāramita stotra and Svabhavatr- ayapravesa siddhi.* The third group of dubious works he devides into two, perhaps authentic and most probably not genuine. He counts *Mahayā navim sikā, Bodhicittotpadavaidhi, Dvādasakā ranaya stotra, (Madhyamaka) Bhavasamkrānti, Niralambastava Salistambakarika, Stutyatitastava, Dānaparikathā, Cittavajrastava, Mulasarvastivadi-sramanerakmrika, Dasabhunikavibhasa, Lokaparikṣā, Yogasataka, Prajnādanda Rasavaisesikasutra* and *Bhāvanākrama* as perhaps authenitic. He rejects the following as most probably not genuine : *Akṣarasataka Akutobhaya (Mulamā dhayamakavrtti) Aryabhāttaraka Mañj-usriparamarthastuti, Kāya-trayastotra, Narakoddharastava, Niruttarastava, Vandanāstava, Dharmasamgraha, Dharmadhātugarbha vivarana, Ekaslokasastra, Isvarakartrtvanirakrti, Sattvārā dhanastava, Upāyahrdaya Astadasa-sunyatāsastra. Dharadhatustava Yogaratanamāla* etc.

Taranatha mentions the following five works as Nā garjuna's : *Mulamādhya-mika Karikā, Yukti Sastika Sunyatā Saptati, Vigraha Vyavartani and Vaidalya.* Bustan lists six books adding *Vyavahrasiddhi* to the above five.

However 24 treatises of Nāgarjuna, the Mā dhyamika Philosopher logician and debater have come down to us as Chinese translations, the original Sanskrit of which are lost. *Prajnāpāramitā Sāstra, Prajnāmū*

lasastratikā, Prajnāpradipa- sāstra Kārikā, Mulamadhyamika Sāstra, Sunyasaptadhi, Madhyantanugama, Sastra, Dasabhumi Vibhāsa Sā stra, Dvadasanikaya Sāstra, Vivāda Samana Sāstra, Pramānavihetana, Upāya Kausalya brdaya Sāstra and *Vigrahavyāvartini kārika*[35] are among the said Chinese. Out of all the works of Nagarjuna *Mulamadhyamika Karika* or *Madhyamika Sāstra* is the most famous of them and is regarded as his master piece and chief among his dialectical treatises. It has come down to us in orginal Sanskrit. In 400 *Kārikas* or verses (according to Murti T. R. V. 488 *karikas*) divided into 27 chapters. It presents the Madhyamika philosophy taught in the Mahāyāna Sutras in a systematic manner. The other books such as *Yuktisastka, Sunyata Saptati* etc. on the subject written by him are regarded as its limbs. Nagarjuna himself is said to have written a commentary named *Akutobhaya* ("Safe One") as his materpiece which is extant only as a Tibetan translation. Two more commentaries by Buddhapalita and Bhāvaviveka are also extant as Tibetan translations. But out of all the exegesis on *Maādhyamikakārika*, one named *Prasannapada* ("clear worded") by Chandrakirti is the only one which has come down to us in Sanskrit and is well known.

Suhr̄llekha : "Letter to a Friend" which Nā garjuna is supposed to have written to a friendly king, too, need our attention. The king who had cordial relationship with Nagarjuna is identified as Gautamiputri Satakarni as already stated. The letter which is extant only as a Tibetan tanslation gives the basic principles of Buddhism in 123 verses. It appears that this book has been very popular in India subsquently. I-tsing who came to India in the 7[th] century. A. C. praises this work and says it was being memorized both by the young and the old at the time.

Nāgarjuna's Disciples : According to the records Nāgarjuna was blessed with equally skilled disciples who developed the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism after him. Most eminent disciple of him was Aryadeva (q.v.) who was also known as "Deva" "Kānadeva" because he was said to have been blind in one eye and "Nilanetra" due to his eyes being blue in colour. Some call him the younger contemporary of Nāgarjuna while others held the view that he came to the scene after him and he did not see Nāgarjuna. He composed ten treatises such as *Catuhsataka, Sata(ka) Sastra* etc. and developed the Madhyamika system of Buddhism further. According to another tradition Aryadeva succeeded Nāgarjuna as the 14th Patriarch and his (Nā garjuna's) predesessor was Kapimala. Other than Aryadeva Nagarjuna seems to have had two well-known disciples named Nanda and Nāga as Subramaniam recounts (Subramaniam K. R. *op. cit.* p. 59).

The next renowned Madhamika Philosophers is succession were Buddhapālita and Bhāvaviveka. Bhā vaviveka (q. v.) (Bhavya) circa 5[th] century A. C. wrote a commentary called Prajnāpradipa on the Madhyamika Sastra of Nāgarjuna and he founded the Svatantra Madhyamika School He criticized Buddhapalita (q.v.) his senior contemporary for merely indulging in refutation without advancing a counter position. He seems to have held the view that the Madhyamika could consistently advance an opposite view. Buddhapālita (5[th] centurry A. C.) and founded the "Prāsangika School of the Madhaymika" which takes the essence of Madhamika method to consist of the use *reductio ad absurdum* alone. The true Madhyamika cannot uphold a position of his own. His sole endeavour is to reduce to absurdity of the arguments of his opponents.

Chandrakiri (q. v.) circa 6[th] and 7[th] century A. C. was the next celebrated Mādhyamika exponent, who wrote the commentary *Prasannapadā* ("clear word") to Nagarjuna's *Mādhyamika Sāstra Kārikā* which is the foremost among the commentaries written on it. He also wrote a commentary to Aryadeva's

Catuhsataka. Chandrakiri followed the "Prāsangika school of the Madhyamika" philosophy. He is described as a commentator and author of unequalled merit and gifted dialectician of the highest order.

Similarly, eminent philosophers, dialecticiants, debators and logicians like Shantideva, Shāntarakashita, Kamalasila, etc. adorned the lineage of Madyamika thinkers subsequently.

Nāgārjuna and his Philosophy : Nagarjuna's philosophy is known as the philosophy of the "Middle way", the main teaching of which is "emptiness" (*sunyata*) Nāgarjuna as well as his teaching of Sunyata has been often misunderstood and mistrepresented specially by the western scholars. Nagarjuna is represented as having deviated from the original teachings of the Buddha and promulgated a nihilistic doctrine. But present scholarship has successful by shown that it is the fallacy of some of his commentators as well as early western scholars. A careful examination of his main treatise *Madhyamika Karika* reveals that his sunyata (emptiness) and the cansal genesis (*Pratityasamutpada/ Paṭiccasamuppada*) are identical and that itself is the middle path.

Yah pāratityasamutāpādah sunyatam pracaksmahe
Sa prajnaptir upādāya pratipat saiva Madhyamā

We state that whatever is dependent ii arising that is emptiness. That is dependent upon convention. That itself is the middle path

Madhyamika Kārikā XXIV verse 18

It is very clearly stated in the Kaccāyana Gotta Sutta of the Samyutta nikāya, that the Buddha avoided the two extreme views of eternalism (*atthitā*) and nihilism (*natthitā*) and proclaimed the middle path i. e. *Paticcasamuppāda* (casual genesis).

"Sabban atthiti kho kaccāyana ayam eko anto, sabbam natthiti ayam dutiyo anto ete te ubho ante anupagamma majjhena tathāgato dhammam deseti. Avijjā paccayā sankhārā .... etc.

"Kaccāyana the view that everything exists is one extreme ; everything does not exist is the other extreme. The Tathāgata avoiding both extremes preaches the middle path. From ignorance arise dispositions etc. " (*S*. II. 17)

Nāgarjuna recounts exactly the same view in his *Mādhyamakakārikā* when he says :
Astiti Sāsvata grāho nāstity uccheda darsanam
Tasmād astitva nastitive nasriyet vicaksanah

"Exists" implies grasping eternalism "Does not exist" implies the philosophy of annihilation. Therefore a discerning person should not rely on either existence or non-existence
(*Mādhyamika kārikā* XV verse 10)

Eternalism implies the existence of a transmigrating soul. Though the Buddha categorically and persistently rejected the existence of a permanent entity called 'soul' (*atman*), it was not possible to eradicate the deep-rooted idea from the minds of the people. Even when the Buddha was living he had to correct a *bhikku* named Sati who misunderstood the Buddha as having taught of a permanent vinnana (mind) transmigrates unchanged (M. I. P. 256 ff) After the passing away of the Buddha the theory of a permanent unchanging soul or substantialism started to intrude into the teachings of the Buddha donned in other garbs. Sarvastivadins (*Pali Sabbattivāda*) forwarded the theory of "self nature" (*svabhāva*) and Sautrantikas introduced their conception of self or person (*atman, pudgala*) surreptitiously which could be described as substantialism in disquise. It was the arahant Moggaliupttatissa (3rd century B. C.) the president of the Third Buddhist Council, who tried to suppress

heretical views such as Sabbatthivada (*sarvāstivada*) and Puggalavāda (pudgalavāda) by composing the treatise "Points of controversy" (Kathāvatthu) Out of modern scholars Warder and Kalupahana D. J. who revealed for the first time that Nagaruna was not a nihilist but was trying to go back to original Buddhism highlighting the fallacies that had gained ground. Kalupahana at the inception of his *Mūlamadhyamakā kaarikā* of Nāgarjuna, *Philosophy of Middle way* spells out his views thus : An attempt will be made to present Nāgarjuna merely as a grand commentator on the Buddha word and try to show that he did not try to improve upon the teaching of the Buddha. His work *Mulamdhyamaka karika* will be explained as an attempt to destroy the weeds that had grown around the Buddha's teachings as a result of some of the ideas expressed by the philosophers both of the Sarvāstivā da and the Mahayana traditions (Kalupahana, D. J. *op. cit.* p. 5)

Thus, contemporary scholars citing from original scriptures of both Southern and Nothern schools of Buddhism, have established that Nāgarjuna was not a nihilist or a full-fledged Mahāyānist (unlike the Mahā yanists of a later period who undermined the historical Buddha) nor was he trying to improve upon the original teachings of the Buddha, but was faithful to the original teachings of the Buddha, was attempting to vindicate the original teachings of the Buddha from misconceptions attributed by the substantialist like Sarvāstivādins, Sautrāntikas etc.

The supreme position Nāgarjuna attained in the contemporary philosophical arena is samply attested in the following statement made by his commentator Chandrakirti nearly four centuries later.

Yasya Darsana tejānsi
Paravadi matendhanam
Dhantadya pi lokasya
Manasani tamasica

Even today the rays of his philosophy burn the fuel of philophies of the rival philosophers as well as the darkness in the minds of the people.

(*Mādhayamika vrtti* p. XI)

Bibliography

Wallesser M. *The life of Nagarajuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources NAG* Publishers Delhi, 1979

Venkataramanan K. *Nagarjuna's Philosophy*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1978

Nagarjuna's letter to a fiend. Translated by Geshe Lobsang Tharchin and Artemus B. Engle. Library of Tibetan Work's & Archives, Dharmasiāla, Delhi 1979

Indian Buddhist Pandits from "The Jewel Garland of Buddhist History, translated from Tibetan by Lobsang N., Tsonawa - Library of Tibetan Works and Archives New Delhi - 1985

Subramanian K. R. *Buddhist Remains in South India*, Cosmo Publishers Delhi 1981

Kalupahana David J. *Mulamadhya- makakarika of Nagarajuna. The Philosophy of the Middle way*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1991

Winternitz M. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II Motilald Banarsidass Delhi 1993

Warder A. K. *Indian Buddhism*. Motilal Banarsidass Delhi 1991

Murti T. R. V. *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, George Allen and Unvin Ltd. London 1955

Robinson Richard N. *Early Madhyamika in India and China*, Madison Milwaukee London 1967

Chr. Lindtner *Nagarjuna studies in the writings and philosophy of Nagarjuna* Motilal Banarasidass Delhi 1996

Bapat Prof. P. V. (General Editor) 2,500 *years of Buddhism*, Government of India New Dehlhi 1987

Indian Historical Quarterly 7,935 ff. "Confusion between Madhayamika Nāgarajuna and Tibetan Nā garjuna" - Nalinaksha Dutt.

Chaudhery B. N. *Buddhist Centre in India*, Calcutta 1969

Tilakaratna Asanga, *Sunyatavādayehi darshanaya hā caranaya* (Sinhala), Nugegoda, Colombo, 2001
Sāsanaratna Moratuwe, *Acarya, Nāgarjunapā dayange Mulamadhyamika Kārikawā*, (sinhala) Colombo, 1965

Buddhadatta A. P. *Bharatiya Baudhācāryayo*, Vol. II, Colombo 1963.

K. Arnuasiri

References :

1 Venkataramanan K. *Nagarajuna's Philosophy* Motilala Banarsidass Delhi 1978 p. 25

2 Subramaniam, K. R. *Buddhist Remains of South India, COSMO* Publications Delhi 1981 p. 62

3 Richard H. Robinson, *Early Madhyamika in India and China*, Madison Milwaukee London 1967 p. 22

4 Venkataramanan K., *Nagarjuna's Philosophy*, Motilal Banarsidass Dehlhi 1978 p. 25

5 Kalupahana D. J., *Mulamadhyamakakarika of Nagarjuna, The philosophy of the Middle Way* - Motilal Banarsidass Delhi, 1991 p. 1

6 Wallesser M. *The life of Nagarjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources* Delhi, 1979 p. 13

7 Though not explicity stated there is no least doubt that he mastered Bramanical learning during his childhood as usually done in the Brahmanic society.

8 Wallesser M. however adds a note of caution as regards the credibility of Kaumarajiva's work thus : 'At any rate we have to take Kumarajiva' Biography of Nagarjuna with great caution and must not at all imagine that we have here the authentic text before us, Wallesser M. *ibid*. p. 27

9 The canon that was available to Nararjuna is thought to be the Sarvastivada Canon

10 The Tibetan sources are more specific with regard to what he brought from there for, they tell us that these were among these texts. The Prajnāpāramitā Sutra of 100,000 *gathas* - Venkataramanan *op. cit*. p. 27

11 Venkataramanan *loc. cit p*. 27

12 Wallesser *op. cit p*. 7

13 Alberumi an Arabic Geographer of 11th century A. C. speaks of an alchemist Nagarjuna, the author of *Rasaratnakara* who lived hundred years before him.

14 Ray, P. C. *History of Indian Chemistry*, I, Calcutta 1903 ; II, 1909

15 Subramaniam K. R. *op. cit*. p. 54-55

16 Subramaniam *loc. cit*

17 Venkataramanan *Nagarjuna's Philosophy* Motilal Banarsidass Delhi, 1978 p. 336 Note 5 378

18 Winterniz M. *History of Indian Literature* Motilal Banarsidass Delhi, 1993 Vol. II. p. 378

19 Winternitz op. cit. p 331 f. n. 2

20 According to another tradition he was named Arjuna, because his mother gave birth to him under a Arjuna tree

21 Winternitz op. cit. p. 331

22 Subramaniam, K. R. suggests that His journey to Nāga world led to his discovery of complete *Prajnāpāramita* which was lost in the continent. The Nāga loka at the bottom of the sea might be Ceylon, Subramaniam, K. R. *op. cit*. p. 54

23 Venkataramanan, K. *ibid*. p. 30

24 Sastri P. S. *Nāgarjuna and Aryadeva*, Indian Historical quarterly xxxi 1955 pp. 193-202) holds view that Nagarjuna was a contemporary of Hala and Kunala and Gautamiputtu Satakarna.

25 Subramaniam K. R. *op. cit*. p. 54

26 Kenneth K. *Nagarajuna* A translation of his *Mulamadhyamaka karika* an introductory essay. Tokyo, The Hokusiedo Press, 1970 p. 3

27 Kalupahana D. J. *op. cit*. p. 3

28 Venkataramanan K. op. *cit p*. 25

29 Venkataramanan *op. cit*. 336 note 6

30 Chaudhery B. N. *Buddhist Centres in India*, Calcutta 1969 p. 241

31 Venkataramanan K. *Loc. cit*

32 Venkataramanan K. *loc. cit*

33 Venkataramanan K. *loc. cit*

34 Indtner Chr. *Nagarjuna*, Motilal Banarasidass 1990 p. 10 ff

35 Subramaniam K. R. *op. cit*. p. 56

NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA. Nāgārjunakonda or "Hill of Nagarjuna" is an ancient Buddhist establishment in the valley of the river Krishna, which flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is on the right bank of the river Krishna in the Paland Taluk of Guntur District of Madras-Presidency, at present included in the State of Andhra. The ruins of Nagarjunakonda were first discovered in 1926 by the eminent archaeologist A. H. Longhurt in 1926 and the excavations were carried out in the years 1926-31. As a result of the findings of the archaeological excavations, it was indentified as the Sri Parvata, where the celebrated Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna spent his last days according to the Tibetan records, in a temple specially built for him by the south Indian King Sātavāhana or Sādvahana.

All around Nagarjunakonda is a girdle of lofty hills forming a natural valley watered by the mighty Krishna River that nurtured a great Buddhist civilization in the early centuries of the first millennium. In the central position of the valley, once stood Vijayapuri the capital of powerful Iksvaku emperors of South India, Nagarjunakonda was on the eastern side of the city and it overhangs the right bank of the river. Surrunding Nallamalai Range (Black Hills) extend westwards along the Krishna river and on a forest clad hill facing the river and about sixty miles west of Nagjunakonda stands the famous Hindu temple Sri Sailam. The Buddhist ruins along the Krishna valley including it's tributary Paler testify to the flourishing Buddhist civilization in the latter centuries of the pre Christian era and the early centuries of the Christian era, the centers of which are Amārāvati, Jaggayyapeta, Gantasālā, Goli and Nagarjunakonda. The historians say that the rise of Amaravati as a prominent city could be dated before the Christian era but reached its height of glory during the second century A. C. Nagarjunakonda rose to its prominence, as a great centre of Buddhism under the patronage of Iksvāku rulers of the 3rd century A. C.[1]

The Archaeological excavations conducted during 1926-31 under A. H. Longhurst, as already stated, at Nagarjunakonda has yielded valuable information not only regarding Nagarjunakonda but also the state of Buddhism in the Krishna Valley at the beginning of the Christian era, but also the spread of Buddhism in South India.

Among the findings are *stupas*, monasteries, apsidal temples, Ayaka pillars, statues, pavillions, inscriptions bone relics, pottery, coins and some over 500 magnificent bas-relief's in the Amaravati style.

Inscriptions : The most important findings of the archaeological excavations are the large number of inscriptions written in the Brahmi script. The language used found to be Prakrit and the inscriptions belong to the second and third centuries A. C. Histrorically these inscriptions are of immense value for they contain valuable information not only on Nagarjunakonda but also the adjacent city Vijayapuri the capital of Iksvākus, names of kings and queens of Iksvāku Dynasty including the state of Buddhism in the Krishna valley. Yet these inscriptions are not official proclamations issued by Iksvāku rulers, but recordings of various donations specially made to *Mahācetiya* at Nagarjunakonda. It is significant that among the donors the majority are royal ladies. Nevertheless there are also donors apparently not connected to the royal family. The inscriptions have preserved the names of several Iksvāku kings such as Madharipudata Siri Vira Purisadata during whose reign the principal sanctuaries of Nagarajunakonda were founded. His father Vasithiputa Siri Chamtamula and his son and successor Vasathiputa Siri Ehuvula are found referred to. The inscriptions contain words such as Digha-Majjhima-Pamcamatuka-Osaka vacakanam, Digha Majjhima Nikaya dharena etc. which throw some light on the Buddhist scriptures prevalent in the Krishna valley. The inscriptions also record Nagarjunakonda and Vijyapuri had connections not only with distant regions of India such as Kashmir, Gandhara but also other countries such as Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and China.

Stupas : Mahācetiya. The archaeologists have identified eight stupas at Nagarjunakonda. The stupa identified in one inscription at the site, as "Mahacetiya identified in one inscription at the site, as "Mahacetiya identified...

[1]N. Dutt observes just ass Bodh Gaya grew on the bank of the Neranjana as a very early centre of Hinayana and a place of pilgrimage for early Buddhists as also did Amaravati (extending to Jaggayyapeta) and Nagarjunakonda on the bank of River Krishna (including its tributary Paler) as a flourishing centre of proto Mahayana and Mahayana in pre Christian and early Christian era and a place of pilgrimage for later Buddhists (indian Historical Quarterly 7, 935 ff. Confusion between Madhyamika Nagarjuna and Tantric Nagarjuna by Nalinaksha Dutt)

covered with plaster from top to bottom, the dome being ornamented with garland decorations. The āyaka pillar platforms are made of stones except their bases. The āyaka platforms which are highly decorated revealing the Andhra genesis in art. The *stupa* is surrounded by processional paths a feature of ancient stupas like Sanchi. According to the inscription the ā yaka pillars at the Mahacetiya were set up by a princess named Chamti Siri and other royal ladies, Dr. Voghe[2] thinks that the Mahaceitya was founded by the princess Chamtisiri. But Longhurst[3] does not agree and says the Mahaceitya was founded long before Chamtirisi and she was only instrumental in adding Ayaka pillars to it. Archaeologists think that the Amaravati *Stupa* was built and enlarged between circa second B. C. and second century A. C. But stupas of Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunakonda were constructed in the third of fourth century A. C. respectively. Longhurst[4] who carried out the excavations conlcudes, "I personally like Dr. Hirananda Sastri, do not doubt that the Mahacetiya was originally built to enshrine some corporal remains of the Buddha, and the fragments of bone found in the gold reliquary represent genuine *dhatus* or relics of the Great Teacher. There is no reasons why such a relic could not have been obtained from North India long before the date of Chamatisiri". It is this relic discovered at the Mahācetiya Nagarjuakonda now being worshipped in the Mulagandhakuti Vihāre in Saranath.

Monasteries : Remains of six *vhiāras* or monasteries have been discovered. These monastic establishment were complete in themselves, containing a Vihara or dwelling place of monks, a temple (Mainly apsidal) and a *stupa*, Each vihāra has a rectangular open courtyard enclosed by a brick wall. In the centre of *vihāra* was a square stone paved hall with a wooden roof supported by pillars. In the inner side of the outer wall was a row of cells for the monks with a verandah in front. Some of the cells were used as store rooms, a few as shrines and there was usually one large room which served as a refectory.

Sihalavihāra : Among the monasteries one of the hills called "Naharallabodu" is of special significance. An inscription at the site records that a lady named Bodhisiri constructed a monastery with a apsidal temple for the Ceylonese monks living there. According to the inscription the hill was known as "Smaller Dharmagiri" (*Ksudra Dharmagiri*) on Sri Parvata. The text of the inscription runs thus :

Acariyanam Kasmira Gandhara Cina Cilata Tosali. Avaranta Vamga Vanavasi

yavana Damila Palura Tambapamni dipa pasadakanam theriyanam

tambapannakanam suparigahe (*EP Ind* xx. 22-23). For the benefit of masters and of the fraternities (of monks) of Tambapamna (Ceylon) who have converted Kasmir, Gandhara, Cina Citala (Skt. Kirata) Avaranta (Sk. Aparanta) Vanga, Vanavasi Yavana Damila Palura and the isle of Tambapann (Ceylon) translations Dr Vogel.[5]

The inscriptions further says the Sihalavihāra contained as shrine with a bodhi tree (Sinhala Vihare bodhrukkha pasāde) which is a necessary feature of the Buddhist monasteries of Sri Lanka even today. The inscription further records the dedication of a cetiya ghara to the fraternities of Tambapanni. another feature of a monastery in ancient Sri Lanka[6]. It is amply clear that Buddhists of Krishna Valley had close religious contacts with their counterparts in Sri Lanka during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Bas-reliefs : The most valuable and striking discoveries made during the excavations by Longhurst at Nagarjunakonda are the pieces of sculpture over 500 nos. The scenes depicted in the carvings are from the life of the Buddha and from the *Jātakas* (previous births) Among the scenes depicted are Buddha Dipankara's predication regarding Gautama Buddha, the admission of the six Sakya princes and the barber Upali to the order, conversion of Nanda, the gift of earth, Princes Siddhartha in the pleasure Garden, Devas congratulating Buddha after the Enlightenment. Lady Amarā and the four wise men *Ummaggajātaka. Champeyya Jātaka, Mandhātu Jātaka, the Nāga king* Ajapala subdued by the Buddha, *Sibi jātaka*, transport of relics, Buddha visited by Indra in the cave Indasala, Dasaratha Jataka, Mahapaduma Jātaka, Upasagara Devagarbha and *Ghata Jātakas*, Buddha preaching to four monks, the offering of food to the Buddha after enlightenment, meeting of Upaka the wandering ascetic, Sāgara and the Nāga of the Mango

[2] Longhurst P. H. *Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda* Delhi, Manager Publications 1938
[3] Loc. Cit.
[4] Op. cit. p. 19

Ferry, conversion of *yaksha* Alavaka, the king Kappina the Great's conversion and episodes in the career of the Buddha.

The scenes relating to the Buddha's life and his pre births (*jātakas*) are drawn from early Buddhist texts (including some pertaining to northern Buddhism) such as *Jātakanidhāna*, *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Buddhacarita* of Asvaghosa, *Divyāvadāna*, Buddhaghosa's commentary of Dhammapada, *Mahapa rinibbāna Sutta*, *Sakkapanñha Sutta of Dīghanikāya* and its commentary - *Sumangala Vilasini* and some Ceylonese and Chines versions of the Life of the Buddha. It is clear that the texts of Southern Buddhism as well as those of Northern Buddhism were being studied at Krishna Valley.

The carvings are of Amaravati style, In some pieces it is seen synoptic mode of illustration has been followed i .e the artist have combined the successive stages of the story in one panel. In others he has the narrative style and to a little extent symbolic modes.

Mahâsaṅghikas at Nāgarjunakonda : Another significant fact revealed in the inscriptions is the presence of Mahāsaṅghikas in the Krishna Valley including Nagarjunakonda. Mahasanghikas who broke away from the orthodox Theravāda school are said to have established themselves in the North especially around Pataliputra and Vesali etc. The inscriptions discovered at Nagarjunakonda testify that they have moved southwards too and established themselves in the Krishna Valley in the south. It is interesting to find several sects subsequently deviated from *Mahasanghika* such as *Apamahavinaseliyas*, Purvaseliya, Bahusattiya (Skt. Bahusrutiyas), Mahi sâsaka (Skt. *Mahisasaka*) are found referred to in the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions[7]. Thus it is clear that Krishna valley in the south too was one of the early sanctuaries of early Mahāyāna, a fact revealed by the ruins at Krishna valley.

Royal Patrons : The inscriptions reveal that many monuments at Nagarjunakonda were the donations by the royal ladies of the Iksvaku Dynasty of Vijayapuri. It is significant those royal ladies patronized Buddhism while their husbands devoted Hindus and hence it is clear that Hinduism and Buddhism co-existed peacefully in the Krishna valley at the time. The chief among the lady donors is the Princess Chamtisiri who established *āyaka* pillars at the Mahacetiya. Some historians are of the view that Princess Chamtisiri was not connected to the Royal family of Iksvaku. But Vogel[8] maintains that she too would have been one of the five queens of the reigning King Virapurushadatta although it is not specifically mentioned in the inscription. Another inscription of the 6th regnal year of the Iksvaku King Virapurushadatta, records Mahadevi Rudradharabhattharika a royal princess from Ujjain (Ujanika Mahara(ja) Balika erected a pillar at Mahacetiya at Nagarjunakonda for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvana. Besides the dedication of a pillar, she also contributed a sum of 170 Dinari-masaka to the expense incurred by Chamitisiri for the building of the stupa. Among the other female donors are Adavi Chamtisiri the daughter of the king Chamtamula and the sister of the King Siri Virapurushadatta, Chula Chamitisirinika and Bhatdeva the daughter in law of Siri Chamtamula. A pious gift made by a Saka girl is found recorded in another inscription, showing Iksvakus had cordial relationship with Sakas.

Chinese Pilgrims : The Chinese pilgrims who came to India have left graphic descriptions of Nagarjunakonda. Fa-hian the first of well known pilgrim from China speaks of a Po-lo-yu ie. Parava or Parvata, a monastery on an isolated rock. of a pyramidal shape, with five storeys, each ornamented with the figure of an animal with 1,500 cells in all. It was well supplied with water by a wonderful arrangement and windows were cut in the rock to let in air and light. It may be surmised that Parvata was corrupted into Paravata which means a bee. The situation of Fa-hiuen, Po-Lo-Yu fits in with the of Nagarjunakonda

The next Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang refers to a rock Po-Lo-Mo Lo Kili meaning black peak or black

[5] Dutt N. disputes the report that Ceylonese monks converting regions of India such as Kashmir Gandhara etc. He says that it is unknown in the history of Buddhism. He offers a different translation of the inscription (N. Dutt op. cit p. 632)

[6] In the same inscription a mention has also been made to a vihara called Kulaha Vihara in addition to the Sihala Vihara

[7] Indian Historical Quarterly 7 *Madayamika Nagrajuna & Tantric Nagrajuna* Dutt. p. 632 ff.

[8] Kanailal Harsha Royal Patrons of Buddism. Delhi 1984, p. 165.

bee. His *Po Lo mo lo kili* appears as Fa-hian's *Po Lo Yu*. Both inscriptions agree more or less, but the account of Hiuen Tsang appear more reliable as he had visited Dhanyakataka to which kingdon belonged Nagarjunakonda. Hieum Tsang says "The solitary peak of the mountain towers above the rest .....The king Sadvahana, for the sake of Nagarjuna, tunnelled the rock and built a Sangharama. In the midst of long galleires with eaves for walking under and high towers, the storeyed buildings reached to the height of five stages, each a stage with four halls with viharas enclosed. In each vihara was a life size statue of Buddha cast in gold, wrought with consummate art and singularly adorned." The arrangements for water and light are similar to those described by Fa-Hian. In to top most Nagarjuna deposited the scripture of Sakyamuni Buddha and the writing of Pusas. In the lowest halls were the laymen attached to the monastery and the three intermediate hall were the lodgings of the brethren." Hiuen Tsang further says that while residing here Nagarjuna met his pupil Aryadeva who hailed from Sengkala (Sinhala) wich scholars thinks refers to Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

A Korean monk Huich ao who visited India in the 8th century A. C. has left us another description of of Nāgarjuna temple in his *Memoris of Pilgrimage to the five regions of India* (Hui-ch'ao wang-wu-chuan). Huich ao's description Nāgarjuna's temple reads as follows ;

There is a great monastery that lies amidst the mountains, it was constructed by Yaksas under the directioin from Budhisatva Nagarjuna, and not build by human beings. The pillars (of the monastery) were cut from rocks of the mountain and the cave-temple is in three storeys. The monastery is about 300 and odd spaces in circuit. During the days when Nagarjuna was alive the monastery had 3,00 monks. He single handedly supplied fifiteen piculs of rice daily, to maintain the life of the monks. the rice was always plentiful; the stock would be refilled immediately after rice is taken out. The quantity of rice was always remained without reduction. At present the monastery is, however ruined and there is no monk (in residence). Nagarjuna passed away after life of 700 years (*South India in the VIII century, Hui-ch' ao description re-exmained.* Oriens Extremes, XV/2 (1968) by Jan-Yunn-hua).

Hui-ch'ao's descriptions and that of Hiuen Tsang's one are almost identical. They differ as regards numbers of storeys of the temple. Hiuen Tsang says the monastery was in five storeys while Hiu-ch'ao speaks of three storeys and it could be a copying error.

According to the Tibetan tradition Nagarjuna spent his last days of his life at Sriparavata in a temple built for him by the South Indian king Satavahana or Sadvahana as already said. As there appear to have been two Nagarjunas i .e Nagarjuna the founder of Madhyamika system circa 1st or 2nd century A. C. and Tanntrict Nagarjuna circa 6th century A. C. The scholars are divided as regards the correct Nagarjuna who was connencted to Nagarjuna konda. Nalinaksha Dutt says that it was Tantric Nagarjuna who is supposed to have spent his last days of Sriparvata and he was born 400 or 500 years after the first Nagarjuna. Dutt further states Tantric Nagarjuna converted Sriparvata (Nagarajunakonda) to centre of Tārā worship. He also mentions that the First Nagarjuna had nothing to do with Nagarjunakonda, Sriparavata or Dhanyakataka and his activities were confined to Daksinakosala (Indian Historical Quarterly 7, 935 ff. *Confusion between Madhayamika Nagarjuna and Tantric Nagarjuna. Nalinaksha Dutt*)

In the meantime Jan Yun-hua (Journal of Indian History Vol. XLVIII part II August 1970 Serial No. 143 p. 415 ff supports the opposite view when he says :

"All the available information agrees that the Buddhist site of Nagarjunakonda was flourishing some time in the second and third centuries A. C. which tallies, with the time of Nagarjuna, the founder of Madhyamika School of Buddhim." Here the archaeological findings indirectly disapproves the suggestion of a Tantric Nagarjuna and his activities at Nagarjunakonda or Sriparvata during VII or the VIII century.

According to Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the 6th centuary A. C. Nagarjunakonda was already in ruins, Huich'ao too says when he visited visited (circa VIII century) it was abandoned. Hence Jan Yun-hua argues that Tantric Nagarjuna and his activities at Nagarjunakonda during VII or VIII century is not possible.

Destruction of Nagarjunakonda : Nagarjuna- konda got destructed. But no records are available as to how it hot destructed or who was responsible for it's destruction. Again scholars are divided on the subject. The popular tradition is that mediaeval Hindu philosopher teacher Sankharacarya, a great enemy of Buddhism vandlized Nagarjunakonda accomapanied by his followers during his victorious tours defeating Buddihsts and Jains. The observations made at the archaeological excavations lead us in the same direction. Longhurst who conducted the excavations opine thus:

"The ruthless manner in which all the buildings of Nagarjunakonda have been destroyed is simply appalling and cannot represent the work of treasure seekers alone, as so many of the pillars, statues and sculpture have been wantonly smashed to pieces. Had there been town close at hand, as at Amaravati, one can understand the site being used as quarry by modern builders, as so often done in India. But this never occurred at Nagarjunakonda as there are no towns and no cart roads in or out in the valley

But some dispute the tradition that Sankharacarya was responsible for the destruction of Nagarjunakonday saying Struggle between Buddhism and Hinduism was a war of the pen and not of the sword. Some point out that when Sankharacarya came to the scene in the mediaeval period, Nagarjunakonda was already in a ruined status and they report its destroying is baseless. If we believe the historians who dispute Sankharacarya's destroying Nagarjunakonda "Jan yun hua argues, How will we explain the transfer of Buddhist property at Nagarjunakonda Srisailam as well as Sringeri into the hands of Sankhara's followers:

"Jan Yun-Hua further observes, "However hostility of Sankhara against Buddhists as recorded in his hagiography, Tibetan sources and archaeological findings are all affirmative. This accordance of different sources must not be mere accident, but based on same historical truth.......Comparing this hagiographical account (of Sankhara) with the Longhurst's * report that Sankharacarya with host of followers and destroyed Buddhist monuments of Nagarjunakonda the facts and literary expression are almost identical Here the Indian hagiography of Sankara, the Tibetan sources of the Buddhists and the archaeological report of our time are all in agreement about the role which Sankara played in the elimination of Buddhism from India" (Journal of Indian Histroy Vol. XLVIII Part II Aug. 1970 Serial No. 143, p. 424-25)

*Longhurst comments Local tradition relates that the great Hindu philosopher and teacher Sankharacarya of mediaeval times came to Nagrajunakonda with a host of followers and destroyed the Buddhist monuments. Be this as it may, the fact remains that the cultivated lands in the valley on which ruined buildings stand represent a religious grant made to Sankharacarya and it was only with saction of the present Religious Head of the followers of this great teacher that I was able to conduct the excavations. This Brahman pontiff who resides at Pushpagiri in the Guntur District, also owns the Srisaliam temple in the Nallanmalais, which no doubt was acquired in the same measure as it seems to have been a Buddhist site originally (Longhurst op. cit. p. 9)

It is not impossible that though in ruined and abandoned state yet Nagarjunakonda could have been the target of vandals headed by Sankara and transfer the properties to the Hindu establishments as a religious grant.

Submersion of Nagarjunakoṇḍa : Nagarjunakoṇḍa is no more. It had to make way for the gigantic Krishan Valley Development Project that harnessed the mighty Krishna River to irrigate thousand of acres of thirsty lands. The authorities of post independent India had not alternative but to submerge ruins of Krishna Valley including Nagarajunakonda. However, all the moveable objects of archaeological value were salvaged and assembled in a Museum specially built for the purpose. To commemorate the name of Nagarjuna the reservoir is named Nagarjuna Sāgar (Nagarjuna Ocean). See PLATES IV-VI.

Bibliography

A. H. Longhurst *Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda* Delhi, Manager Publication 1938

Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India No. 71 of 1938

B. N. Chaudhury *Buddhist Centre of Ancient India* Calcutta 1969

Kanailal Hazra *Royal Patonage of Buddhism in India* Delhi 1984

Alexander Cunnigham, *The Ancient Geography of India* Bharatiya Publishing House, Pilkhna Varanasi 1975

K. R. Subaramaniam *Buddhist Remains in South India* Cosmo Publications Delhi 1981

Indian Historical Quarterly 7 935 ff. *Confusion between Madhyamika Nagarjuna and Tantric Nagarjuna*, Nalinaksha Dutt.

P. V. Bapath *2500 year of Buddhism* Publications Division Ministry of Information Govt. of India Delhi 1987

Epigraphia Indica XX edited by J. Ph. Vogel

Journal of Indian History Vol XLVIII, Part II. Sugudy, 1970, Serial No. 143, Nagrajunakonda Note on a new Reference from Chinese Source by Jan Yun-Hua

K. Arunasiri.

NAGASENA, an arahant, celebrated for his discoussions with king Milinda. He was the son of the Brahman Sonuttara, in the village of Kajangala in Himalaya, He was well versed in the *Vedas*, and entered the Order under Rohana to learn the Buddha's teaching. Later he went to Assagutta of the Vattaniya Senasana and studies under him. There, one day, at the conclusion of a meal, while giving thanks to a lay woman who has looked after Assagutta for more than thirty years, Nāgasena became a Sotapanna. Then he wes sent to Pātaliputta where he studied under Dhammarakkhita and there he attained arahantship. Subsequently he went to the Sankheyyaparivana in Sāgala, where he met Milinda. It is said that in his previous birth, he was a deva, named Mahasena, living in Tāvatimsa, in palace called Ketumati, and that he consented to be born among men at the presistent request of Sakka and the Arahants led by Assagutta. In an earlier life he had made an aspiration to be able to defeat Milinda in debate. The *Milindapañha* contains a rather fanciful and lengthy account of Nagasena (*Miln.* p. 6 ff.)

S. K. Nanayakkara

NAKKHATTA, a conjunction of the moon with different constellations, a lunar mansion. This refers to the constellations of the lunar zodiac wherein twenty-seven such constellations have been identified and accepted in astrological calculations. Naturally the moon is referred to as the most prominent of all the *Nakkhattas (nakkhattānam mukho cando : Thag.* 11, 14). These constellations constitute an integral component among the determinant factors in horoscopic and related astrological observations and calculations.

These twenty-seven *nakkhattas* are common to both Pali and Sanskrit sources. The Pali canonical work, *Mahaniddesa* refers to them (p. 382) as twenty-eight (*atthavīsati nakkhattāni*) owing to a confusion resulting from one *nakkhatta* (i. e. *magasira*) having another name as *agrahayeni*. The entire list is listed in the 12th century Sri Lankan work *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, (edited by Vaskaduve Subhuti Thera, Mahabodhi Printers, Colombo, 1938, pp. 58-60). These are *assayuja, bharani, kattikā, rohini, magasira, addā, punabbasu, phussa, asilesā, maghā, pubbaphagguni, uttaraphagguni hattha, citta, sāti, visākhā, anurādhā , jettha-mula, pubba-āsalha, uttara-āsalha, savana, dhanittha, satabhisaja, pubbabhaddhapdā, uttarabhaddhapadā and revati.*

It is to be noted that certain *nakkhattas* seem to have been more familiar and significant than others as being referred to more frequently in Buddhist literature : e. g.- *āsālhā, uttara-āsālha, kattikā, rohini* etc. Perhaps these were more auspicious and suitable than others for Buddhist ritualistic purposes.

By the time the Buddha appeared in India (6th-7th century B. C.) astrology had long been established as a generally accepted system providing some guidance to people in their day-to day activities. It was the brahamanical astrological system discovered and promulgated by the ancient seers wherein the aforementioned *nakkhattas*, along with the other heavenly bodies such as the twelve *rāsis* of the solar zodiac, served as the basis for astrological calculations and predictions.

It was the early man's observations of the heavenly bodies and their movements that gave rise to the twin sciences of astronomy and astrology, both in the East and the West. Astronomy refers to the pure science dealing with the nature and influence of the heavenly bodies in general while astrology deals with the influence of these bodies on human affairs, which aspect has given rise to what is called the "horoscope" of an individual.

The Buddha neither spoke for, nor against, astrology but he seems to have tacitly accepted it for its worth because it had a certain degree of usefulness in human affairs. The Buddha himself has used the lunar month as the time-unit when framing the ecclesiastical rules for the Order and the Bhikkhus had to know the particular dates of the lunar calendar in observing these regulations and rituals like the fortnightly confession (*uposatha*) on the appropriate dates. Also, he has laid special emphasis on the value of the Bhikkhus studying *nakkhattas* and has even laid down a special Vinaya rule (*Vin.* 11, 217) that the forest-dwelling monks should learn the lunar mansions (*nakkhatta-padani*). This particular request for forest-dwelling monks was necessary because those other monks living in urban or even village areas could obtain the required dates from others whereas the former had no such source of help and had to calculate the dates on their own. The nuns were expected to consult the monks and obtain the appropriate times which fact obviated the necessity of nuns also learning about astrological calculations.

Here it may not be inappropriate to digress a little for a very brief survey as to the part played by astrological calculations in the Buddha's own life-story. It is on record that when prince Siddhartha took conception in Queen Maya's womb as was symbolically expressed by a dream, king Suddhodana lost no time in inviting brahamin astrologers to prognosticate about the future of the child to be born. The same was repeated on the fifth day after the child's birth at the name-giving ceremony when the seers predicted that he would become a Buddha.

This is evident that king Suddhodana followed the accepted astrological system of the time in bringing up the Bodhisatta. A quotable instance here is the ploughing festival which was also held on a specially auspicious day on which the child-bodhisatta attained to the first *Jhāna*.

It is unquestionable that the prince himself had knowledge of astrology as was expected of an educated person of his standing in the contemporary soci-

ety. He must have used this knowledge in the major activities of his career. This is corroborated by the fact that he made his great Renunciation during the time-limit of the *phussa nakkhatta* which is apportioned to the planet Saturn, the basic nature of which planet is to lure people away from sensuality and household life towards austere life-styles of the ascetic type. This explains why the Bodhisatta selected a moment in the wee hours of the day for this great journey from home to homelessness, the great Renunciation.

His six-year period of austerities was when he was under the major influence of the same planet Saturn and his achievement of Buddhahood came when he was under the major influence of the planet Mercury, whose influence favours intellectual achievements.

The recorded events of his life from the eve of the day of his enlightenment also suggest that he made use of astrological indications in his major undertaking like partaking of Sujata's milk-rice, taking his position under the Bodhi tree etc. His setting out to Benares from Buddhagaya to meet the Pañcavaggiyas for preaching the First Sermon too seems to have been similarly selected. Also, it is quite significant that some modern astrological researchers have discovered that the *āsalha nakkhatta* selected by the Buddha to preach his First Sermon was a very rare planetary combination occurring once in three hundred years. His habit of selecting full-moon days for his important undertakings also indicate the same proclivity.

Thus it can be safely concluded that Buddhism does not reject astrology *in toto* but accepts it for its worth as a tool in guiding one's affairs in the world. However, the Buddha has discouraged the practice of astrological forecastings for monks (*D.* I, p. 10), not because the practice was not acceptable in itself but it did not suit a Buddhist monk's vocation.

In conclusion let it be stated briefly that from the Buddhist point of view the acceptable position is that the heavenly bodies of our solar system headed by sun and moon inevitably exercise their influence on man and his environment and accordingly the birth of a person at a particular hour in the time-space dimension is also inevitably linked to these planetary influences, which, having been properly discovered by ancient seers, can be used as guidelines in the journey of life. The Buddhist teaching of *Niyama Dharma* (q.v.) also maintain the fixity of seasons and other events depending on the movement of the heavenly bodies.

People should never be slaves to astrological lore because its functioning is limited and any over-dependence on it would mislead the practicer. A good instance for this phenomenon is offered by the *Nakkatta Jātaka* (no. 49) when a certain bridegroom lost his bride because he depended too much on astrology.

A. G. S. Kariyawasam.

NĀLANDA(1) is the celebrated Buddhist monastic University that flourished between the 5th-12th centuries A. C., in North East India, in the suburb of Rajagaha (Modern Rajgir), the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. Taranatha[1] the Tibetan historian calls it "Mine of learning, honourd Nalanda". It is among the oldest teaching institutions of University level in the world, perhaps the oldest University on record. The Nalanda University is reckoned as one of the greatest contributions Buddhists have made to world civilization.[2] The Nalanda University finally found its end at the hands of Muslim invaders in the 13th century A. C.

The ruins found in a hamlet called "Baragoan" (village of the Banyan Trees) seven miles to the North West of Rajgir (ancient Rajagaha), on "Bihar Light Railway" is identified as those of Nalanda University. The "Baragon" is in the Patna District of Bihar State at present. It was Hamilton Buchnan[3] who visited the site and noticed the ruins for the first time, in the first quarter of the 19th century. Dr. Alexander Cunningham was the first to identify the ruins as those of the Nalanda University guided by the travel accounts of Hieun Tsang. According to the Pali canon and the Jain literature Nalanda was associated with the life of the Buddha and the life of Mahavira (q. v.) respectively.

Literary evidence as well as archaeological evidence are available for the study of the Nalanda University. Among the literary evidence, records left by foreign students of the Nalanda University are the most useful and trustworthy. The Chinese pilgrim/student Hieun Tsang who spent 5 years (*circa* 640-45 A.C.) and I-tsing who studied for 10 years (*Circa* 675-685 A. C.) provide valuable information on day to day life at the Nalanda University.

The information on the Nalanda University from Hieun Tsang is available in two sources, his own account as well from his biography by his pupil Hwui Li. Other than the two prominent Chinese students referred to above, many other pilgrims/students from China itself, Japan, Korea, Java, Sumatra, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Tibet and also from distant kingdoms of India itself provide valuable information regarding the Nālanda University. In addition to the literary data, findings of the archaeological excavations available in the form of reports of the Archaeological survey of India, are of vital importance for the students. Among the archaeological evidence unearthed, buildings, inscriptions, both stone and copper and a large number of seals and images discovered, provide valuable information.

The association of Nālanda with the life of the Buddha may have been the reason for the selection of that location for the University. Hieun Tsang[4] mentions two traditions regarding the origin of the name Nālanda. According to one tradition, it was named Nālanda after a dragon (nāga) living in the tank in a mango park, to the south of the monastery. Hieun Tsang does not favour the explanation, but I-tsing accepts it. The other tradition is found in a *Jātaka*. The Buddha was once born as a king in one of his former births and had his capital there. He was so fond of giving, which won for him the epithet Nalanda *(na-alam-da)* which means " insatiable in giving". As an honour to the king who had his capital there the place was named " Nalanda". Hieun Tsang prefers the latter.

The beginning of Nālanda as well as its early history is obscure. The original builder too is not known with certainty. According to Taranatha[5] it was the Emperor Asoka who built a " large temple of the Buddha there" at Nālendra (as he calls it). Taranatha further identifies it as the birthplace of Sariputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha, as well as the place he attained Nirvana. It is relevant to mention at this juncture that a Sinhala literaty work of the 14th Century, named Nikayasangrahaya[6] mentions that after the third Buddhist Council held in the reign of Emperor Asoka under the leadership of Elder Moggaliputtatissa, some heretical monks (*tirthakar*) went over to Nalanda near Rajagaha where they formed into a dissident sect called Mahāsānghika in opposition to the orthodox Sthaviravāda school. As Nālanda was a place sanctified by the Buddha and his chief disciples, it is obvious that several monuments would have visited it on pilgrimage. Hiuen Tsang asserts that at the present the monastery premises there was a mango grove earlier, owned by a lord (*srestin*). Five hundred merchants bought it for ten croes of gold coins and offered it to the Buddha.

Fa-Hien[7] a Chinese pilgrim who visited India in the 5th century A. C. does not mention Nālanda in his account. But he refers to a place called Nāla, he visited and describes it as the birth place of Ven. Sariputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha and also the place where he attained *parinirvana*. Fa-Hien has further recorded that the *thupa* put up on the spot where Ven. Sariputta's body was cremated was in existence when he visited. The silence of Fa-Hien on Nālanda in the 5th century A. C. appear surprising. Scholars are divided on the reason for Fa-Hlen's silence on Nālanda. It is difficult to think that an institution, which in the following centuries reached the status of an international university with a massive and splendid complex of buildings and 10,000 residents was yet to be born in the 5th century A. C. Nilakantha Sastri holds the view that though Nālanda was in existence, it did not receive the attention of Fa-Hien, because it did not reach the position of a reputed seat of learning

[1] *Gesh des Buddhismus* p. 152

[2] Fergusson James (*Indian and Eastern Architecture* London 1876 p. 136) compares Nalanda with "Monte casino, one of the greatest interprovincial unversities of Medical Europe. From the evidence that is at hand, we think we can assign it a still loftier position *viz*. of an International University of Nalanda." (Sankalia H. S. *University of Nālanda*, p. 191)

[3] Buchanan, Hamilton, ed. Martin *Eastern India I*. 1883, pp. 95f Earliest Modern Account of Baragoan, the site of

[4] Watters Thomas on *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* edited by Rhys Davids, Reprint New Delhi, 1961, Vol.II p. 166.

[5] Taranatha's *History of India* Ed. D. Chattopadhayaya, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1990, p. 101

which it reached, in the 6th and 7th centuries at the time of Fa-Hien's visit in the 5th century. There is, however, a view that Fa-Hien did not visit Nālanda at all and that the village, Nāla, which he had visited described as the birth place of Sariputra is called Nā laka or Nālagrama in the *Sudarshana Jātaka* and it is not the same as Nalanda. In the absence of any other literary records, we have no alternative but to depend heavily on the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims Hieun Tsang and I-Tsing. Hiuen Tsnag[8] narrates the beginning of Nālanda University thus. "Here, soon after the decease of the Buddha, Sakraditya, a former king of this country, esteeming the one vehicle and reverencing the "Three Precious ones", built a monastery. This king's son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father's good work, to the south of the monastery built another one, to the east of this king Tathagatagupta built a third monastery and to the north east of this, king Baladitya added a fourth. At the formal opening of this last monstery Brethren from all quarters were present by the invitation of the king...........to the west of this monastery Baladitya's son and successor Vajra built another, and to the north of this, a king of mid India, afterwards erected a large monastery. Then, round all there was built a lofty enclosing wall with one gate."

The life of Hiuen Tsang[9] by his pupils Hwui-Li also gives more or less same details. I-tsing[10] gives a much briefer account, but adds some fresh data regarding the beginning of the foundation. He says "more than seven *yojana* to the north east of the temple of Intelligence" (Mahabodhi) we come to the temple of Na-lkan-t'oulo (Nā landa).

It was formally constructed by the king Che-Li-Che-Kie-Louo-tie-ti (Sri Sakraditya) for the Pi-'ou (bhisu) Ho-Louo-Che-p'an-che (Rajavamsa) of northern India. This temple, in its original area, was only a square of fifty feet, later kings that succeeded vied with one another in extending it more and more, so that today there is no temple more beautiful than this in all Jambudvipa" It is clear that Hieun Tsang too has ascribed the foundation of Nālanda to Sadraditya but he does not say anything of Bhisu Rajavamsa or the original size of the building which I-tsing gives.

Scholars are of different opinions as regards the correct identification of the kings in the Chinese account. R. K. Mookerji attempts to identity them as follows : "It is difficult to establish the historicity or chronology of these six kings. Sakraditya may be taken to be Kumaragupta I (A. C. 414-454) on the ground that Kumaragupta assumed the title of Mahendraditya and Mahendra is the name of Sakra or Indra. Buddhagupta is the Gupta Emperor Budhapupta (c. A. C. 475-500). Baladitya perhaps corresponds to Narasimhagupta Baladitya of the imperial Gupta dynasty or the last Gupta emperor of that name who fought the Hunas about A. C. 525. He may also be identified with "Paramesvara" Baladityadeva, king of Magadha, of the Gupta Inscription No. 46 of Fleet. The other two names, Tathagatagupta, and Vajra are not identified. There is also a view that section missing see Mss. Buddhism by placing the Crown Prince under Vasubandu as tutor when he was known as king Vikramaditya and took the tile of "Sri Vikramah" on his coins ; and Vajra = Kumaragupta" II. (Mookerji Radha Kumud *Ancient Indian Education*, Macmillan and Company, London 1951-p 559 Fn. 1).

But father Heras[11] prefers to identify them with the following Indian kings. Sakraditya with Kumaragupta I (as identified by Mookerji). Buddhagupta, son and successor with Skandagupta son and successor of Kumara, Tathagata, successors with Puragupta, brother (not son) and successors of Skanda Baladitya, successor with Baladitya (son and) successor.

After examining the views expressed by various scholars on the subject Nilakantha Sastri[12] observes "By themselves those considerations appear plausible and they seem to contain the elements of an intelligible story of the development of Nālanda. But there are other considerations on the other side which seem to

[6] *Nikāyasangrahaya* (Sinhala script) published by Govt. Printer H. R. Cottle, Colombo, 1922 p. 8.
[7] Legge A, *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms being an account of the Chinese monk Fa-Hien of his travels in India & Ceylon* Tr. And Ed. Oxford, 1886, p 81
[8] Watters, Vol. I. 216,218, Vol. II. 170
[9] *Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Hwui Li translated by Samuel Beal-Kegan Paul Trench Trubner company Limited LKondon. 1911, p. 110 ff

put the whole matter back in the region of doubt and uncertainty. Hiuen Tsang puts the reign of Sakraditya" "Soon after the decease of the Buddha, an old king of this country called Sakraditya ....build this convent." (*Life* p. 110), but he says elsewhere that Nalanda as a center of learning had already existed for seven hundred years, at the time he wrote (688 A. C.) ....We may not be right to take this as a definite indication of Sakraditya's date without further evidence of a more tangible character. But surely infer that both hiuen Tsang and his biographer thought that the Nalanda they were speaking of was of much higher antiquity than the age of Kumaragupta I."

Nilakantha Sastri finally sums up his observations thus: "I think it is really no use trying to get more history out of Hiuen Tsang than there is in him. Baladitya is a real name of him, the pilgrim himself gives many other details in relation to the Hun invasions and what he says on this subject, as also the part of Baladitya in the growth of Nalanda, is fully borne out by epigraphy. The rest seems to be no more than just edifying gossip. Names like Sakraditya, Tathagatagupta and Buddhagupta are obvious legendary.........our conclusion is that Baladitya is the first truly historical name definitely known to be associated with the foundations in the Nalanda.........The earlier history is evidently a made up affair in which history has changed into legend as it does more often in India than elsewhere.........Our conclusion is that Baladitya is the first truly historical name definitely known to be asocited with the foundation of Nalanda" (*ibid.*)

However the Gupta kings are regarded as the greatest patrons of Nalanda. The "King of mid India" Hiuen Tsang refers to in his account of Nālanda is generally identified as the Emperor Harshavardhana during whose reign Hiuen Tsang is said to have been staying at Nālanda. The Emperor Harsha made his own contribution for the expansion of Nālanda. He remitted the revenue of about hundred villages as an endowment of the convent (Nālanda). Apart from Guptas many more kings are associated with Nālanda as patrons in the course of its long history. The Maukhari kings of Kanauj such as Pūrnavarmā (as suggested by H. Heras in HOBRS. XIV, p. 18). He 'presented to Nālanda a figure of standing Buddha upright made of copper 80ft. high', to cover which he also had a pavilion erected of six states (Watters II, 174) another Maukhari king Yasovarmadeva (son of his minister patronized Nālanda according to a stone inscription), Pala kings of Bengal like Dharmapaladeva, Devapaladeva, the king Bhaskaravarman of Assam, the king Balaputradeva of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra) who constructed a new *vihāra* and requested his friend Devapaladeva to grant five villages for its maintenance, are among the recorded Royal patrons of Nālanda.

The archaeological excavation has not brought to light any antiquity earlier than the copper plate ascribed to Samudragupta and the coin of Kumaragupta I. But there is apparently indirect evidence that have been observed in the course of archaeological excavation that support Nālanda's anterior antiquity. Namely the main *stūpa* unearthed at site number 3, as shown to be made of seven successive strata and it is surround by a number of small votive stupas built up in two or three layers. On one of these votive *stupas* is found an inscription of the 6th century A. C. which may be taken to be the date of the particular stratum of the main *stupa* with which it is associated. This is the 5th stratum and the stupa which is also the best preserved. From the date of the 5th building, we can infer the date of the lowest and the earliest stupa. It must be about two centuries earlier i. e. about 4th century A. C.

Buildings : According to Hiuen Tsang and also I-tsing Nālanda has had a magnificent building complex. Their descriptions are further corroborated by epigraphic evidence.

The time Hiuen Tsang was at Nālanda is said to be the most glorious period of Nālanda's history. It was the period that the emperor Harsha lavishly partonized for the expansion of Nālanda. "Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) speaks of at least seven monasteries and eight halls. The monasteries were of several storeys whose "upper rooms tower above the clouds. Their richly adorned towers and fairy like turrets resembled pointed hilltops. The observatories were lost in the morning

[10] Chavannes, *I-tsing's Memoire Sur Les Religieux Eminents* (Paris 1894), p 84-5

[11] Heras, H., *The Royal Patrons of Nalanda JBORS.* (1928) pp 1-23

[12] Nilakantha Sastri, "*Nalanda*", Journal of the Madras University, Vol. xiii, no. 2 p. 147 ff

mists from the windows one may see how the winds and clouds produce new forms" and from the soaring eaves the sun set splendorous and moon lit glories."

"Down below, the grounds were variegated by deep translucent ponds bearing on their bosom, the blue lotus intermingled with Kanaka flower of deep red colour, while at intervals the Āmra groves spread all their shade. The massive external grandeur of the building contrasted with the delicate artistic beauty of their interior." "All outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves, pearl red pillars carved and ornamented richly adorned balustrades, while the roofs are covered with tiles that reflect light in a thousand shades. These things add to the beauty of the scene. The *sanghārāmas* in India are counted by myriads but that is the most remarkable forgrandeur and height." Hiuen Tsang further remarks "in this establishment, the work of succession of sovereigns the sculpture was perfect and really beautiful." *(ibid)*

The observation of Hiuen Tsang is corroborated in the Nalanda stone inscription of Yasowarman[13] of the 8th century. According to the inscriptions which commemorate certain donatins to the monastery, provides a poetic description of grandeur of Nālanda building environs at the time. As stated in the inscriptions the row of monastery (*vihārāvali*) had their series of summits (*Sikharasreni*) licking (*āvelihi*) the clouds (*ambudhara*). The panegyric lines of the inscriptions are said to have been composed by one of Nālanda pandits.

I-tsing who came to Nalanda forty years after Hiuen Tsang and spent ten years there provides a detailed account of the buildings of the monastery, their alignment and orientation, the technique of construction and the size of the rooms occupied by monks and the arrangements in them. The general impression produced by his vivid description tallies completely with that created by earlier and more prosaic account of Hieun Tsang and more lyrical decription of his biographer and of the composer of the Yasovarman inscription.

The following minute details of Nalanda as observed and recorded by I-tsing[14] may help the reader to have a picture of Nalanda during a last quarter of the 7th century A. C.

"The configuration of this monastery is nearly that of a square, like the earth. On all the four sides, the straight and projecting edge of the roof forms long covered galleries which go all round the edifice. All the buildings are in brick; they comprise three stories, each storey being more than 10 feet high. The transverse beams are joined by plates and there are neither rafters nor tiles, but with bricks they have made an esplanade ; all the temples are perfectly aligned and we can go and come at our ease. The wall of the last edifice constitutes the outer wall. The tiers of bricks rise to a height of 30 or 40 feet. At the top there are representations of human heads of natural size.

"As to the residences of the monks there are nine of them on each front ; each habitation has a surface of about 20 square feet. At the farther end they have opened a window which rises up to the edge of the roof. Though the doors are high, they have made them with a single leaf in a manner that all can be seen from a distance ; it is not allowed to put in any blinds there. Casting a cursory glance from outside, one sees all the four sides at a time ; a mutual surveillance is thus exercised ; how would it be possible to do the least thing secretly ? At the top of one of the angles, they have made a suspended way which allows of going and coming over the temple. At each of the four angles there is a hall constructed of bricks ; learned and venerable monks live there.

"The gate of the temple is turned towards the west: its top floor soars into the sky and makes one giddy in the open. There are marvelous sculptured images, the beauty of which touches the limit in the art of ornamentation. This gate is connected to the main building which has no distinct beginning ; but two steps before it they have erected four columns. Though this gate is not of a great height, the wood work they have put in there is extremely strong. Every time the hour for a meal comes they raise the fastening bars at all the doors. It is in fact the aim of the holy religion to preclude hidden things."

[13] *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, January 1929, p. 37
[14] Chavannes, *I-tsing Memoire sur les Reigieous Emints* (Paris, 1894) p.85-87

Flooring : In the interior of the monastery, wide spaces of more than 30 paces are paved in brick. For the smaller spaces of five to ten feet, for all the spaces which cover the rooms, those which are on the roof, before the verandah or in the habitations, they have used fragments of big bricks of the size of peaches or jujubes ; they mix them together with a sticky paste and they strike on them with beaters so as to make them level. They enclose the circumference with lime. They make a mixture of the fibers of hemp to which they add oil with the remnants of hemp and the debris of old hides ; they moisten it for many days after they spread this plaster on the floor filled with bricks ; they cover it all with green herbs. After about three days they see if it has become dry. They rub the surface many times with polising stones ; they sprinkle it with a shower of red earth or a substance like cinnabar. Then, with a greasy plaster, they make it polished and clear like a mirror. All the halls and the steps of the staircases are finished in this manner. When these operations have come to an end, the passers by can tread on this surface with their feet and traverse it for ten or twenty years without its ever deteriorating or cracking. This is not like lime which when it is moistened by water does not fail to scale off.

Plan : "There are no fewer than eight temples so constructed. Up above, all have a level terrace and we can walk there. Their dimensions are more or less similar. To the eastern side of each temple, they have chosen a building, sometimes simple, sometimes triple, for placing the holy images therein. Or else, at a variable distance to the front on the same side, they have erected an observatory in the form of a terrace which serves as the hall of the Buddha.

"On the western side of the temple, outside the great enclosure, they have built here and there large stupas (*tsoei-tou-po*) and a large number of caityas (tche-ti). Their number is (about) a hundred. The sacred vestiges are close to one another and defy enumeration. Gold and precious stones form a brilliant ornamentation; in truth, there are few places to perfect".

Not satisfied with his verbal description, I-tsing prepared a plan of the monastery calculated to enable the reader to follow his account more easily. The plan is unfortunately lost, but here is his introduction to it where he explains its purpose, and his wishful longing for a similar institution in China :

It is very significant that I-tsing after giving minute details of Nālānda has drawn up a plan of Nālānda for the convenience of the readers. Unfortunately the plan is lost but the introduction that accompanied the missing plan is fortunately available. I-tsing took such an interest on the plan in order to have an institution like Nālānda built in China one day. He was expecting to place the proposal before the emperor of China.

The foregoing key (introduciton)[13] that I-tsing attached to the plan would further facilitate the reader to get a live picture of Nalanda and also help Archeologists to study the ruins of Nālānda :

"When one has seen one of the temples the seven others are identical. On the top they offer a level terrace on which people can walk.

"In examining the configuration of the monastery, it is necessary to look at it from the Western facade ; it is while going to the West, out side the entrance that one well apprehend the true form of it.

"About twenty steps to the south of the door, on the edge of the road, there is a *tsoel-tou-po (stupa)* more than a hundred feet high. It is there that formally the Honoured of the World (*Lokajyestha*) passed in retreat the three months of summer. The Sanskrit name of this edifies is *Mou-louo-kien-t'ouo-kiu-ti* (Mulagandha-kuṭi), which signifies in Chinese' the hall perfumed by the first source.

"More than fifty steps to the north of the door-way there is another great *stupa* higher still than the first. It is the king *Yeou-je* (Baladitya), who raised it. Both are alike built of bricks. The ornamentation with which they are covered is of remarkable delicateness ; there are found beds of gold and floors of precious stones. The offerings are of a rare beauty. At the center there is an image of *Jou-lai* (Tathāgatha) turning the wheel of the law. Further on, to the south west, there is a small *tche-ti (caitya)* about ten feet high ; it is there that a *P'ouo-Louo-men* (Brahman) who held a small bird in his hand posed some question ; what they call in Chinese the pagoda of the oriole, is this same edifice.

[13] *Ibid* p. 94-96

"To the west of the 'hall of the first origin' (mula-gandhakutti), there is the tree of the species that the *Fo* (Buddha) prescribed for the teeth. It is not a willow.

"Still more to the west, on the edge of the road, is found an altar of Prohibitions. It is more than ten feet, large measure, each side. It consists of a brick wall more than two feet high that they have raised on a plane area ; in the interior of the enclosure is a raised seat, about five inches higher than the surrounding (area); at the centre is a mall *tche-ti (caitya)*. From the east of the altar to the angle of the hall, there is the emplacement of a covered walk of the Buddha ; it is made of rows of bricks ; it is about two cubits broad, about fourteen or fifteen long and more than two cubits high. On the promenade they have fashioned with lime which they have left white, representations of the lotus flower ; they are about two cubits high and more than one foot broad ; there are fourteen or fifteen of them ; they mark the traces of the feet of Buddha".

"The systematic excavations carried out since 1915 have yielded striking proof of the accuracy of the literary accounts of Nalanda given by the Chinese pilgrims. The flight of steps discovered reveal that some of the buildings had at least three storeys. The archaeologists have discovered twelve monasteries and nine layers, levels or strata in one. The remains of other monasteries show two or three strata, one built upon the ruins of the other. The plan of the buildings corresponds to the description of the Chinese students. Rows of cells served by wide verandahs resting on pillars opened into a rectangular courtyard accommodating a well and times, a row of ovens. The ovens of large sizes have also been unearthed, showing the common kitchen and messing of the monks of the monastry. The walls are composed of superior bricks of a light yellowish tint and admirable texture, fitted together so perfectly that in some places the joints between the bricks are altogether inconspicuous. As brickwork the construction is remarkable, and superior to any modern work that I have seen in recent years [16] Cunningham declard that the sculptures found here were the finest in all India.

Residential University.–The most significant feature of Nālanda was that it was a residential university where residential facilities were provided to a mammoth crowd free of charge. In the context of the remote period in the history of Nālanda University flourished and the incredible number of residents, it is a unique event in human history. Hiuen Tsang reports that the number of residents both the staff and the students always reached 10,000 out of which 1560 were teachers. But according to I-tsing[17] the number of fully ordained monks exceeded 3000. In certain texts I-tsing's figure appear as 5000. However when he says fully ordained monks, it is clear that the novices are excluded. Further wer should not forget the fact that I-tsing visited Nalanda 40 years after Hiuen Tsang left Nālanda. Sankalia [18] thinks the number given by Hiuen Tsang as an exaggeration and thinks the realistic figure would have been 3000-5000.

Free board and lodgings : In addition to residential facilities the students were supplied with free meals. According to Hwui Li, the biographer of Hiuen Tsang the students were abundantly supplied with basic needs such as food clothing etc. and they wholeheartedly concentrated on their studies. He further adds that it was the reason of their perfection in their studies. Free from worrying about their material needs the students could devote full day for the studies.[19] It was the generous kings who made arrangements to feed the students. According to the biographer the king remitted the revenue of hundred villages for the monastery. I-tsing says that the king gave the revenue of 200 villages. The biographer[20] further provides information regarding the daily supplies to the monastery from the villages. "From these villages came to the monastery a daily supply of a large quantity of rice weighing several hundred "piculs" (1=picul=133 1/8 lbs.) and also butter and milk, weighing several hundred "catties" (1=catty=160 lbs.)."

It is further clear from the account of the biographer[21] the individual supplies to monks differed according to the status. Hiuen Tsang who was highly honoured at Nālanda has daily received 120 *jambiras* (a fruit), 20 areca nuts, 20 nut megs, one ounce of camphor and supply of butter and one peck finest rice called "Mahasāli" which grows only in Magadha and

[16] *Archaeological Survey of India Report* 1915-16 *Eastern circle*, p. 3
[17] Chavannes : *I-sing Memories Sur Les Religieux Eminents*, p. 97 and n. 1
[18] Sankalia H. D., *University of Nālanda*, 1934 p.168

nowhere else and was "as large as a black bean and shining when coodked" while every month he was presented with three measures of oil.

The scholars are of the opinion that the University cultivated the land given by the donors in order to get uninterrupted supply as well as to provide practical training to the students[22]

"The daily and regular supply of vast quantity of rice and butter came direct from the university's own paddy fields and dairy farms out in its villages. The university had thus to see to the profitable cultivation of its fields, so as to get out of them the largest harvest of agricultural crops while it had also to organize efficiently its dairy farming so as to ensure its requitred daily supply of the other necessary foods like milk and butter. Thus the university had to establish on scientific lines institutins to give practical training in those two national key industries of india, agriculture and dairy farming. The University had also its farm house and granaries to receive and store up the produce of its fields. The farm house was situated outside it's precincts. Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang) halted at a similar Farm House for "Short refreshment" on his way to the University."

Admission : It is of very vital importance that the students were admitted to Nālanda after a strict admission test.[23] Apparently it was an oral test or an interview in modern terms. Those in charge of admissions were called *Dvārapandits* (learned men in chage of the gates or admissions). The doors of Nālanda were jealously guarded by those specialists in discussions, expert religious controversialists who were always ready with difficult questions to try the competency of the candidates seeking admission. According to Hieun Tsang only two or three out of 10 were successful sat the viva. Those from abroad who wished to enter, majority beaten by the difficulties of the problems withdrew and those who were deeply versed in the old and modern learning were admitted. Such a test was necessary to maintai the standard.

Range of studies : Though Nālanda was primarily a Mahayana Buddhist Seat of leaning, its courses of studies were not confined to Mahāyāna school of Buddhism or to Buddhism as a whole, as naturally one would expect. The academic courses were drawn from the different fields of learning Buddhism, Brahmanical, sacred and secular, philosophical and practical sciences and arts. Its doors were open to the students of all the religions. The biographer[24] of Hiuen tsang Hwui Li describes the variety of studies thus : "All study Great Vehicle and also the works belonging to the eighteen schools and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the *Vedas* and other books, the *Hetuvidyā* (logic) *Sabdavidyā* (grammar and philosophy) *Cikitsavidyā* (medicine) the works on magic or *Atharvaveda* the *Samkhya* ; besides these, they thoroughly investigated the "miscellaneous works".[25]

Nathana Kutz Judith Simmer further describes the curriculum of Nālanda thus :

---

[19] But I-tsing makes a contradictiary statement in this respect. He says (Takakusu, (tr. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, London, 1996 p. 105-6). "These two groups (Mānavā who studied to become monks and Brahmacārinis who learned the secular literature only) though residing in a monastery have to subsist at their own expense." As regards I-tsing's statement, Sankaliya H. D., (*University of Nalanda* p. 159-160) remarks thus "I-tsing's statement however is opposed to all that we know about the Hindu or Buddhist systems of Education. Nowhere in any Hindu work do we come across a single reference that tell us that students had to pay for their own live lihood".

[20] *Life of hiuen Tsang* p. 112

[21] *Ibid*

[22] *"University" of Nalanda* Mookerjee R. K. *JBORS*. XXX Part II, 1944 p. 152

[23] Hieun Tsang says "the student must have studied deeply both old and new (books) before getting admission (at Nā landa). Hiuen Tsang, by old and new books) evidently refers to works such as *Veda, Upanisads*, works of different systems Sankya, Vaisesika Nyāya and all the works of Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism. Thus we find the student was supposed to have knowledge of these subjects before he sought admission" (II, 171). But his biographer Huui Li, apparently contradicts him when he says 'students at Nālanda study the Great Vehicle and also (works belong to) 18 schools etc." (quoted below). But Sankaliya (p. 65) who tries to reconcile the two statements of Hiuen Tsang and his biographer Hwui Li explains that the strict admission test was for the foreign students who came to complete their education at Nālanda. In the meantime Nālanda was essentially a teaching University because students were instructed in all the varied branches of learning as told by Hwai Li.

"The curriculum was based on the traditional *sutra* and *sastra* study, but added five *vidyas* or the practical study of liberal disciplines.

The *vidyās* included

Sabdavidyā - Grammar and philosophy
Cikitsāvidyā - Medicine
Hetuvidyā - Logic
Silpasthanavidyā - Fine arts
Adhyātmavidya - Metaphysics

The students were instructed to study Grammar and logic in order to vanquish adversaries in debate, Medicine and Arts to enabling them to help others, Metaphysics in order to clarify the student's understanding" (Buston's Chos hbung-History of Buddhism Obermiller Tr. 1931 p. 44 - *Maha Bodhi centenary Commemorative Volume 1* No 2 Ministry of Education and Higher Education Colombo 1991 p. 331-36.)

"Hieun Tsang himself became a student of Nālanda for the study of Yoga Sāstra in which the Nālanda Chancellor Silabhadra was the highest living authority. His study of Yogasāstra was followed by his study of other subjects like Nyāya hetuvidyā Sabdavidya' and like, as also the books of Brahamans with a wide area of knowledge covered by them including, philological legal, philosophical, Astronomical subjects and the Sanskrit Grammar of Pānini. Thus he penetrated and examined completely all collections of Buddhist books and also studied the Sacred Books of the Brahmans during the five years (*Life of Hieun Tsang*, p. 107 ff.)

I-tsing's account of education is of more general interest, but also meant to describe what prevailed in Nālanda. It will be seen that it confirms very closely to the indications furnished in the less systematic account of Hieun Tsang. After sketching the elementary study of the "Siddham" in the beginning, followed by *Sutra dhātu* and *Khila*, all relating to grammar. I-tsings[26] account proceeds to describe the study of the *Kasikā vrtti*" and what followed.

"This *vrtti Sutra (Kāsika vrtti)* is a work of the learned Jayaditya. He was a man of great ability; his literary power was very striking............After having studied this commentary, students begin to learn composition in prose and verse and develop themselves to logic (Hetu vidyā) and Metaphysic *(Adhidharmakosa)*. In learning *Nyayadāra tāraka sāstra* rightly draw inference (*anumāna*) and by studing the *Jātakamālā* their powers of comprehension increase. Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they pass two or three years generally in the Nlanda monastery in Central India."

Teaching Methods : As Hwui Li, the biographer testifies that one hundred chairs or pulpits were arranged every day for the lecturers "Students attend these discourses without fail even for a minute". It is clear from this statement that hundred different subjects were taught daily and the students made the best use of the lectures. Nālanda had eminent teachers. The biographer says "There are 1000 men who can explain twenty collections of *sutras* and *sāstras*, 500 who can explain thirty collections and perhaps ten (including Hieun Tsang) who can explain fifty collections. Over them all and over the entire establishment, presided Silabhadra unique in learning and character. He alone had studied the whole number (of collections of *Sutras* and *Sāstras*).

It is seen that learning by discussion was among the educational methods adopted at Nālanda. The biographer notes (*Life* p. 112). "Learning and discussing, they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection." I-tsing too (Takakusu p. 177) vouch for the same : "There eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines and after, having being assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men become far famed for their wisdom."[27] the foreign sudents came to the establishment to put and end to their doubts and then became celebrated[28]. Thus, as Mookerji observes[29] Nālanda was practically a Research Institute for

[26] *Life*, p. 12, by Hwui Li translated by Samuel, Beal Kegan Paul, French Tribner Company Ltd London, 1911, p. 12, 25 [25] "Nalanda out grew the limit of a mere vihāra of Buddhist learning. The vihāra in the course of time taught the tenets and principles not only of Buddhism but also many other faiths and besides all the secular sciences unlike the University of Paris of Medieval Europe, it could boast of a medical faculty" (Sankaliya H. D. *University of Nalanda*, p.239).
[28] Beal s., *Buddhist Records of the Western World* p. 176 f

advanced students, specially for foreign students, also had its Department of Secondary Education for regular internal students for whom the strict admission test did not apply. It admitted youngsters *Brahmacāri* and *Mānavakas* freely.

The Standard of Scholarship and discipline : It is seen that Nālanda has maintained a very high standard, both in scholarship as well as in discipline. Their intellectual life corresponded to an equally strict standard and attained an equally high level of efficiency and success. The Biographer[30] comments on the discipline and the scholarship thus : "In the establishment where some thousands of Brethren all men of great ability and learning, several hundred, being highly esteemed and famous, the Brethrn were very strict in observing the precepts and regulations of their order, they were looked upon as models by all India."

Further the biographer Hwui Li[31] comments : "the priests dwelling here are, as a body, naturally or spontaneously dignified and grave, so that during the seven hundred years, since the founding of the establishment there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules."

The highest academic degree of distinction of the time was a fellowship of Nālanda. As noted by Hiuen Tsang[32] : "Those who stole the name of Nlanda brother were all treated with respect wherever they were." It is clear that some, not being students of Nālanda, claimed that they were Nālanda students to receive the honorary position Nālandastudents receive.

However it is not clear what the title Nālanda conferred for its students after the successful completion of the course. Vidyabhusana[33] thinks that the title "Pandita" (conferred by Vickramasila University to its students) or a similar one might have been conferred at Nālanda.

Harmony in diversity : The most remarkable achievement of Nālanda was the harmony among students with diverse opinions and beliefs. The student population of Nālanda was not a homogeneous one. They came from different Buddhist sects that carried their sectarian differences into the university. The diversity was further enhanced by admitting the students of non Buddhist religious systems. As Mookerje[34] comments, "Nālanda flung its gates wide open to all systems and schools of thought and beliefs in the country and became an arena where they might fight out their supremacy in debates and discussions". "Thus it is that Nālanda had the single merit of bringing together schools whose tenets would have kept them isolated at an age when controversy ran high, and heresies on special doctrines led in many ways to the same end," Hiuen Tsang[35] observes. As I-tsing[36] observes it became the common meeting ground of warring sects and creeds with all their "possible and impossible doctrines". Thus the intellectual life of the university was a round of animated controversies and hottest debates between contradictory and incompatible opinions and beliefs, but these did not affect its academic atmosphere of repose and peace, thus making it a seat of culture. Nālanda thus boldly faced the intellectual differences of the age, its diversity of thought and the vital communal differences of creed and custom in a larger sprit of comprehension and synthesis, reconciling these differences in common life and brotherhoods. "It stood boldly for freedom as its ideal, freedom of thought, opinion and belief, it stood

[27] Sankaliya (*University of Nālanda* p. 239 f.) quotes Newman in this context : "Nālanda was nothing, if not a residential University par excellence." At Nālanda multitudes of young men, keen, open hearted, sympathetic and observant come together, freely mixing with learning from one another, even if there be none to teach them. The conversation of all was lecture to each. There the students saw the world on a small field with little trouble. And further by eliminating and adjusting at widely different notions by acting according to the conventional rules of the institution, the whole assemblage was moulded together and gave one tone and one character" (John Henry Cardinet Newman *Idea of a university*, p. 140-41, new edition 1896, 1910

[28] Watters, I p. 162

[29] Mookerji *op. cit.* p. 564-565

[30] *Life*, Page 112

[31] *op cit*

[32] Watters *ibid*

[33] Vidyabhusana. *History of Medieval School of Indian* Logic, Calcutta, 1909-p.79

[34] Mokkerjee, R. K. Ancient Indian Education, London, 1951, p. 571

for science that would not constrain or coerce science. It believed in charity catholicity and toleration as the very basis of culture".[37]

Democratic management : Another outstanding feature of Nālanda was its democratic management. According to I-tsing[38] the rules and regulations governing the life of Nālanda were more strict than elsewhere. As the rules and regulations were enforced according to democratic principles the institution functioned smoothly. It has been a custom at Nālanda to allocate rooms to the residents before the Varsā (Rainy season) each year which would have led to discontent and sissatisfaction elsewhere, because naturally all prefer more comfortable rooms. But at Nālanda authorities wisely entrusted the residential arrangements to the students themselves. Thus the seniors placed themselves in the hands of the juniors regarding the details of their needs. The better or comfortable rooms were given to the "*sthaviras*" or seniors. I-tsing[39] in this connection comments "This democratic method had a double advantage, for it removes one's selfish intentions and the rooms for priests are properly protected."

Similarly discipline was also left in the hands of the student body. They were to decide trial and punishment or offences against the fraternity and expulsion of the recalcitrant. The expenditure of the university, too, was sanctioned by the "general body of monks," reports I-tsing[40] further adds : "The defect that some one may arbitrarily dispose of it, does not exist. of one does not make a public declaration and employs something arbitrarily, be it only a twentieth of a bushel of grain, he is forthwith expelled by the colleagues. It was this democtacy that paved the way for the peaceful atmosphere that Huien Tsang's biographer[41] repons. There was no rebellion for the last 700 years. etc. Yet the authorities were constantly vigilant about discipline as revealed by I-tsing[42]. "The spirit of the rules of this temple is very severe and very high. Every fortnight, those who regulate the occupation and the assistant scribes have orders to go round the habitations reading the rules".

Library-It is very significant that the Nālanda University, as in the case of any modern university, had a well equipped library, information regarding which is preserved in Tibetan accounts. According to the Tibetan accounts, the library was situated in an area called "Dharmagañ ja (martie religious). The library complex had three buildings called "*Ratnasāgara*, *Ratnodadhi* and *Ratnarañ jaka* of which *Ratnāsagara* was nine storyed which housed the collection of rare sacred works like *Prajnāpāramitā-sūtra* and Tantrik books like "*Samājaguhaya*"etc.

It is further clear that even the kings have taken a special interest in the library. The copper plate inscription of Devapala[43] (815-854 A. C.) records of a grant of five villages to Nālanda by the king Devapala on the request of king Balaputra of Suvarnadvipa (Java Sumatra). Among the purposes for which the said grant was made is seen "for the writing of religious texts (*Dharmaratnāsya Kekhanādi*).

I-tsing during his ten years stay at Nālanda collected 400 Sanskrit texts containing five hundred thousand *slokas*. There is no doubt that he copied them from the Nālanda library. This invaluable library, a "Store House of knowledge" met its end at the hands of Muslim invaders, as will be seen later.

Time table : It is very interesting to note that Nālanda University regulated its activities strictly according to a time table in that remote era, long before the invention of the modern clock. The time was measured by means of a "clepsydra" (a water clock used by the ancients to measure time by discharging of water). "The day was divided into eight hours and each hour was indicated by four immersions of the smaller bowl in the larger vessel of water. Each of such immersions was indicated

[35]Watters, I, p. 162
[36]Takakusu, p. 177
[37]University of Nālanda, Mokerjee, *JBORS*. XXX, part II, 1941 - p. 131-32]
[38]Takakusu p. 65
[39] p86
[40]*ibid*
[41]*Life*, pp. 112 f
[42]Chavannes *Loc cit*
[43]*Epigraphia Indica* xvii page 310 - 327

by one stroke of a drum, while the conclusion of one hour, as defined above, was announced by four strokes of a drum, two blasts of a conch-shell and an additional beat of the drum. The second hour ends at noon, when eating was not allowed. The afternoon, like the forenoon comprised of two hours. The expiry of the first hour at night was announced by beat of the drum by the Sub Director or Karmadhara himself. The sun rise and the sun set were announced by beat of drum outside the gate of the monastery by the servants or porters stationed there" [44]

Academic staff : From the very beginning Nālanda has had the best of teachers. Nālanda's fame as a center of learning was principally due to the fame of its teachers, some of whom Hiuen Tsang[45] describes thus : "Dharmapāla (the predecessor of Silabhādra as the chancellor of the Nālanda University) and Chandrapā la, who gave fragrance to the Buddha's teachings, Gunamati and Sthiramati of excellent reputation, Prabhāmitra of cleat arguments and Jinamitra of elevated conversation, Jinachandra of model character and perspicacious intellect and Silabhadra whose perfect excellence was buried in obscurity. All these men were of merit and learning and authors of several treatises widely known and highly valued by contemporaries."

According to Tāranātha, Nāgarjuna[46] spent a large part of his life at Nālanda. He also connects Aryadeva[47], his pupil, with Nālanda. Further Tāranā tha says that once Rāhula Bhadra[48] was the chancellor of Nālanda. The *Ghosrāwa* inscription[49] (not dated) mentions that Devapāladeva patronized a learned Brahamin named Viradeva who subsequently became the chancellor of Nālanda. The same inscription reveals that Satyabodi was the chancellor prior to Viradeva. Taranatha also associates Asanga, Chandragomi, Shā ntharakshita, Padmasambhava, Kamalasi la, Sthiramati and Buddhakirthi with Nalanda. The great Logician Dinnaga is also connected to Naland. He came to Nalanda on invitation and defeated a Brahmin named Sudurjaya. Hiuen Tsing[50] Himself was counted as one of the best products of Nālanda by his mastery of Mahayana Buddhism. For instance, when king Harsha, after his tour to Orissa, wanted to send some Mahā yāna Pandtis there to defeat Hinayānists, who ridiculed him, he selected four pundits including Hiuen Tsang. The king of Assam Kumara (Bhāskaravarman) wanted the services of Hiuen Tsang which ultimately led to a situation near war, with king Harsha, for not sending Hiuen Tsang to Assam promptly.

International University : Nālanda University though sited in India, was an International University[51] to the very meaning of the term. Its doors were thrown open to countries far and near. The wide scope and the universal character of its educational courses and its success as a universal seat of learning attracted a large number of foreign students. They risked their lives taking the routes across deserts infested with robbers, snow clad mountains, in the extreme climatic conditions to reach the highest seat of learning then available in Asia. The foreign students were well looked after. The eminent foreign students like Hiuen Tsang were given special consessions. Among the foreign students of Nalanda on record are those from China, Japan, and Korea. [52] It is clear from I-tsing's account that during the forty year interval from the departure of Hiuen Tsang and his arrival, that as many as 56 scholars from China, Japan and Korea visited India, most of whom came to India for the purpose of study. Apart from Fahien, Hieun - Tsang and I-tsing whose arrival and study at Nalanda are available in detail, names of foreign students such as Hiuan Chao, a Chinese who came twice, and I - tsing met him on the second occasion, Tao-hi a Chinese, who had a Sanskrit name Srideva

[44] Takakusu, p. 145
[45] Watters, *Yuan Chawang*, vol. ii pp 164-165
[46] Taranatha *History of Buddhism in India*. Tr. Lama Chimpa, Alaca Chattopadhyaya-motilal Banarassi Das. 1990 p. 106
[47] *Ibid* 125
[48] *Ibid* p. 131
[49] *Ind. Ant.* XVII, p. 307-312
[50] *Life*, p. 160
[51] Nalanda was something more than a mere seat of universal learning. The students flocked to its portals, not only from all the corners of India, but also from whole of the then civilized world, save perhaps from Greece and Rome. It was a university also in the sense that it attracted students from all parts of the world. (Sankalia H. D. *University of Nālanda* p. 239)

(I - tsing did not meet him, but was shown the chamber he lived). Aryavarma (A. C. 638) a Korean and Hwui Yihe a Korean Doctor of Law who died at Nālanda (I - tsing came across his writings), a Tukhāra Student (Buddha dharma) known for his size, Tao - Shing with his Sanskrit name Chandradeva, Tong, who came via the sea route. Tao -lin (Silaprabha) who took the sea route, Hwuita a monk of Kungchow who stayed 10 years at Nālanda and Won Kang who died at Nālanda are known because I - tsing has casually mentioned these names. Moreover there have been students from Tibet, Java and Sri Lanka among the student population of Nālanda. It is possible to visualize the multitudes of students from foreign countries who were studying at Nālanda silently in the course of its long history of nearly a thousand years.

Suvarndipa Hall of the University : Nalanda copper plate inscription of Devapaladeva [53] (860 A. C.) is of special interest to the Students who explore the history of this renowned seat of learning. The inscription concerned records the construction at Nālanda, of a fresh Vihāra by Balaputradeva, the Sailendra ruler of Suvarnadipa (Sumatra) and the gift with Devapala's permission of five villages to this new vihāra for its maintenance : "To serve as source of income for the temple of the worshipful Lord Budha and of the Initiates in the entire Dharma beginning with *Prajnāpā ramitā*, for the "bali" and "Cāru" offerings, the accommodation, clothing, alms, beds, seats, the needs of the sick like medicine etc. of the Sangha of honourable monks of the four quarters, being a group of Tantrik Bohisatvas in whom the eight *mahapurusas* are reincarnate, for copying etc of the Dharmaratna and for the repair of the building of the vihāra when it becomes dilapidated." Possibly Balaputradeva took necessary action to put up this self contained unit, whith its own arrangements for worship, study and good living and with its own separate budget for the benefit of the students coming from Suvarnadipa (Sumā tra) to Nalanda to study. (Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A. C. records of a similar vihara at Buddhagaya put up by the king Meghavarna of Lanka with the permission of King Samudragupta [54], for the benefit of prilgrims from Lanka who went to Buddhagaya on Pilgrimage. (Similarly in the early centuries of the Christian era we hear of a "Sihala - Vihāra a monastery for Sinhala monks at Nagarjunakonda in South India, but not put up by a Sinhala King. It has been put up by " Ikṣāku" relers for the benefit of Sinhala monks engaged in missionary activities in South India").

It is possible that the Sailendra ruler Balaputra Deva[55] followed such previous examples and put up "Suvarnadipa Hall" for the students from Suvarnadipa at Nālanda. It is also possible it also served the merchants, pilgrims, ambassadors and other citizens who came from Suvarnadipa (Sumatra). I- Tsing speaks of a Chinese Vihara at Mrgasikhavana at a distant to forty "Yojanas" to the left of Nālanda, but when he came it had fallen into decay. Therefore, as Nālanda was a popular center of learning patronized by many foreign students, it is surmised that there may have been many such viharas put up and maintained by foreign countries for their own students at Nālanda.

Nālanda Buddhism : Nālanda University was predominantly a Mahāyana seat of learning from the very beginning. Nevertheless, sacred books of the eighteen dissident Buddhist sects were studied there. There were adherents of Mahayana Buddhism as well as those of Hinayana Buddhism. For example Hiuen Tsang was a Mayayanist while - I-tsing belong to Hinayana. As regard the Buddhism of Nālanda, Vincent A. Smith [56] observes : "A detail history of Nālanda would be a history of Mahayana Buddhism from the time of Nagarjuna in the second century A. D. (?) or possibly even from the earlier date untill the Muhamadan conquest of Bihar in A. D. 1197 - a period well over a millennium. All the most noted doctors of Māhayana seems to have studied at Nālanda. Tibetan Buddhism is an offshoot of the teaching of Nālanda and its rival Wickramasila".

But Nālanda Naturally moved with the times and made room for the later development of Mahayana such as Tantrayana, Varjrayana etc. in due course. The evidence of later phases of Mahayana Buddhism is

[52] *JRAS.* XII p. 556
[53] *Epigraphia Indica* xvii p. 310 f.
[54] Geiger *Mhv.* tr. Intro. xxxix
[55] Balaputradeva's example was followed in the eleventh century by Chulamani Varman and his son Maravijayottungavarman who built and endowed a splendid *vihara* for the monks of Sailendra kingdom at Nagapattanam Nilakantha Sastri - "Madras University Journal Vol. XIII. No.2. p. 169

found in full measure during the excavations at Nālanda, where numerous images of various deities, both male and female, in bronze, copper, black or white sand stone were unearthed. But the silence of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing is conspicuous as regards these new phases of Mahayana. It is thought that the said changes took place at Nālanda after Hiuen - Tsang and I-tsing. left. namely after the seventh century A. C.

It has been observed that the evolution of religions or philosophies does not take place over night, but one religion or philosophy glides unnoticed into the other, and gradually the believer's mind becomes ripe for new ideas, accepted first by a few, then by more and finally by the majority. An incident narrated by the biographer of Hiuen Tsang hints that this tranition had commenced at Nālanda circa 7th Century A. C. as the biographer narrates king Siladitya [57] after his subjugation of "Konyodha" (Ganjam)? arrived at Orissa where all the monks followed the "Little Vehicle", The king entered into a Conversation with the monks who said : "We hear that the king has built by the side of Nālanda convent a vihāra of Brass, a work magnificent and admirable. But why did not your majestry construct a Kapalika temple or some other building of that sort"? "When the king wanted to know what the meaning of their statement was, they replied : "the monastery of Nālanda and its "Sky flower" [58] doctrine is not different from the Kāpālika sect, This is our meaning.

These indicate that Mahayana at Nālanda was moving in the direction of Tantrayana not. unmixed with Saivism. It is said that Tantrayana Buddhism at this period was growing out of the Yogacara system at Nalanda. This transition was taking place at Nālanda as from the 7th century A. C.

The early rituals at Nalanda connected to Mahāyāna Buddhism were simple, details of which Hiuen Tsang and I- Tsing Provide, Hiuen Tsang [59] refers to the worship of Tara, Avalokitesvara, Hariti, Buddha and Bodhisatva while I-tsing [60] refers only to the images of the Buddha and Hariti. But I -tsing refers in detail to some rituals collectively performed by the monks of Nalanda. Among such rituals the "Morning bath" was prominent which I-tsing [61] describes thus : "There are more than ten great ponds near the Nālanda monastery and there every morning a *ghanti* (gong) is sounded to remind the priests of the bathing hour. Every one brings a bathing sheet whith him. Sometimes a hundred, sometimes a thousand priests leave the monastery together and proceed in all directions towards the pool, where all of them take a bath"

The "ablution of the Holy Image [62] of the Buddha in the open court of the monastery in scented water to the accompaniment of music by girls, followed by setting up the image in the temple, is another ritual described by I-tsing. the whole ceremony was performed by the resident monks under the direction of "Karmadāna"

The other ritual was "*chaityavandana*[63] which was going round a stupa three times every afternoon to the accompaniment of chanting of hymns and selected *slokas* and reading of a selection from scriptures made by Asvaghosa. But at Nālānda it was differntly performed on account of the difficulty of bringing together in one place the large number of thousands of its monks. The Nālanda practice was one presenter to go round from place to place, from one hall to another, chanting hymns slokas and the service accompanied by monastery lay servants and childred carrying incense and flowers. I-tsing also descrìbes how some monks performed the obligation by themselves "sitting alone facing the shrine (Gandhakuti) praising the Buddha in their hearts or going to the temple in small parties kneeling side by side in worship. (*ibid*). It is observed that these simple rituals that were practised at the beginning were undergoing changes in accordance

[56] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IX p. 127.
[57] *Life*, p. 160
[58] The sky flower doctrine is fully explained in the *Surangama sutra*. It was evidently a doctrine developed in the Nalanda monastery. The doctrine is simply that all objective phenomena are only "like sky flowers" unreal and vanishing
[59] Watters, II 103, 174 and 110
[60] Takakusu, p. 37
[61] *Ibid*. 108 -9
[62] *Ibid*. 147-9
[63] *Ibid*. 152- 55

with the changes in Mahayana worship. Many new deities came into exitence to cater for the new development in the faith. The collective and congregational worship of few deities was now being replaced with individual worship of each in accordance with a particular system of worship or "Sādhana" proper for each such "Tantrik" deity. Nālanda did not hesitate to move with the times and welcomed the new developments assimilated and made the best use of them. In fact Nālanda took the lead in the sphere of the nee developments. The creative genius of Nālanda teachers of iconography gave rise to a new school of Art in the field, which spread beyond the frontiers of India and influenced the art to Java (Suvarnadipa). Archaeological excavations have revealed that Nālanda has maintained its cosmopolitan character even in the field of executions of religious images for the requirement of its large heterogeneous student population. The images unearthed include early Mahayana, Tantrik Mahayana and pure Brahmanical.

Among the images of the Buddha recovered in the excavations are a standing figure of the Buddha in bronze with high "Usni sa" and another stone sedant Buddha representing an early state of Nālanda sculpture. The images of Maitreya, Avalokitesvara and other Bodhisattvas, no doubt, belong to early Mahayana. There are also images of female deities such as Hariti, Tārā, Prajnāpārāmittā and Vasudharā. The best example of a bronze Tārā of eighteen arms ornamented and encircled by "*Prabhā*" in noteworthy. The image of Vajrapāni represent later Mahāyāna.

Tantrayāna images such as Trailokyavijaya shown as trampling over Mahesvara and Gauri, Heruka with a garland of skulls, Jambala Buddhist god of wealth and Marichi with three faces and eight arms are among many discovered and identified. The images of the Brahmanical religion such as Vis'nu, S'iva, Balarāma, Vāsudeva, Gehesa, Surya, Parvati, Gangā and Saraswati are also discovered at Nalanda.

Another development that took place was the introduction of Kālacakra Buddhism to Nālanda towards the end of the 10th century A. C. This Kālacakra Buddhism is of mysterious origin suffused with Vais'navism, and was introduced to Nalanda by a Pandit named Tsilu or Chilu from central India, as described in Tibetan works of the 16th century. As regards the acceptance of Kālacakra - yāna Buddhism at Nalanda Nilakantasastri[44] observes : "Thus, Nālanda accepted a creed which had nothing in common with Buddhism of old except the name. This change over to forms of belief and practice which deffered little from the surrounding Saivism and Vaisanvism of the land, and these in some of their most degenerate forms must have contributed not a little to the weakening of the distinct position that belonged to Buddhism before this change. Henceforth Buddhism loses its identity and mingles with the incoherent mass of Popular beliefs and superstitions characteristic of the vulgar side of Hinduism"

Nalanda's Missionary Service :- Nālanda scholars have rendered yeoman service in the field of missionary service in far eastern countries such as China and Tibet etc. There are records of Nālanda scholars who proceeded to foreign countries and helped the translation of Buddhist texts after havisng acquired the necessary linguistic capabilities of foreign languages such as Chinese and Tibetan. Among the Nālanda Scholars working in China Kumarajiva and Paramartha, the translator of the Life of Vasubandhu, are outstanding. They were instrumental in translating many Sanskrit Buddhist texts to Chinese. We read of a Nālanda Pandit named Subhākarasinghe setting down in China in the beginning of the 8th century A. C. Four of his works were translated into Chinese from Sanskrit. Though there was an interruption of cultural intercourse between China and India for sometime, due to disturbing political conditions, we see a revival in the 10th century A. C. A. Nalanda scholar Dharmadeva worked in China as a member of the "Imperial Bureau of Translators of Buddhist texts" into Chinese under the Song Dynasty 960-1127 A. C. up to 981 A. C. Dharmadeva translated forty Six Works into Chinese, which were mostly Tantras and Dharanis (*eg*. Vasudhara Dharani and Buddha hridaya Dharani etc.) During the period of nineteen years from 981 A. C. he is reported to have translated another seventy two works into Chinese. He also translated into Chinese a popular Mahāyāna work *Sukhāvatiyvūha*. We also hear of a Nālanda scholar named Pou-to-ki-to who is described in China as a Sramana of the temple of Nālanda of central India "who gave the emperor a present of some relics of the Buddha and Sanskrit texts. Thus it is clear that scholars who

[44] Nilakanta Sastri- "*Nalanda*"- Madras University Journal XII p. 199

had their education or completed their education at Nālanda have helped in no small way fot the spread and development of Buddhism in China.

Tibet in another country where Nālanda scholars have toiled hard for the spread of Buddhism. Tibet has had the services of Nālanda scholars from the very beginning for the propagation of the Buddha's teachings. Nālanda had already equipped herself in the task by organizing "A school of Tibetan studies" at Nālanda. Its scholars learning Tibetan employed themselves upon the task of translating into Tibetan select Buddhist texts from Sanskrit. They created a literature which converted Tibet to a Nee religion. Among the Nālanda scholars who worked in Tibet, Santarakshita who visited Tibet on the invitation of the King is regarded as the pioneer. Padmasambhava, another Nālanda scholar, visited Tibet for the propagation of Buddhism in 747 A. C. on the invitaion of King Kamalashila, too, proceeded to Tibet. Also on the invitation of the king, Sthiramati and Buddhakirti were also involved in the translation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts to Tibetan. Nālanda has had a great influence on Buddhism of Tibet and in fact Buddhism in Tibet is sometimes considered as an off shoot of Buddhism of Nālanda

"The kingdoms of the southern seas," as the Chinese called them, namely southern islands Sri Vijaya, Jāvā etc. too, have had the Nālanda influence in the sphere of Buddhism, as evident from the Devapāla Copper Plate inscription. Bosch[55] on Buddhism of Nālanda and the Southern Island remarks "Putting side by side the important moments in the History of the monastery of Nālanda and those in the history of Buddhism in the Archipelago, we see that the path followed by religion at Sri Vijaya and later in Jāvā runs parallel with the line of development that Buddhism takes at Nālanda......... Buddhism enters Sri Vijaya after the rise of the great monastery (Nālanda seventh century) is also the time when the University Palembang attains great lusture. The gradual change of opinion regarding the true doctrine starting from Hinā yāna and proceeding along the Mahāyānist Yogācara a further stage of Tantrism already highly coloured by Saivism and ending up in a fully degenerate Bhairava-cult, these shiftings we see repeated at Sri Vijaya and later in Java in the same order and with the same tempo."

Hiuen Tsang at Nālanda. A beief examination of Hiuen Tsang's stay at Nālanda would reveal the honour accorded and the facilities provided to foreign dignitaries at Nālanda. It is said that a colourful procession carrying standards, umbrellas, flowers and perfumes headed by four distinguished priests preceded seven *yojanas* to receive him and usher him to Nālanda. It is noted that no sooner he arrived at the establishment the first thing to see was to make necessary arrangements for his comfort. It was the duty of the Karmadāna to take immediate steps necessary to make him comfortable. Therefore he immediatelyby made the following proclamation sounding *Ghantā* (gong) : "Whilst the master of law dwells in the convent, all the commodities used by the priests and all appliances of religion are for his convenience in common with the rest" (Life).

It was not the custom for the chancellor to meet a foreign dignitary casually without an appointment and ceremony. It is said that twenty learned monks conducted Hiuen Tsang (Master of Law) to the chancellor Sīlabhadra who was known as "Ching-fa-tsong" (Treasure of the good Law). The chancellor received Hiuen Tsang with due respect and kindness and talked to him intimately as regards his difficult journey from china. When Silabadra inquired as to the purpose of his visit, Hiuen Tsang replied that he has come to learn *Yoga sāstra* from him.

It is learnt from the account of Hiuen Tsang that when a distinguished student arreived at Nālanda he was to stay with a person of equal standing for seven days, before he was assigned a permanent residence. In the case of Hiuen Tsang he stayed with Buddhabadra in the fourth storey of Baladitya Hall. Afterwards he was assigned a dwelling to the north of the adode of Dharmapala Bodhisatva. Handsome daily rations as already mentioned were provided to him.

A "Pure brother" (Upāsaka) and a brahmin were attached to him, relieved of all their religious duties, to accompany him, with a riding elephant. It is clear from the account of the biographer Hwui Li's the bospitality

[55] Bosch F. D. K. *Orkonde Van het Groote Klooster de Nālanda* (Tijdschrift voor Indische -Taal-; *Land en volkenkunde* IXV 1925, pp. 509 -588 (translated from Dutch Original)

enjoyed by Hiuen Tsang, that it was the norm which prevailed at Nālanda for the reception and entertainment of guests. The Biographer[88] concludes the account thus : "In the Nālanda convent the Abbot entertains myriads of priests after this fashion, for besides the Master of Law (Hiuen Tsang), there were men from every quarter and wherein all their wanderings have been met with such courteous treatment as this."

Seals. Though some amateur diggings at Nalanda were carried out as far back as 1872, the systematic excavations commenced in 1915. Most interesting minor antiquities unearthed during the excavation are the large number of inscribed clay seals. As the clay seals provide interesting data on Nālanda, it is worth while to focus our attention to them. The archaeologists categorise the large number of seals found according to the authorities they belong. Thus there are seals belonging to the (Central) university or central authority. In the seals the university of Nālanda is described as "Mahā vihāra". *"Sri-Nalanda Mahaviharai Bhikshu Sangha. Caturddhis-Arya bhikshu Sangha"* are also found in some of the seals ; no doubt they refer to the central establishment. In addition to the seals of the central command, seals of the colleges or subordinate institutions have been unearthed.

It is clear from such seals that the colleges were called "Vihāras" and the governing body as "sangha". Among such colleges or affiliated institutions of which seals were found, there were colleges belonging to different sects, colleges or subordinate institutions have been unearthed.

It is clear from such seals that the colleges were called "Vihāras" and the governing body as "sangha". Among such colleges or affiliated institutions of which seals were found, there were colleges belonging to different sects, colleges put up by the kings like Baladitva ȃnd Devapala etc. The seals were issued by the colleges concerned as tokens of their authority or proofs of authentication and were attached to the missives or certificates and diplomas issued by them. As already said Nālanda training had a value of its own and was in very great demand. The stamp of Nālanda training was sometimes fraudulently used or "Stolen", as Hiuen Tsang puts it. Most of Nālanda seals bear the picture of the Dharmachakra flanked by a deer recalling the Buddha's first preaching of the *dharma* at the deer park of Sarath.

Apart from the above described, seals issued by monastic, academic or religious authorities, a large number of seals issued by secular authorities were also unearthed at Nālanda. The Janapada seals issued by village corporations, village seals issued by villages as corporate bodies, seals of officers located at different administrative divisions, seals of police officers or stations, seals of a traders' guilds, royal seals and private seals are among the multitude of seals discovered at Nālanda. All these evidence show that Nālanda was not merely a university town but also a thriving center of business, trade, civil life and administration where the people of all walks of life, including foreigners, met for centuries.

Bronzes of Nālanda : As already stated a large number of bronze statues have been discovered at Nalanda and it needs our attention as far as their artistic aspect is concerned. Series of ovens used for metal casting have been discovered, which indicate that metal casting was prectised at Nālanda, it is also proof that arts and crafts, too, have been taught there in addition to academic subjects. Nālanda seems to have specialized in producing smaller pieces giving scope to work in detail and finish of execution, images in bronze and it indicates that they had an advanced metallurgical technology. Some scholars are of the view that the Art of Nālanda represent an independent school of Art while others hold the view that it belongs to the Pāla School of Art, because the majority of images, found at Nālanda bear the names of Pāla kings. According to Tāranātha, in the reign of king Dharmapāla there lived at Varendra an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhiman and equally skilled son Bitpalo. Both produced many works in cast metal as well as sculptures and paintings. Father and son are said ot be the creators of two distinct schools of Art. It is thought that Dhiman and Bitpala were associated as teachers of Art and craft at Nālanda where has been discovered the largest number and variety of cast models for which they were well known. The Art of the Nalanda School extended far beyond the boundaries of India and influenced considerably the arts of countries like Jāvā whose culture is mainly based on Mahāyāna Buddhism, of which Nālanda was then the most important center and strong hold. As

[88]Life p 110

regards the resemblance of Hindu Javenese bronzes with those of Nālanda, Bernet Kempers [67], after a critical study of examples of both Nālanda and Jāva, records : "The Hindu Javanese bronzes in general have not developed from Pāla Art, but Pāla images have enriched the Art of Jāva with a number of motifs and types ; that the bronzes of Nālanda, while partly exhibiting a distinct resemblance to some bronzes from Jāva, belong, to Pāla Art.

While discussing the end of Nālanda it is relevant to mention the prediction supposed to have been made by a distinguished soothsayer belonging to the heretical sect of Nirgranthas, as recovered by Hiuen Tsang. It is said that the king Sakraditya, the founder of Nālanda (according to Hiuen tsang) having selected a lucky spot commenced the work of the "Sangharama" (Nālanda monastery). When he began the work he was wounded, while digging, the body of the Nāga. Having seen that the Soothsayer is supposed to have said. "This is a very superior site. If you build here the "Sanghārāma" it must of necessity become highly renowned. Throughout the five Indies, it will be a model. For a period of thousand years it will flourish still. Students of all degree will have easily accomplished their studies. But Many will split blood because of this wound given to the Nāga" *(Hiuen Tsang Buddhist Records of the Western world* translated by Samuel Beal, London 1906 Vol.II p 168)

While commenting on the destruction of Nālanda Vidyābhushana[68] observes : "When the wave of Muslim inroads swept over Bihar at the end of the twelfth century, Nālanda sufferend a cruel destruction like much else; Islam, as a historic force, has been the most uncompromising enemy of Buddhism and Buddhist institutions from the heart of central Asia to the islands of the southern sea".

The occurrences in Bihar are best described in the words of a leading Muslim historian of Minhaj[69] :

"Muhammed-i-Bakht-yar used to carry his depredations into those parts and that country until he organized and attack upon the fortified city of Bihar. Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that he advanced to the gateway of the Fortress of Bihar with two hundred horsemen in defensive armour, and suddenly attacked the place. There were two brothers of Farghanha, men of learning, one Nizamud-Din, the other Samsam-ud-Din (by Name) in the service of Muhammed-i-bakhtt-yar, and the auther of this book met with Samsam-ud-Din at Lakhanāwati in the year 641H; and this account is from him. These two wise brothers were soldiers among that band of holy warriors when they reached the gateway of te fortress and began the attack, at which time Muhammad-i-Bakht-yar, by the force of his intrepidity, threw himself into the postern of the gateway of the place, na dthey captured the fortress, and acquired great booty. The greater number of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmans, and the whole of those Brahmans had their heads shaven ; and they were all slain. There were a great number of books there; and when all those books came under the observation of the Musalmans, they summoned a number of Hindus that they might give them information respecting the import of those books ; but the whole of the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted (with the contents of those books), it was found that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindu tongue, they call a college (madrasa) Bihar".

Historians agree that Minhaj here refers to the destruction of Nālanda by Mohammed-i- Bakht-Yar. The fortress he refers to in the Nālanda establishment surrounded by a high wall and Brahmans with heads shaven are the Buddhist monks. Minhaj [70] further adds how Bakat-yar was rewarded by the Sultan when he returned laden with plunder after sacking Nālanda which made the other nobles of the court jealous of him : "When that conquest was achieved Bakht-yar returned laden with plunder and came to Kutbu-d-Din

[67] Bernet - Kempers, A. J., *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu Javanese Art*, pp. 1-88 (Bijdragen K. I., Deel 90, 1933)
[68] Vidyabhushana S. C. *Indian Logic mediaeval School*, Calcutta, 1909p. 516
[69] *History of India*, Elliot H. M., London 1869, Vol. II. p 305-36 (Tabakati Nasiri)
[70] *Ibid op cit*
[71] Ghosa A., *A guide to Nālanda* - Delhi, Manager of Publications 1946 (Superintendent of Archeological Survey of India) p. 16
[72] Vidhyabhushana D. S. C. *Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1909 p146

who paid him much honour and respect. A body of nobles of the court looked upon the favours which sultan Kutbu-d-Din bestowed upon him with jealousy.

Archaeological excavations too confirm the destruction of Nālanda by fire. Ghosh[11] a late (Superintendent of Archaeological Survey of India) states : "There are abundant signs left in the ruins of burnt wooden beams, doors images, grains etc. to prove that there was a general outbreak of fire at Nālanda, at least once from which all the buildings existing at that time suffered more or less".

Tibet has its own tradition as regards the destruction of Nālanda which Vidyabhushana[12] narrates thus : "After Turuska reaiders had made incursions in Nālanda the temple and Caityas there were repaired by a sage named Muditabhadra. Soon after that Kukutasiddha, minister of the king of Magadha erected a temple at Nālanda and while a religious sermon was being delivered there, two very indigent Tirthaka mendicants appeared. Some naughty novice monks in disdain threw washing water on them. This made them very angry. After propitiation the sun for twelve years they performed a "yajna" fire sacrifice and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples etc. This produced a great conflagration which consumed "Ratnodhadhi". It is however said that many of the Buddhist scriptures were saved by water which leaked through the sacred volumes of Prajnāpāramitā sutra and Tantra." but there is no outside corroboration for this Tibetan account. However Tibetan account too confirms that Nālanda was destroyed by fire and that is not by as accident, but deliberate vandalism.

Conclusion : Sankalia assess the achievements and the contribution of Nālanda University in the context of the period it flourished thus : "Considering the time the University flourished, when the greater part of the world was still in intellectual darkness, when even in those countries where the torch of knowledge was long lit, discussions debates etc. were outstanding characteristics, when the average man cared little for what took place around him, the work that Nālanda did in creating an intellectual enthusiasm which magnetized students from far and distant countries such as Jāvā and Sumātra, China and Japan made them undertake weary and arduous journeys to India to drink at the fountain of Knowledge, that work with all its defects and weaknesses must be an admitted praiseworthy" (Sankalia H. D., *University of Nālanda*, p. 177-78). See PLATES VII-XI

Bibliography

1. Watters Thomas (Tr) *On Yuan Chwang's Travells in India* (2vols). Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids 1904
2. Beal Samuel (Tr.) *Buddhist records of the western world*, (2vols) 1906)
3. Beal Samuel (Tr.) *Life of Hiuen Tsang, by Hwui Li* 1914 (Referred to as *LIFE*)
4. Takakusu J. (Tr.) *A record of the Buddhist religion*, London 1896
5. Legge James (Tr.) *A record of the Buddhist Kingdom*, Oxford 1886
6. Sankalia H. D., *University of Nālanda*, Madras 1934
7. Moorkerji R. K., *Ancient Indian Education*, London 1951
8. Moorkerji R. K., *University of Nālanda*, JBORS XXXp. 126-159
9. Nilakantha Sastri K. A., *Nālanda Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. xiii No. 2
10. Vidyabhusan S. C., *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1921
11. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi (India), 1975 (Reprint)
12. Chavannes *I-tsing memori Sur Lesi, Religieux eminent* Paris 1894
13. Ghosa A., *Guide to Nālanda*, Delhi 1939
14. Heras H., *The Royal Patrons of Nālanda JBORS* XIV (1928) pp 1-23
15. Smith Vincent, *Nālanda ERE* Vol. IX p 126-27
16. Raverty- Taba-i-Nasiri of Mihaj-us-Siraj, Calcutta 1864
17. *Archeological Survey of India* Reports 1915-1916 onwards
18. Fergusson James, *Indian and Eastern Architecture, London 1876*
19. Buchanan Hamilton ed. Martin-*Eastern -India*, I (1883)
20. Ed. Chattopādhyāya D. *Taranatha's History of India*, Delhi 1990 reprint

K. Arunasiri

NĀLANDA (2) is a village/Township not far from Rajagaha, connected to the Buddha in severl ways. According to the Pali *Nikāyas*, the Buddha was staying at Nālanda on several occasions, met a number of important persons, had discussions with them and delivered some important discourses to them. The *Nikayas* do not specify whether it was a village or a town and refer to it as Nālanda only. But the Commentaries such as the *Sumangalāvilasini* (*DA*. III. 873) and the *Papancasūdani* (*MA*. III 52) refer to Nālanda as a town (*Nalanda ti Evam Namake Nagare*). It was the same locality where the celebrated Nālanda University (q.v.) was subsequently established.

The *Sumangalavilāsini* says that Nālanda was one *yojana*, equaling to seven miles, from Rajagaha, the capital of the Magadha kingdon (*Rajagahato pana Nālanda jojanamattameva* (*DA*. II. 351). It is seen that there has been a high way (*addhanamagga*) between Rājagaha and Nālānda (*S*. II 220). It is also seen that Bahuputtaka Cetiya (a pre Buddhistic shrine) (*loc cit*) and Ambalatthikā royal park (*D*. II. 84) one would see between Nālandā and Rājagaha and the road extended from Nālandā to Pataligāma (*loc cit*), which subsequently developed as the capital of emperor Asoka.

Nālanda is described in the Pali texts as a prosperous and popular place. "*Nālandā Iddha ceva phi ta bahujanā ākinnamanussā* (Nālanda is rich and wealthy, crowded and populous (*D.I*. 211). Whenever the Buddha visited Nālanda he used to stay at the mango grove Pāvārika Ambavana. According to the *Majhima Nikāya* commentary, the park belonged to the merchant *Dussapāvārika* (merchant selling cloth mantle.) The *Papancasudani* fruther adds that the merchant having listened to the Dhamma from the Buddha, was pleased and constructed a *Vihāra* in the park comprising of huts, caves and pavilions and offered it to the Buddha ("*Tam kira tassa uyyā namahosi. So bhagavato dhammadesanaṃ sutvā bhagavati pasanno, tasmiṃ uyyāne kuṭi, lena, maṇḍapādi patimaṇḍitam viharam katvā niyyādesi*).

It was at the Pāvārikambavana in Nalanda that the Buddha met Dighatapassi a follower of Niganthanathaputta, and Upali Gahapati of the same faith, and Kevaddha Asibandhakaputta. It was at the Pavarikambavana, That the Buddha preached the *Sampasadaniya sutta*, the *Kevaḍḍha sutta*, the *Upali sutta* and the *Asibandhaka sutta*. When the Buddha was staying at the Pavarikamabavana a householder by name Kevaḍḍha came to the Buddha and requested him to appoint a monk to perform mystic wonder. in order to increase the faith of the Buddha's followers of Nālandā, but the Buddha did not agree (*D*. I. 211). The *Gāmini samyutta* of the *Samyutta Nikāya* records three discussions (*S*. IV. 311-12, 314.317) the Buddha had with three village chiefs (Gāmini), bearing the same name Asibandhaputta, at the Pāvārikamabavana. The first two discussins appear to have been with the same person on two different occasins. According, to the first discussion Asibandhaputta Gāmini visited the Buddha at the Pāvārikambavana and informed him that Brahmans elevate people to heaven after their deaths. He wanted to know whether the Buddha who was an arahant and Sāmmasambuddha could do the same. On the second occasion when Asibanddhaputta Gāmini met the Buddha at the Pāvārikamavana he inquired from the Buddha as to why the Buddha teaches the *dhamma* in full to ertain people but to certain others, he does not teach the *dhamma* in full. The third discussion appears to have taken place between the Buddha with a different Asibandhaputta Gāmini, because the latter is described as a follower of Niganthas (*Nigantha savaka*). The Buddha inquired from him the manner Niganthanāthaputta teach his doctrine to his followers. (*Katham nu kho Gāmani Niganthanatā putto sāvakānam dhammam deseti*), to which Asibandhaputta replied that Niganthanathaputta teaches that whosoever slayeth living creatures go to the woeful lot, to purgatory etc.

The *Sampasādaniya sutta* (*D*. III. 99) and the *Satipaṭṭhāna Samyutta* (*S*. V. 159) record how Ven. Sariputta visited the Buddha, when he was staying at the Pavarikamabavana and expressed his extreme affection and gratitude towards the Buddha : "Lord such faith I have in the exalted one, that methinks, there never has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other recluse or Brahman who is greater and wiser than the Exalted one that is to say, as regards higher wisdom" (English translation of *Sampasadaniya sutta*, Dialogues of the Buddha by Rhys Davids, vol. III. P. 95). The *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* VvA. p. 114) speaks of a lay female disciple by name Sonnadinnā living at Nālanda. She was of immense devotion to the Buddha and the monks and offered the four requisites to the monks, and as a result she was reborn in the Tāvatimsa heaven. The *Upali sutta* (M.I, 371 ff.) has its origin

too at the Pavarikambava in Nalanda. It records how the two house holders Dighatapassi and Upali, followers of Niganthanāthaputta, came to see the Buddha, when the latter was staying at the Pavarikambavana. The Buddha inquired from Dighatapassi : "How many deeds, Niganthanataputta lay down for the effecting of an evil deed ? *(Katham pana tapassi Niganthanā thaputto kammāni paññāpesi kammassa kiriyāya)* to which DighaTapassi replied that Niganthanataputta does not lay down deeds but lays down wrongs. According to the same sutta, when the discussion Dighatapassi had with the Buddha, was reported to Niganthanataputta, he was pleased. The householder Upāli, another prominent follower of Niganthanā taputta, who was there at the moment, volunteered to meet the Buddha to refute his teachings and met the Buddha at the Pavarikambavana. But contrary to the expectation of Niganthanāthaputta, Upāli became an ardent follower of the Buddha after the discussion with the Buddha.

It is clear from the *Upalisutta*, the *Asibandhaputta sutta* etc. that there has been a large number of followers of Niganthanataputta at Nalanda. The *Upalisutta* reports that when the Buddha was staying at Pavarikambavana Niganthanataputta too, was at Nalanda with a large retinue of Niganthas (*Tena kho pana samayena Niganthonātaputto Nalandāyam pativasati mahatiyā niganthaparistaya saddhim (M. I, 371)*). At the same time the *Kevaddhasutta* reports that the people at Nalanda were thoroughly pleased with the Buddha (Manussā Bhagavati abhippasannā *D.* I, 211). Therefore it is reasonable to assume that Buddhists as well as Jains coexisted at Nālanda and there has been religious leaders, Gotama Buddha and NIganthanaputta, meeting each other, the followers of Niganthanataputta came to the Buddha and had cordial religious discussions, when the Buddha was staying at the Pavarikamabavana.

Nālanda is referred to in the Jain texts and contains description of Nalanda which go to the pre-Buddhist period. According to the Jain texts it was at Nalanda that Mahavira met Gosāla. Accordding to the Jain text Bhagavati sutra Mahavira had spent fourteen rainy seasons at Nalanda which was considered as a suburb of Rajagaha, having hundreds of houses. There both Buddhist and Jain records testify that Nālanda was a stronghold of Jains too.

Fa-Hieun says that he visited a village called Nāla and identifies it as the place where Sariputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha was born, as well as the place where he attained *Parinirvāna*. He further says that he saw the *sthupa* on the site where his body was cremated. Some scholars identify Nāla as Nālanda, but others say that Nāla was not Nālanda, but another village. However the Pāli tradition, too says that Ven. Sariputta went to the place of his birth to attain *Parinibbāna* and that the place of his birth was not far from Rajagaha.

According to the Northern tradition Nālanda was named after a Nāga living in a pond there. But there is nothing to that effect in the Pali literature. Though Nālanda is described as a rich and prosperous town with a dense population as mentioned above, unfortunately during the life time of the Buddha itself it had to face a severe famine, according to Buddhist texts. The *Samyutta Nikaya* describes the famine thus : *Tena kho pana samayana, Nālanda Dubbhikkhā hoti, Dvihitika setatthikā salākāvuttā*-now at that time Nālanda was stricken with famine, hard to get one's living in, white with men's bones, its crops grown to mere stubs (*S.* IV. 323)

Fa-Hieun places the hamlet of Nāla at one *yojana* or 7 miles, from the Hill of the Isolated Rock, that is from Giryek and also the same distance from new Rāja Griha. This account agrees exactly with the position of Baragaon, with respect to Giryek and Rajagir (Alxendar Cunningham- *The ancient Geography of India*, (Reprint) Bharatiya Publishing house, Varanasi (India) 1975-p.395).

The Buddha visited Nālanda on his last journey. The Buddha went to Nālanda from Ambalatthika and stayed at his favourite rest Pavarikamahavana. Having stayed at Nālandā as much as he wished he proceeded to Pātaligāma, apparently this was his last visit to Nālandā before his *parinibbāna* at the Malla's park at Kusinara. The eminent archaeologist Alexander Cunningham has identified Baragoan, a village seven miles north of Rajagir in Bihar, as the site of ancient Nālandā. Alexander Cunningham, *op cit* p. 395.

K. Arunasiri

NĀMARŪPA.

Introductory : The analysis of worldly empirical reality is a feature which has dominated Buddhist thought from the very inception of Buddhims. The purpose of this analysis is to reject as a fallacy the view held by other Indian systems of thought at the time that underlying this worldly existence there is an entity generally known as the soul (*attā or ātman*). In the Buddhist texts we find a number of criteria employed in analyzing this alleged reality and, on the ground of the analysis, a refutation of the theory of soul. *Namārupa* [1] constituted the result of one such analysis [2]. Although the term basically represents the same thing in essence, its use in different contexts indicates different stages of development in which this reality may be found.

The term occurs, frequently as a designation of differentiated contingent reality and represents psychological (mental, *nāma*) and physical (material, *rūpa*) phenomena. Since these two categories of phenomena, in this context, are interdependent in their origin, existence and cessation, *namārupa* may be considered as a complete whole and be rendered as psychophysical being, the complex of mind and matter. Although the term is used in some contexts in such a way as to embrace the whole of contingent existence, both individual and cosmic (*ayam ceva kāyo, bahiddhā ca nāma-rūpam* : *S*. II, 24), in general usage it represents those mental and material phenomena that consitute the so-called individual. It is, therefore, sometimes rendered as individuality or individual being (*PED*. p. 186)[3]. In this sense it represents a complete but complex whole, and the analytic interest is implicit in the complex nature of the term itself; for it is a compound consisting of two terms, *nāma* and *rūpa*, representing the two essential aspects of the contingent existence, subjective and objective.

The pre Buddhist concept : The difinition of worldly reality as *nāmarūpa* is not peculiar to Buddhist thought; it was a conception widely current in the earliest period of the *Upanisads*, but its origin goes back to the Vedic period, its germ being traceable in the *Rg-Veda* itself, according to which it is the differentiation of Reality into mental and physical phenomena that has given rise to the conception of *Nāmarūpa*.

The source of the *nāmarūpa* concept is, in fact, to be found in the specific ideology which underlies a cosmogony myth elaborated in speculative hymns of the *Rg-Veda*. It hinges on the idea that before the begining of things, i.e., before the manifestation of diversity and multiplicity, all *rūpas* were *rūpa* viz. the munanifest shape of the Universal Being (*purusa*) and, all *nāmas* were one *nāma*, i.e., the unuttered Universal Speech (*vāk*: *Rg. Veda*, I, 164.41 f; X, 189.3). The existence of *nāmarūpa* is due to two consecutive acts of division: first, the separation of the two aspects of the Universal Being, viz., father and son, and then, the dismenberment of twin and one cosmetic manifestations (*ibid*. I, 164. 41f, X. 90).

In the Upanisads, the motif of the Universal Being's dismemberment at the dawn of cosmic becoming reappears as the differentiations of the soul (*ātman*) into the vital functions (*prānas*). In this condition, that is to say, in the common conscious existence of man, reality is differentiated in name-and-form (*nāma rūpa* : *Brhaduranyaka Upanidad*, 1,4.7). While *nāma* is the inner power of individual being, *rūpa* is its sensuous appearance, the latter is the physical organ which is built up by *prāna* which, in tis own essence, remains shapeless.

Prāna is the immortal part of man (*Brahadāranyaka Upanisad*, ii.3). That part of man which does not leave him at death is *nāma* for *nāma* is infinite (*ibid* iii, 2.12). In this sphere of worldly reality *nama* and *rūpa* are not separated, because, reduced to its shapeless aspect of *prāna rūpa* is no more actually different from the invisible *nāma*, as their seperation depends upon the sensuous manifestations or *rūpa*. So, the contrast between the categories of *nāma* and *rūpa* is confined to sensuous reality.

The highest cosmic sphere, being not accessible to the senses, is only *nāma*, it is boundary between the upper world of *nāma* and the nether world of *rūpa*

---

1. The term occurs in a number of Pali suttas which may be considered as belonging to the earliest strata of Buddhist literature (*D*. I., 223, etc; *S*. I. etc, II, 24. *Sn*. vv. 872, 909, 950, 1036, 1100 etc.) It also occurs asone of the twelve factors of the causal formula (*Paticcasamuppāda*: *viññānapaccayā namarupam, namarupa-paccaya salayatanam*. *Vin*. I, if; *D*. II, 32 ff).
2. (1) The five aggregates (*khandha-skandha*), (2) the six basic elements (*dhatu*), (3) the twelve bases of perception (*āyatana*) (4) the eighteen secondary elements of perceptions (*dhatu*) and the elements (*dhamma* = *dharma*) are other categories yielded by analysis made from a variety of stand-points.
3. Name-and body (*PED*. 186), and name-and-form (*The Exposition*. II, 500) are the other equivalents used in Translations.

(*Chandogya Upanisad*, XIII. 14). The *Upanisads* emphasize the difference of potentiality between that which is shaped or corporeal (*murtam sasariram*) and that which is shapeless (*amūrtam asariram* : *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*, II, 3; *Chandogya Upanisad*, XIII, 12.) The latter can serve its present connection and rise upwards to the highest sphere of immortality of Universal Being (*Chandogya Upanisad*, VIII. 12).

Nāmarūpa is the means by which Reality (*Brahman or Sat*) is manifested in the world; for it is said that Brahman produces out of itself heat (*tejas*); then out of heat water (*apas*) is produced; and out of water, food (*annam*). Brahman penetrates as Jivātman into these three which are elevated to the position of deities, and, in mingling them up so as to make each of them threefold, differentiates *nāma* and *rūpa*. The Brahman, having emanated the worlds, enters them again by means of *nāma rupa* of which everything consists (*Satapathabrahmana*, XI. 2. 333 I ff. *Taittiriya Brahmana*, II: 2.7.1; *Chandogya Upanisad*. VI 3)

The above-information found in the Vedic literature gives us an idea of what *nāmarūpa* meant in pre-Buddhist Indian speculation. And it is evident that the conception of *nāmarupa* at the time when Buddhism appeared as well referred to the individual being complete with soul, mind and matter; for it is the means by which Reality manifested itself in the phenomenal world.

Thus, the differentiation of existence is accepted both by the Vedic and the Buddhist systems of thought. In the Vedic system it is the differentiation of the untimate reality, the soul; it is an evolution or a manifestation of the soul; and soul is, therefore, the basis of *nāmarūpa*. In Buddhism which rejects the existence of a soul as the ultimate reality, *nāmarūpa* has no basis as such; for it is not an evolution or a manifestation of some substance which is ultimately real. It consists of phenomena which arise depending on some phenomena; and there is nothing real over and above these phenomena.

Definiton : "The emergence of *nāmarūpa*-conception cannot, in fact, be understood as a shadowy approach to the categories of matter and form .... because the intrinsical criterion of the co-ordination between its two component items, viz., *nāma* and *rūpa* is quite incommensurate with the Platonic dualism of *Eidos* and *Hyle* from which the Western binomial untimately desends. Nor can it be adequately explained as an anticipation of Spinozas *modi* or Godheasd, *extensio* and *cogitatio*, since the import of this dual category-which can be critically accounted for only if viewed against its historical background of abstract scholastic speculation-is equally incommensurate with the Indian conception in which the unsensuous character of *nāma* does not preclude its genetic connections with *nāma*"[4]

What then does *nāmarūpa*, in fact, represent? "It is the animated organization where matter is conjoined with mind"[5] *Nāma* in this combination represents the noetic principal which is combined with the material principle to make up the individual (*PED*. p. 186)

All schools of Buddhism agree that *nāma* represents the four immaterial aggregates (*Cattāro arūpino khandhā* : *Ps*. II 74, *Nd* (1) 435; *Nd* (2) 181, Vbh. 230 407; *Netti*. 41; *Vism*. 506, *DhpA* IV, 100, *Abhvt* V. 1204, *Abhidhammatthavikāsini*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo, Ceylon, 1961, p. 400) .... *cattā rah arūpinah skandhāh* :*Abhk*. p. 61; Mdhvr. 563, *Pratityasamutpādavibhanganirdesa*, included in the *Aryasalistambha-sūtra*, ed. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, Adyar Library, 1950, p. 22, *Siks*. 222). The four immaterial aggregates include (1) the aggregate of feelings (*vedana-khandha*), of perceptions (*saññā*), of mental formation (*sankhāra*) and of consciousness (*viññāna*). The schools also agree that these four aggregates are called *nāma* because they possess the characteristic of flexibility, of bending or of inclining (*namana-lakkhanam* : *Vism*. 449, 450, 477, 503, *MA*. I, 221; *VbhA*. 136; *Abhvt*. V. 1205; *namatī ti nāmam* : *VbhA*. 135). They bend because they are flexible; they are flexible because they are subtle, and not rigid (*Miln*. 49).

This characteristic of *nāma* of four immaterial aggregates, all psychological aggregates, he says, bend towards the object of thought; they also cause one another to bend on to the objects (*KphA* 781; *DhsA* 392)

Chandrakīrti who gives an eschatological explanation says that the four immaterial aggregates are called *nāma* in the sense that they bend or incline toward continued existence (*bhava*) in different places (*tatra tatra* : *Mdhvr* 564). This may be understood to mean

4. Maryla Falk, *Namarupa and Dharmarupa*, University of Calcutta, pp. 11.

that it is *nāma* or the for immaterial aggregates that lead to, and adapt themselves in different types of existence. They have a tendency toward continued existence, and this is possible because of their flexibility and adaptability as well as their being actuated by force of *karma* which is inherent in individual streams of existence, i.e., in so-called individuals (*ibid; Madhyanta-Vibhāgasūtrabhāsyatikā* of Sthiramati ed. V. Bhattacharya and G. tucci, London, 1932, Part I, pp. 30f).

These two definitions of *nāma* one belonging to the Theravāda put forward by Buddhaghosa that the four immaterial aggregates bend towards the objects and the other the Mādhyamika view of Chandrakirthi that they incline towards the continued existence, different though they seem, are in fact complementary to each other. It is noteworthy that the two scholars were interested in defining *nāma* from two different standpoints. The problem becomes very simple if we consider the fact that by objects the Theravādins understood not only the objects of the senses in empirical circumstances, but also the objects to which a dying man clings at the last moment of his life. It is these dying thoughts[6] that shapes the future destiny of the dead man. When a man is to be reborn his consciousness at birth takes for its object one of these dying thoughts, and begins to function in the new life. The consciousness of the new-born child is therefore, the result of the consciousness of the dead man. Its moral character is also determined by the moral character of the dying thought (*Vism.* 387, 446f).

Buddhaghosa gives yet another explanation of *nāma*. Four of the aggregates, he says, are *nama*-making. For, whereas, from being named by the people. the name of king Mahāsammata was Mahāsammata, and whereas parents by acclamation make a name for their son. "Let him be called Tissa or Phusa," and whereas the name comes by virtue of a quality as preacher, Vinaya-student, such names as feeling (*vedanā*) etc. come quite otherwise. Feeling and the other (elements of consciousness), like the great earth and other elements, make their own name as they arise. When they arise their name also arises. For no one, when, feeling arises, says : "Be thou called feeling." there is no function of name-taking. As when the earth appears there is no function of name-taking. "Be thou called earth" and similarly with the world systems, with mount Meru, the moon, the sum and the stars; name is just as it arises, answering to he spontaneously arising concept. So, when feeling arises, the name 'feeling' just arises, answering to the spontaneously arising concept. the same is true for perceptions (*saññā*) and the rest. For feeling, whether it be in the past, future or present, is (after all and always) just feeling. And so is perception, so are mental formations (*sankhāra*), so is consciousness (*viññāna*). But *nibbāna*, though it be for all time, is always *nibbāna*. Such is name in the sense of name making (*DhsA.* p. 392; translation from the Expositor, *PTS.*, London, 1958; II, pp. 500 ff.).

Consensus of opinion prevails regarding the definition of *rūpa*, too. *Rūpa* is always indentified with the aggregate of matter (*rūpakkhandha*, *Ps.*I, 183; II, 74; *Nd* (1) 435, *Nd* (2) 181; *Vbh.* 230, 407; *Neth* 41, 481, 506; *DhpA.* IV, 100, *VbhA.*169; *Abhvt.* 169; *Abhvt.* V. 1203; *Adhidhammatthavikāsini*, 400; *Abhk.* p. 61 *Siks* 222; *Arya-Sālistamba sūtra*, 22, *Mdhvr* 563). The common characteristic of matter as given in the texts is *ruppana* (*S. III*, 47, 86 etc., *Vism.* 449, 450, 477-503; *MA* I, 221; *VbhA.* 136, *DhsA* 52; *KhpA.* 78; *Abhvt.* V. 1205) or *rūpana* (*Abhsy.* p. 2) or *rūpyatā* iti *rūpam* : *Mdhvr.* 544).

Ruppana or *rūpana* generally means oppression or affliction. It is said that *rūpa* is oppressed or afflicted by touch of cold and heat, or sun and wind, or hunger and thirst and of gnats and mosquitos and snakes (*S. III, 86f; Vbh. f.* I; *VbhA.* 2 ; etc.) What is meant is that when it is confornted with such contrary forces as cold and heat, *rūpa* undergoes climatic disturbance.

Rūpa, according to this description seems to have been regarded as a subjective factor, for it is said to be afflicted not only by climatic conditions but also by the touch of snakes and the like. The fact that ethical edification was one of the reasons in using the word *ruppana* in defining *rūpa* is fairly obvious, or conveying as it does the idea of affliction, it is suggestive of the noble truth of suffering (*dukkha-sacca*), one of the cardinal doctrines of Buddhism.

The later Buddhist scholars have introduced the terms *bādhyata* (*Mdhvr.* 544), *Vyābadhaya* (*Abhsy.* 2) and *pratighata* (*Abhkvy.* 24) in their definition of *rūpa*. These terms point to the fact of extension i.e., occupation in space, and to the fact of resistance as the fundamental characteristic of *rūpa*. *Rūpa* is that which resists or is extended in space (*Sapratighārta*.

6. The dying thoughts are threefold and are termed *kamma*, *kamma-nimitta* and *gati-nimitta* (q.v. *Vism* 387)

AbhkVy. 24). Two *sapratighāta objects* cannot occupy the same space simultaneously (*ibid.* 56).

The Sankrit term *sapratigha* is also reminiscent of the Pali term *paṭigha* that is used in the Theravāda Abhidhamma with reference to the contact that obtains between the first five sense-organs and their corresponding sense-objectis. These ten items are, therefore described as *rūpa* that resists (*rūpaṃ sappaṭighaṃ* : *Dhs.* pp. 133 ff).

Although the two component parts of *nāmarūpa* namely, *nāma* and *rūpa*, have been discussed separately as two items, it should be emphasized that the two components in this particular context are interdependent and that *nāmarūpa* is a designation given to the complex of mental and physical phenomena which in reality constitutes one single unit (*ī ti dam ca rūpam pūrvakam ca nāma, tad aikadhyam adhisanksipya nā marūpam ityucyate* : *Pratītya-Samutpāda-Vibhanga-nirdesa* included in the *Ārya Sālistamba Sutra*, ed. N. Aiyaswami sastri, Adyar Library, 1950, p. 22). The two are inseparable; they arise together, exist together and perish together; they exist only in combination; in separation they are unable to exist (*Miln*, 49, *Vism*. 510; *Abhvt.* v. 1215; *Abhidhammattha-Vikāsinī*, p 402). They exist on mutual support (*Vism.* 499, *Arya Sā listamba Sūtra*, p. 11; *Mdhvr* 564), because neither of them possesses the power to exist alone. One exists only in dependence on the other. It is characterized by a conjujction of *nāmakāya* and *rūpakāya* (*Netti.* 28).

Both Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta illustrate the interdependence of *nāma* and *rūpa* on each other by way of a parable in which they compare *nāma* to sailors and *rūpa* to a ship.[7] The men cannot sail without the help of the ship while the ship cannot move without the energy exerted by men (*Vism* .... *Abhvt* ... . 122 1ff). A voyage becomes possible only when the two, men and ship, are combined.

Upatissa, too, joins hands with Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta in illustrating *nāmarūpa* by way of the blind-cripple parable where *nāma* is like the cripple and the *rūpa* the blind. The cripple cannot walk because he is disabled, whereas the blind cannot walk because he cannot see the way. A journey is possible only if the two get gather, the blind taking the cripple on his back and the cripple showing the way (*Vimuttimagga*, p. 36; *Vism.* .... *Abhvt*.........1221).

Yasomitra compares *nāmarūpa* to two bundles of reed: the two can stand only when they are placed vertically with the two upper ends leaning against each other and the lower ends placed on the ground at a reasonable distance. The two depend on each other for their existence in this position. When one falls the other falls too (*AbhkVy.* 667ff). In the same way *nāma* and *rūpa* exist only in combination, and not in separation.

Their existence in separation is also mentioned but in this context *nāmarūpa* does not represent the psycho-physical entity as such, but the whole of existence in general, i.e. internal as well as the external world. The following situation has to be understood as a case in point. When *nāma*, i.e. sense-consciousness, depends for its arising on *rūpa* i.e. material elements of sense-organs and sense-objects, *nāma* is one thing and *rūpa* a different thing; they are not combined. In this situation, *nāma* depends for its existence on rū pa, , but does not depend for its existence. In this situation *nāma* is compared to the sound of a drum and *rūpa* to the *drum*'. The sound cannot arise without a drum' sound is therefore dependent. But the drum is not dependent on sound; it can and does exist independently of the sound (*Vism* ....; *Vimuttimagga* 36).

Analysis has been the method the Buddhists have successfully employed in refuting the *ātma*-theory of other Indian systems of Philosophy. What is analysed is the same, the man and the world; but we see different standpoints adopted in their analysis with the reuslt that a variety of categories obtain. Diferent categories yielded by different methods of analysis are named after their particular nature. *Nāmarūpa*, as has already been stated, forms one such category. The other categories yielded by analysis are the five *khandhas*, six *dhatus*, twelve *āyatana*, eighteen *dhātus* and *dhammas*. Since what is analysed in the same, one category can be identified with others, and the following is an attempt at identifying *nāmarūpa* with other categories.

In the Pali *suttas* we find *nāma* being identified with some psychological factors, namely, feelings (*vedanā*), perceptions (*saññā*), volitions (*cetenā*), sensory contact (*phassa*) and contemplation (*manasikāra*: *M.*I, 53;

7 In the paintings depicting the bhavacakra, *nāmarūpa* is represented by a ship with four occupants; the ship representing *rūpa* (*rū pakkhandha*) and the four men represneting *nāma* (*four arupion khandhā*). See Ency. Bsm. Vol. III, fascicle I, p. 13.

S. II, 46, *S.* II, 46, 46; *PS.* I, 183). The *Nettippakarana* adds another psychological factor, namely, the mind (*citta*) and makes *nāme* consist of six psychological factors. (*Netti.* 78).

The five psychological factors given in the *suttas* as *nāma* have been identified in the commentaries with the three aggregates (*Vedanādi-khandhattayam*): the feelings representing the aggregate of mental complexes (*sankhāra-khandha* : *Vism* 481, *MA.* I, 221; *PsA* I, 362, II ; 516, *VbhA.* 169).

This identification is in prefect agreement with the identification of *nāma* with the three immaterial aggregates also made in the texts (*Vism.* 481; *MA.* I, 221; *PsA* II, ...; *VbhA.* 169; *Mohavicchedani*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, A. K. Warder, London, 1961, P. 143; *Adhidhammatthavibhāvinitikā*, ed. D. Pannasara and P. Wimaladhamma, Colombo, 1933, p. 136; *Abhidharmattha-sangraha Purāna Sanne*, ed. W. Somaloka Tissa, Colombo, 1960, p. 216).

In some other contexts, *nāma* is found identified with the four immaterial aggregates (*cattāro arūpino khandhā*), namely, the aggregate of feelings, the aggregate of perceptions, the aggregate of mental formatives and the aggregate of conscious-ness (*Nd* (I), 453, *Nd* (2), 181; *Ps* II, *Vbh.* 230, 407; *DphA* IV 100; *Abhvt*, V 1204; *Abhidhammatthavikasini*, p. 400; *Abhk.* 61 *Siks.*, 222, *Pratītyasamutpādavibhanganirdesa*, p. 22; Mdhvr. 563*)

Why *Viññānakkhandha* is excluded when, in some contexts (*Vism.* 481; *MA.* I, 221; *PsA.* II, SIS .... etc.), *nāma* is identified with the other immaterial aggregates is explained by Buddhaghosa in his commentary to the *Vibhanga*. It is excluded, he says, not because *viññāna* is not *nāma*; *nāma* includes *viññāna*, too but in order to distinguish between two aspects of *viññāna*, one casual *viññāna* and the other the resultant *viññāna*. *Viññāna* as one of the twelve factors of the causal formula (*Paticca-samuppāda*) constitutes its causal aspect, and its resultant aspect is represented in the *nāma* of the next factor of the casual formula, namely *nāmarūpa* (*VbhA.* 169).

In the same texts, *rūpa* is identified with primary (*bhūta*) and secondary (*upādā*) elements of matter (*rupa*:*M.* 153; 46; *Ps.* I, 183; II; 74; *Nd*), 435; *Nd* (2), 181; 230, 407; *Netti* 41; *Vism.* 506; *DphA* IV, 100; Abhvt. v. 1203; *Abhidhammattha-Vikāskinī*, p. 400, *Abhk.* 61; *Pratītyasamatpāda-vibhanganirdesa*, p. 22; *Siks.* 222 *Mdhvr.* 563). It is also identified with the thirty-two parts of the body, hair (*kesa*) etc. (*Netti.* 77).

Nāmarūpa as one unit has been identified with the five aggregates of clinging (*Pañcupādānakkhandhā*: *Netti.* 15, 69) as well as with just five aggregates (*pañcaskandhāḥ* : *Ārya-Salistamba sūtra*, 10, *Mdhvr* 562f, *Madhyanta-vibhāgasutrabhāsyatīkā*, p. 31).

It is also identified with the six primary elements namely, earth (*pathavidhātu*) water, (*āpodhātu*), heat (*tejodhātu*), wind (*vāyodhādu*) and consciousness (*viññaanadhātu* : *S. A.* II, 214) and, sometimes with the eighteen elements of perception, the ēlement of eye (*cakkhu-dhātu*), the visual element (*rūpadhātu*) the element of eye consciousness (*cakkhuviññānadhātu*) and so on with the other five kinds of preception (*Netti* 69).

Both Buddhadatta and Khema consider all instances of mind and mental phenomena as *nāma* and all instances of matter as *rūpa* (*B. M.* pp. 149-159; *Nāmarū pasamāsa*, I. *PTS.*, London, 1915-1916 pp. 5ff respectively.)

So far *nāmarūpa* has been identified with the phenomenal world which is conditioned existence (*sankhata*), but in the *Dhammasangani*, we find *nāma* being identified not only with the four immaterial aggregates, which are conditioned, but also with the unconditioned element (*asakhatadhātu*: *Dhs.* p.226), that is *nibbāna*. This view has been accepted by Anuruddha in his *Nāmarūpapariccheda* (*JPTS.* London, 1913-1914, p. s, v. 3) where *nāma* is identified with *citta*, *cetasika* and *nibbāna*. Here *citta* represents the *viññā* nakkhandha, *cetasika* represents the other three *khanda* as *vedeanā, saññā*, and *sankhāra* while *nibbāna* is none other than the *asankhata-dhātu*.

***Nāmarūpa* and the corresponding "elements" of other categories**

Nāmarūpa	*Khandha*	*dhātu*	*Āyatana*	*Dhātu*	*Dhamma*
Nāma	*Viññāṇa*	*Viññāṇa*	*Manāyatana*	*Manodhātu* *Cakkhuviññāṇa* *Sotaviññāṇa* *Ghānaviññāṇa* *Jivhāviññāṇa* *Kāyaviññāṇa* *Manoviññāṇa*	*Citta*
	Vedanā *Saññā* *Sankhārā*		A section of *Dhammāyatana*	A section of *Dhammadhātu*	*Cetasika*
Rūpa	*Rūpa*	*Paṭhavi* *Apo* *Tejo* *Vāyu* *Ākāsa*	*Cakkhu* *Sota* *Ghāna* *Jivhā* *Kāya* *Rūpa* *Sadda* *Gandha* *Rasa* *Phoṭṭhabba* A section of *Dhammāyatana*	*Cakkhu* *Sotta* *Ghāna* *Jivhā* *Kāya* *Rūpa* *Sadda* *Gandha* *Rasa* *Phoṭṭhabba* A section of *Dhammadhātu*	

All the categories given above belong to the sphere of conditioned existence (*Sankhata*). Mention may be made in this context of the occurrence of *asankhata dhātu* as an item of *nāma* in the *Dhammasangani* (p. 226) and in the *Nāmarūpapapariccheda* (*JPTS*., London, 1913-1914, p.s.).

***Nāmarūpa* and causality** : *Nāmarūpa*, in its general usage, connotes the entire worldly existences but in its strict technical sense, it represents a complex unit in which both the psychological and the physical phenomena are potentially present, it is a dynamic entity which plays an essential role in the conception of a being.

In the stock passage which sets out the causal formula *Nāmarūpa* is preceded by *Viññāṇa* and is succeeded by salāyatana (*Viññāṇa-paccayā nāmarupa nāmarūpapaccayā salāyatana* : *Vin*. I, I etc.), have *nāmarūpa* is said to originate depending on *Viññāṇa* ; it also rise to *salāyatana* or to *phassa*.

But in two *suttas* of the *Dīghanikāya* namely, the *Mahāpadāna sutta* and the *Māhanidāna sutta* which discuss causality, the formula begins with *nāmarūpa* and runs as follows : *Nāmarūpa -paccayā Viññāṇam*, *Viññāṇa-paccayā nāmarūpam*, *nāmarūpa-paccayā salāyatanam* (*D*. II. 32); and *nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇam*, *viññāṇam*, *viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpam*,

nāmarūpa-paccayā phasso (*D.* II. 56.). According to these passages, *Viññāna* arises depending on *nāmarū pa*, *nāmarūpa* (in tern) arises depending on *Viññānam* and *nāmarūpa gives rise either to salāyatana or to phassa*.

In this process of causal origination we find a number of items involved; items such as *Viññāna, salāyatana* and *phassa*. What do these mean in this connection? and what does *nāmarūpa* represent in this process ?

Nāmarūpa has been described as "descending" (*okkanti nāmarūpam: Ps*, I, 52; *Vimuttimagga*, 33). Buddhaghosa explains that *nāmarūpa* is that which enters a mother's womb at conception (*okkanti nāmarūpanti yā gabbhe rūparūpadhammanam okkanti, agantva pavisanam viya; idam nāmarūpam* : *Vism.* 497; *VbhA*, 192; *PsA. I, 241*).

Both Vasubandhu and his commentator, Huian-tsang, consider *nāmarūpa* to be the seed that produces a fruit (*bijam yam nāmarūpam phalotpattau samartham* : *Abhk.* II, 36; *Abhidharmakosa de Vasubandhu'* tr. de La Valee Poussion, Societe Belge d' Etudes, Paris, 1923, 1931, Vol. I, P. 185; *La Siddhi de Huian-tsang*, tr. by L. de la Valee Poussion, Paris, 1928, 1929; p. 482). Yasomitra, another commentator of Vasubandhu, held that *nāmarūpa* is the seed of rebirth (*punarbhava-bīja*: *Abhkvy.* pp 33.42).

Nāmarūpa has been compared to a sprout (*aukuropamam nāmarūpam* ; *Vimutti-magga*, 33;d *Ārya-Snālistamba sutra*, pp. 8, 14, 16; *Mdvhr.* 552). It is a sprout that takes root in the womb of a mother (*ibid*). This represnets a state in the formation of an embryo.

Whenever *nāmarūpa* is compared to a sprout, *viññāna* is compared to a sprout, *viññāna* is compared to a seed (*bīja*), from which *nāmarūpa* the sprout of the individual, grows forth (*Vijnāanabījam* ... ... *nāmarūpankuran mātuh kuksau abhinirvartayati-*

Ārya-sālistamba sūtra, 8, 14, 16, *Mdhvr.* 552, 566f; *Bodhicaryāvatāra tīka* quoted by La de La Valle Poussin' *J. A.* 1902, p. 310f). Thus, *viññāna* is the cause of *nāmarūpa* (*D.* II, 63; Ārya-Sālistamba Sūtra, 13-14, *Mdhvr.* 566), and it is *viññāna*, therefore, that produces *nāmarūpa* (*Vism.* 500). *Nāmarūpa* descends into the mother's womb, only if and when *viññana* finds support in it (*S.* II, 66, 101ff; *Mulamadhyamaka-karika*, xxvi, v. 2, *Madhvr.* p. 543). Had *viññana* not descended into the mother's womb, *nāmarūpa*, too, would not have descended (*D.* II, 63). This is the meaning of the statement that *nāmarūpa* arises depending on *viññana* (*Viññānapaccayā nāmarūpam*, *AA.* II, 281 f; *Mohavicchedani*, 148).

It is evident from the scriptures quoted above that *viññāna* is a more fundamental factor that is essential for conception to take place [9] for without *viññāna* being established, no *nāmarūpa* can enter a mother's womb. *Viññana*, in this particular context, has also been described as the re-linking consciouness (*pari sandhi-viññanam*) the consciousness that constitues the link between death and rebirth (*Ps.* I, 52; *Vimutti-magga*, 33, *Vism*, 497). It is the producer, the seed of conception (*Janaka- pratisandhi-bijah: Abhidharmadī pa with Vibhāsāprabhāvrtti*. ed. P. S. Jaini, Patna, 1959, p. 12).

Patisandhi is a term which is first used in the *Patisambhidamāgga*[10] in the sense of coception. The earlier term, or rather phrase, used in this sense as is found in the early *Nikāyas* is *Viññānassa avakkanti*, " the descent of *viññāna*" (*D. II.* 63; *S. II*, 91). The phrase "*gandhabbassāvakkanti*" (*M.I.* 265, *A. I*, 176) and *nāmarūpassa avakkanti* (*S. II*, 66; *Kvu.* 142) are also used in this sense.

Avakkanti or *okkanti* (*ava+kram* to go down) literally means descent or coming to be (*okkanti nibbatti pātubhavo: PugA* P. 184). What enters into the mother's womb is called *viññana*, gabbha or *nāmarūpa*. Do these three terms signify the same thing or different entities ? Clarification of this point might throw valuable light in determining what *nāmarūpa* is in this particular context.

9. It is no less essential for the continuity of life (*D. II*, 338; *S. III*, 143).
10. The *Patisambhidāmagga* is one of the fifteen books that belong to the *Khuddakanikāya* of the Pali Cannon. Though it has found its way to he Pali Sutta Pitaka, it is in fact a *Theravādin* treatise complied on the style of the texts of the Pali Abhidhammapitaka. It thus belongs to a later period in the library activity of *Theravādins*.

Viññāna is consciousness which always arises with referrence to an object which may be (1) material such as an object of vision (*rūpa*) or a sound (*sadda*) etc.; or (2) conceptual such as democracy, freedom and so on or (3) psychological such as love and hate. It is participal in formation and dependent in origination. It is always particular in nature and is referred to as eye-conscious-ness (*cakkhu-viññāṇa*) .... or mind-consciousness (*mano-viññāṇa* : *M.* I. 259).

But this type of sense-consciousness (*cakkhu-viññāṇa* etc.) obviously could not be the factor that enters into a mother's womb at the conception of a being " For it is not possible that empirical consciousness (*pravṛttivijñāna*) that has come to an end (in a certain individual existence) is let into the condition of rebirth. Nor is it possible that good and defiled (*kusala* and *klista*) exist simultaneously in it .... and the seeds of a future birth (*karma-vāsanā*) are not established in empirical consciousness by *samskāras* (*Madhyāntavibhāga-sutra-bhāsya-tīkā*, pp. 30-31). If that is so, what is the *viññāna* that enters into the mother's womb at conception ?

The term *viññāna* also occurs in a number of Pali suttas in the sense of a "Survivor", a factor that constitutes the link between death and rebirth of a being. In the *Anañjasappāya-sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* this *viññāna* is called " the evolving consciousness" (*samvattanika viññana* : *Kāyassa bheda parammaraṇā thānam etam vijjati yan tam samvattanikam viññāna assa ānañjūpagam* : *M.* II. 262(. This *viññāna* is regarded continuing, through various lives, up to the state called the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* : *ibid.* 264). Thus is none other than the stream-consciousness (*viññānasota*) that extends into both worlds, this and the next (*idha loke ca patitthitam para loke ca patitthitam* : *D.* III. 105), also called the stream of becoming (*bhavasota* implying thereby its constant changing nature. In the Theravada scholastic period it is termed the rebirth-linking consciousness' (*Patisandhi-viññāna or citta*) which is a species of life continuum (*bhavanga*, q. v.) It is clearly this *viññāna* to which the monk, named Sāti, referred as "the consciousness that fares on and continues (*viññānam sandhāvati samsarati*), but erred in saying that " it did so without change of identity" (*Tadeva, anaññam*) and also in taking it as an "agent and experiencer" (*Vado Vedeyyo* : *M.* I. 256).

It is extermely significant that in the *Pāyāsi-sutta*, which clearly refers to this *Samsāric Viññāna* in the conch-shell illustration, *viññāna* is made analogous to man (*purisa*) who blows the conch shell (D. II. 338). Three factors are essential for the conch-shell to produce a sound, the factors are air, the energy exerted by the man and the man himself. It is only if and when the man blows the conch-shell, that it produces any sound. In the same way life is said to exist only when there are life principle (*āyu*), temperature (*usmā*) and consciousnes (*viññāna*, *ibid*), as the serving factor, as the link between death and rebirth of an individual, that by re-entering "womb after womb" (*gabbhā gabbham* *Sn.* v. 278) for repeated conceptions, results in what is generally known as *samsāra*.

The difference between this *samsāric viññāna* and the *vijnānatman* tha was held to be the surviour by the Upanisadic teachers, according to their doctrine of re-incarnation, is only too clear, for, in the Upanisads, the term *atman* denotes a metaphysical substratum that is permanent and unchanging whereas in Buddhism the '***Surviving***' *Viññāna* is identical with *bhava* implying thereby the very opposite nature of impermanence (*anicca*) and evolution (*parināma*).

Sometimes the term *gandhabba* occurs in place of this *samsāric viññāna*. According to the *Mahātanhāsankhayasutta* and the *Assalāyana-sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikaya*, *gandhabba* is one of the three vital factors that are essential for conception to take place (*gabbhassa-avakkanti* : *M.* I, 265; II, 175). Of the phrase *gabbhassa avakkanti* the original meaning seems to have 'descent of the embryonic being' for the *gabbha* means womb as receptacle as well as the fetus, the being inside it (*MA.* II, 310). Hence it is that the fetus, *gabbha*, is said to derive from the six primary elements (*dhatu*, q. v., *channam dhātūnam upādāya gabbhassa avakkanti* (*A.* I, 176 *Sat khalu dhātun pratītiya garbhāvakrānti* : *AbhKVy* 57). *Vinnana* is the last of these six elements. And, the descent of the embryonic being is also the cause of *namarupa*, at least in one version of the causal formula (*Channam dhātūnam upādāya gabbhassāvakkanti hoti,......... okkantiyā sati nāmarūpam* (*A.* I, 176). This is obviously parallel with the usual statement that *viññāna* is the cause of *namarūpa* (*Viññānapaccayā nāmarūpam*, *Vin.* I, I; *Okkantiyā sati nāmarupanti viññāna-paccayā namarūpam*; *AA.* II, 281f). It is also stated that had *viññāna* not descended into the mother's womb *namarūpa* world not develop (*D.* II, 63).

It is obvious now that this *samsāric viññāna* which is none other than the *gandhaba* constitutes the factor most essential for conception to be successful. It is no less essential for the continutiy of life within "the individual". It is said that when this *viññāna*, together with vitality (*āyu*) and temperature (*usmā*) leaves the body, the latter lies motionless like a log of wood (*D.* II, 338; S. III, 143).

In the Theravada Abhiddhamma terminology, as has already been mentioned, this *viññāna* is termed *bhavanga* which is the *sinequa non* (*anga*) of continued existence (*bhava*). At death this *bhavanga* is called "the departing consciousness" (*cuti citta or cuti viññā na*), and at conception or rebirth it is called re linking consciousness (*patisandhi citta or viññana*) both being species of *bhavanga* (*Vism.* 387 ff; *VbhA.* 155f). In order to distinguish this *bhavanga-citta* from empirical consciousness, the latter is termed the *pavatti-viññāna* (*Vism.* 466). The *patisandhi-citta* is also called the consciousness that prepares rebirth (*abhisankhāra-Viññānanti Viññānapaccayāti kamma-sahajāta-adhisankhāra-viññānam; AuA* .... II, 506; Viññānanti *adhisankhāra-viññānam*; *ibid.* 600).

Like empirical consciousness, the rebirth-linking consciousness, too, arise having an object as its basis. These objects are described as what one wills (*yam ca ceteti*); what one thinks and prepares (*yam ca pakappeti*) or what lies dormant (*yam ca anuseti: S* II, 66). The three pharases, in fact, refer to the mental formations (*sankhāra*) which belong to the sphere of mind-objects (*dhammāyatana or dhammadhātu*). In the *Theravāde Abhidhamma* these objects are known as *kamma*, *Kamma-nimitta* and *gati-nimitta* ; and it is said that the mind of a dying man has one of these as its object, and the next moment, i. e., immediately after death, he is reborn (*Vism.* 387ff; *VbhA.* 155).

It is explained that *nāmarūpa* becomes the cause of *viññāna* by providing support for the latter. It is by establishing *viññāna* in *nāmarūpa* that conception becomes successful; for without *nāmarūpa*, *viññāna* does not find a foothold. Thus, for *viññāna* to be implanted there must essentially be the *nāmarūpa*, a sort of soil. So to the extent *viññāna* is essential for *nāmarūpa* to take root, to that same extent, *nāmarūpa* is essential for *viññāna* to be implanted. The two are interdependent and co-related. One cannot performs its specific function unless the other does its. For conception to be successful, the two must get together.

The *Yogācāra-Vijñānavādins* have interpreted the three used as synonyms in the Pali *suttas*, namely, *citta, mano and viññāna* (*S.* II, 94) and accepted as such by the Theravadins (*Vism.* 383), to mean three different aspects or states of the aggregate of consciousness (*vijñāna-skandha*). By *citta*, they understood the resultant store-consciousness (*ālaya-vijñāna*) in which all the traces of past actions are deposited with the result that it is performed by them. By *mana*, they meant the "thinking mind" (*manyana-vijñāna*) which is associated with four passions, namely, the belief in the existence of a soul (*ātma-drsti*), attachment to self (*ātmasneha*), the view that "I am" (*asmi-māna*) and ignorance (*avidyā*). It is also the consciousness that survives the attainment of cessaton (*nirodha-samāpatti*) as well as the sixfold sense-consciousness. *Vijñāna*, according to them, constitutes the six fold sense-consciousness (*sad-vijñāna-kāya* : *Abhsy.* 11-12).

They also distinguish between the first of these three, i. e., *ālayavijnāna* and the last two *manyana-vijñāna* and *sad vijñāna*; the latter two being described as active consciousness (*pravrtti-vijñāna*). *Ālayavijñāna*, as the receptacle of all seeds (*sarva bījaka*) is transformed (*parināma*) into a series of *pravrtti vijñānas*. And it is this transformation that results in the individual psycho-physical organism, that is *nāmarūpa* (*Trimsikā*, v. 2, c d; *Trimsikā-bhāsya*, p. 18).

Sthiramati makes a specific statemet to the effect that in the pharse; "*vijñāna* arises depending on *samskara*", the term *vijñāna* refers to *Ālayavijñāna*, and not to *pravrtti-vijñana* (*samskāra-pratyayam vijñānam iti iha ālaya-vijñānam adhipretam, na tu pravrtti-vijñānam : Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāsyatīkā*, de. V. Bhattacharya and G. Jucci, London, 1932, Part I, p. 30), because *samskāras* and *bījas* are implanted only in the *Ālayavijñāna* (*ibid*). Moreover, the *pravrtti vijñāna* comes to an end in a certain individual existence, and it, therefore, cannont be led into the conditions of rebirth (*ibid*). (cf. *Sankhāra-pariggahitam viññānam gatisu patitiham labhati, Vism.* 500)[11]

Thus it is *viññāna*, also called *gandhabha*, that enters into the mother's womb and finds support in *nāmarūpa* thereby accomplishing the phenomenon of

11. Vasubandhu says that Ālayavijñana is called bhavanga by the Tamraparīiyas, i.e., the *Theravādins*, *mūlavijñāna* by the *Mahāsanghikas*, and *āsamsārika-vijñāna* by the *Mahīsasakas* (*Karmasiddhi-prakarana*, trs. by E. Lamotte, Malanges Chinois et Bouddhigues, part ix, 1935-1936, p. 250).

conception. The phrase *nāmarūpassa avakkanti*, according to Bhddhaghosa, means descent of the psycho-physical elements (*rūpa-arūpa-dhamma*), a phenomenon comparable to coming and entering (*okkanti nāmarūpan ti yā gabbhe rupārūpad-hammanam okkanti; agantiva pavisanam viya, idam nāmarūpam* (*Vism.* 497, *PsA.* I, 241, *VbhA.* 192).

This *viññāna*, which enters into the mother's womb and finds a foothold in *nāmarūpa*, is pregnant with the forces of action accumulated (*abhisankhāra*) in previous births (*SnA.* II, 506, 591; *Madhyāntavibhāga-sūtra-bhāsya-tīkā*, pp. 30f) It is these forces that condition the nature of *viññāna* and, consequently, of *nāmarūpa*, and determine the place of its rebirth. If the forces are good (*kusala*) conception in a happy place (*sugati*) is assured, and, if they are of evil nature (*akusala*) conception in an unhappy state (*duggati*) is inevitable.

In the light of this evidence we might conclude that *nāmarūpa* is the psycho-physical organism of an individual at the time of his coneption. It is the seed that is implanted, or more properly, the sprout that takes root in the mother's womb at conception. It possesses all the essential potentialities to develop itself, under favourable conditons, into the individual complete with sense-organs and so on.

The moment conception takes place, all the five aggregates appear simultaneously (*Ps.* II, 72f; *VbhA.* 21 ff.), because *nāmarūpa* is identical with them. Since the five aggregates are none other than the six primary elements (*dhātu*) stated differently, we might as well add that the six primary elements are represented in *nāmarūpa*. When Buddhaghosa describes *nāmarūpa* as psycho-physical elements (*rūpa-arūpa-dhamma*), Upatissa, after comparing it to a sprout, identifies it with mind (*citta*), the mental phenomena (*cetasika*) and the placenta (*kalalarūpa : Vimuttimagga*, p. 33). Thus, *arūpadhammas* represents the four non material aggregates, the *viññānadhātu* or *citta* and *cetasika*, whereas *rūpa-dhammas* represent *rūpakkhandha*, the five material elements, namely, *pathavidhātu* etc. and *kalalarūpa*.

Sthiramati says that *nāmarūpa* represents the five aggregates from the stage of conception of a being until the point when the six sense-organs appear; the appearance of the six organs excluded (*pratisandhim upādayā .... anutpanna-sadāyatanah: Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāsya-tīkā*, p. 31). During the *nāmarūpa stage*, the fetus undergoes development in the following five stages; namely, (1) *kalala*, placenta (2) *abbuda* or *arbuda*, state of the fetus in the first two months, (3) *pesi* or *pesi*, fetus as a lump of flesh, (4) *ghana*, the state when it becomes soild, and (5) *pesākha* or *prasākhā*, when limbs are formed. These are the stages *nāmarūpa* passes through before it develops stages of sense-organs (*ibid.*, *Kvu.* II, 494; *Miln.* 40, 125; *Vism.* 236).

Thus, in the *nāmarūpa* stage, the sense-organs are not formed, although it has the potentialites to develop them. The formation of sense-organs belongs to the next stage of the causal formula, named *salāyatana* or *sadāyatana*.

But that there has been some defference of opinion regarding this point among the early schools is evident from a controversy recorded in the *Kathāvatthu*. The *Theravādins* have held that in the human embryo, the co-ordinating organ (*manāyatana*) and the organ of touch (*kāyāyatana*) are congenital, the remaining four organs, namely, organ of eye (*cakkhāyatana*), the organ or ear (*sotāyatana*), the organ of nose (*ghanāyatana*) and the organ of tongue (*jivha-yatana*) take seventy-seven days to come to birth (*KvuA.* xix. 2). But some Buddhist schools like the Pubbaseliyas and the Apraseliyas believed that all the six organs appear at conception (*ibid*).

When there is *nāmarūpa*, the six sense-rogans arise in the fetus (*nāmarūpa-paccayā salāyatanam*: *Vin.* I, 1; *D.* II, 32 etc; *nāmarūpanisritnāni indriyāni sadāyatanam* (*Siks.* 222) and where there is *salāyatana* sensory contact arises (*phassa : Salāyatana-paccayā phasso Vin.* I, etc.) In some contexts, sensory contact is said to originate directly from *nāmarūpa* - *nāmarūpa-paccayā phasso* : *D.* II, 56, 62; *naman ca rūpan ca paticca phasso* : *Sn.* v. 872; *Nd* (1) 276f).

Now, *salāyatana* means the six sense-organs, namely eye, nose, tongue, body and mind while phassa means sensory contact, which is set up by conjuction of three factors, namely the sense-organ, the sense-object and the resultant awareness (*cakkhum ca paticca rupe ca uppajjati cakkhu-viññānam; tinnam sangati phasso*, and so on with the other organs : *M.* I, III). While *salāyatana represents sense-organs, phassa* represents a stage in the sense-perception. The latter cannot arise without the former. One cannot possibly develop sensory contact unless one possesse the sense-organs. One cannot, for example, see some form unless one

possesses eyes. But, it is said that sensory contact arises directly from *nāmarūpa* ; *salāyatana* is not given as a necessary factor.

This could be explanind in two ways: If we accept the Theravada that in *nāmarūpa*, i. e., the human embryo, the co-ordinating-organ and the organ of touch are congenital, *namarupa* can develop the sensory-contact through these two organs. Secondly, if by *nāmarūpa* is meant the individual in his developed state, complete with all sense-organs and so on i.e., individual after the birth, he can have sensory contact with all the sense organs. The second positon is favoured by Buddhaghosa, too. In the channels of the five sense-organs, namely *cakkhu* etc., says Buddhaghosa, by means of visual (*rūpa*) and other objects are matter (*rūpakkhanda*) while the other four *khandhas* brought into relations therewith are *nāma*. Thus in a fivefold way is .... *nāma* and *rūpa* the cause of sensory contact. In the channel of the sixth sense-organ, i.e., *mano*, its physical basis, the heart (*hadayavatthu*, q. v.) as well as such corporeal form, as becomes its mental object, constitutes *rūpa* while the related states of conciousness induced, as well as such incorporeal form as becomes its mental object constitute incorporeal form. (*DA*. II, 510f).

No transmigration, No Re-incarnation : We saw how *viññāna* causes the re-union of becoming by entering into the mother's womb and getting established in *nāmarūpa*, thus making the phenomenon of conception a success (*Dbhs*. 49; *Abhk*. p. 12; *Abhidharmadīpa* with *Vibhāsāprabhāvrtti*, p. 12; *Abhkvy*. p. 58; *Madhyāntavibhāga-sutrābhāsya-tīkā*, p. 31).[12]

The question is sometimes asked whether it is the same *nāmarūpa* or a different one that is conceived or reborn. In other words, whether *viññāna* is established at conception in the old *nāmarūpa* that died or in a new *nāmarūpa* that is reborn. The answer given by Nagasena to the above question of Milinda is that it is not the same; the two being different. Actions are performed, he explains, in "this" life and by "this" personality (*iminā nāmarūpena*) and by the force of those actions another personality *aññam nāmarūpam* is conceived (*Miln*. 46ff; *Milinda-Tikā*, ed. P. S. Jaini, *PTS*, London, 1961, p. 13)

The same question is put elsewhere in the same text in a different manner: "Is the person who is reborn the same as the one who died, or a different one?" (*Miln*. 400ff). The answer given is that it is not the same person nor a differeni one who died and is reborn. (*na ca so na ca Añño*).

Only the stream of elements (*dhammasantati*) remains linked together, thereby making it continuous (*ibid*)

The question is also asked whether one transmigrated (*sankamati*) from this body to another, again with reference to death and rebirth. The answer given is an emphatic no (*Miln*. 72).

The point stressed in these questions and answers is that the stream of elements, i. e. the individual stream of life, with its deaths and rebirths, is a continuous process, and we know that the driving force of this process is the force of actions (*sanskāra* or *sankhara*) previously performed and deposited in, that individual stream of life. (*punarbhava abhisanskarotīti sanskārah: Madhyānta-Vibhaga-sūtra-bhāsya-tīka*, p. 30 *pratisandhivijñānaya da sanskarayan visin upadavana laduva vipāka bhavayehi pihitanneya: Abhidharmārtha Sangraha-purāna of Sariputta*, ed. W. Somalokatissa, Colombo,1960, p. 217)

The elements which constitued that section of the stream which is called the previous life, *nāmarūpa* or in other words, the five *khandhas*, cease to be at the end of that section, called death; and by the force of actions performed in that and/or other pervious lives, a new *nāmarūpa*, or the complex of the five *khandhas* is born. The two so-called individuals, the one who died and the one who is born, are, therefore, not identical. The two are not different either because there is the coutinuity and identity of the force of *kamma* which produced the new life.

We meet with the same argument in the *Arya Sālistambha Sūtra*, as well. Dying *skandhas*, it says, are different from the *skandhas* that are reborn. *skandhas* that are reborn do not appear in the *skandhas* that are previously extinct, nor do they appear in those that are not extinct. The moment the dying *skandhas* cease to be, there appear new *skandhas* ; death of the previous *skandhas* and birth of the new *skandhas* are

12. *Vijñānam janmanah āsrayabhūtah*, *Abhk*. 12.
Janmano betuh janako pratisandhijījah, *Abhidharmadipa*, P. 12; *AbhKVy*. p. 58.
Vijñānena utpattisthānaprāpanāt; karmaparibhāvitena vijñāena santānena pravrtya cyutisthānāt utpattisthāne punarbhavābhi jabhāsaya vitsandyah prāpanam. Madhyāntavibhāgasutrabhasyatika, p. 31.

simultaneous. Here, no *dharma* transmigrates from this world to the next. Rebirth is actuated by the force of *karma*, actions, the process is comparable to the reflections of a man's face in a mirror; the face does not transfer itself on to the mirror (*Ārya Sālistambha sūtra*, pp. 16-18)

The *viññāna* that gets established in *nāmarūpa* at conception is not, therefore, an entity which is permanent and unchanging, like the *ātman* of the Upanisads. The phenomenon of rebirth cannot, therefore, be described as transmigration, because there is no entity that transmigrates. The doctrine included in the *Mahātanhāsankhaya Sutta* (*M*. I. 256 ff) is a repudiation of the belief in any permanent and transmigrating principle in man, and affirmation of the contrary view that *viññāna*, erroneously held by sati to be such a principle is a coutingent phenomenon, some thing that becomes and dies away is a contingent phenomenon, something that becomes and dies away. It is no doubt the *viññāna* that finds support in *nāmarūpa* to which Sāti referred as *viññāna* "that fares on and continues" (*sandhāvati sansarati*) but erred in saying that it did so without change of identity (*tadeva anaññam*) and also in taking it as an "agent and experiencer" (*vado vedeyyo* : *M*. I, 256). The view is of *viññāna* as a persistent eitity is categorically contradicted in this *sutta*.

Like any other *viññāna*, such as *cakkhu-viññāna*, the rebirth-linking (*patisandhi*) *viññāna*, too, arises having an object as its base : They are objects of the mind (*dhammadhātu* or *dhammāyatana*) which include all the *sankhāras*.

The Nature of *Nāmarūpa* : Transmigration of a permanent entity is completely ruled out in Buddhism. Given the necessay condition, *viññāna* finds support in *nāmarūpa* in the mother's vomb, and conception is achieved. It is this *nāmarūpa* that develops into a full presonality, complete with sense-organs and so on. This developed personality is also referred to sometimes as *nāmarūpa*, because the elements found in this personality are not different in nature from *nāmarūpa* at conception.

The terms personality, person or individual (*puggala*), being (*satta*) man (*Manuja*) or body *deha*: *M*. I, 190; *Vism*. 508, 509, 510, *Vimuttimagga*, 36) are used in common parlance only as a convention (*Sammuti* or *Vyavahāra* : M. I, 190, Vism. 509). The use of these terms is valid so long as there is *nāmarūpa*; in reality only *nāmarūpa* exists (*ibid*). It is not correct to say that a man walks, stands or does something; for it is *nāmarūpa* that is reality walks; and does things. There is no man or individual or being over and above *nāmarūpa* (*ibid*).

Thus the reality or *nāmarūpa* is accepted. But side by side this accetance, we find statements made to the effect that *nāmarūpa* is not real. We know, in the first place, that the two components, *nāma* and *rūpa* are interdependent; one cannot arise, exist or even cease except in conjuction with the other. Secondly, *nāmarūpa* as a complex unit is also dependent for its appearance and disappearance on other factors, such as *viññāna*. And thirdly, each of the five aggregates with which *nāmarūpa* is identified is described as unreal; for matter (*rūpa*) is compared to a blob of a foam (*phena-pinda*), feelings (*vedanā*) to a bubble (*bubbula*), perceptions (*sannā*) to a mirage (*marici*), mental coplexes (*sankhara*) to a platain tree (*kadali*) and consciousness (*viññāna*) to illusion (*māyā* : *S*. III, 142). It is also said that *nāmarūpa* is not an entity which is sefl-created (*Ārya Salistambha sūtra* 14; *Mdhvr*, 567), nor is it created by *Viññāna* (*A-rya Salistambha Sūtra*, *Vism*. 502); and neither does it arise without causes (*Ārya-Sālistambha sūtra* 14; *Mdhvr*. 567). Something which is of the nature described above cannot be ultimately real. *Nāmarūpa* which is of that unreal nature is therefore, called *suñña* (*Vism*. 501).

Thus, we come across two description of *nāmarūpa* which appear to be contradictory: One to the effect that *nāmarūpa* is ultimately real (*paramatthato nāmarupa-mattam eva: nāman ca rūpañ ca idhatthi sacato*: *Vism*. 509), and the other to the effect that it is devoid of any reality (*suññam idam yan tam iva adhisankhatam* : *Vism*. 510).

These two descriptions are, in fact, not contradictory, althouth they appear to be so; for the two may by reconciled by accepting the existence of *nāmarūpa* at a phenomenal level while denying the existence of any permanent entity underlying *nāmarūpa*. The first refers to the phenomenal and contingent reality of *nāmarūpa*; and the second to the denial of *atman* in *nāmarūpa*.

Bondage or Freedom : Buddhism is a doctrine of salvation. Freedom from the sansaric plane of existence, i. e., the realization of nibbāna, is the final goal. It is the analysis of the world of experience undertaken, not for its own sake, but for evolving a rationale for its practical doctrine and discipline. Attention is not concentrated on the empirical world in and for itself. The Buddhist inquiry into the nature and constitution of man and his

environment, i. e. the external world, and its relevance to Buddhism as a spiritual discipline cannot be properly understood if the subject is divorced from this religous context.

The close connection between the Buddhist analysis of man together with the external world (*nāmarūpa=pañcakkhandha*) and Buddhist hetics indicated very frequently in the scriptures (eg. *S.* III, 1664; IV, 57 etc). *Nāmarūpa* or the five aggregates are something that is favourable to or prpductive of fetters (*samsāra or bhava*). It is the clinging or attachment to or carving (*upādāna*) for *nāmarūpa* (i.e., five aggregates) that constitutes the fetters. Thus, *nāmarūpa* is the thing to be fettered to (*samyojanīya*). Since it is favourable or leading to clinging (*upādāna*), *nāmarūpa* is called thing to be clung to (*upādānīya* : *S.* III, 167); since *upādāna* is a tie (*gantha*), *nāmarūpa* is also called the thing to be tied to (*ganghanīya*), and because *gantha* nourishes and prolongs the flood of samsaric existence (*ogha*), *nāmarūpa* is again called *oghanīya* (*Dhs.* pp. 125, 133).

It is due to a wrong notion which is being adopted towards *nāmarūpa* that beings become bound to *samsāra*. What is this wrong notion and how does it arise ?

We know that *nāmarūpa* is a conjunction of two components which are interdependent, namely, the body of material elements (*rūpakāya* : *Netti.* 28) and the body of mental factors (*nāmakāya* : *Netti.* 28). One cannot arise or exist except in conjuction with the other. It constitutes the complex of five aggregates.

This complex unit, called *nāmarūpa* or *pancakkhandha*, is in reality void of substance, a soul (*nijjīva*) and void of activity (*nirīhaka*). Althouth it is in fact inactive, unsubstantial and soulless, yet is appears to be active, substantial and possessing a soul (*sovyāpāra, sajīva* : *abhidhammatthavikāsinī*, p. 401) The ordinary man is misled by this appearance; he misnames this apperance to be real; he harbours the false notion that *nāmarūpa* has a soul (*ibid*), considers *nāmarūpa* to be a man (*jantu*), a being (*sattva*), an individual (*pudgala*) or a soul (*ātman* : *Mdhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāsya*, ed. G. M. Nagao, Tokyo, 1964, p. 21; its *tīkā*, p. 31).

He takes it to be permanent and identifies himself with it. He thinks that he is *nāmarūpa* and *nāmarūpa* is him. He sees "the good" in it and considers sense-experience as happiness (*Sn.* v. 909; *SnA.* II, 560; *Ārya Sālistambha Sūtra*, pp 9 f; *Mdhvr.* 562f).

Clinging (*upādāna*) to *nāmarūpa* is the direct outcome of this false notion of self which is none other than ignorance (*avidyā* : *Ārya Sālistambha sūtra* 9 ff, *Mdhvr.* 562). *Avidyā* is like a blind man (*andha*), and *nāmarūpa*, a boil (*ganda*). The relationship between the blind and the boil is explained by Buddhaghosa by way of a parable. When a blind man walks, he stumbles; stumbling causes him to fall; an due to the fall a boil will erupt somewhere on his body. Here stumbling is compared to *sankhāras* which arise due to *avidya* (*avijjā paccayā sankhārā*). The fall is compared to the establishment of consciousness (*viññānatthiti*) which is actuated by *sankhāras* (*sankhāra paccaya viññāna* : *Vism.* 499f). Now, *viññāna* causes *nāmarūpa* to arise, and thus *nāmarūpa* is the root of illness (*roga mūla*), *sabbarogamulabandhana* : *Sn.* v. 530). It constitutes the whole mass of suffering (*dukkha* : *Abhidhammattha-vikāsini*, 401). *Dukkha* originates as a result of man finding pleasure in *nāmarūpa* which is impermanent. When he finds that *nāmarūpa* changes: it grows old, suffers illness and death, he becomes dissatisfied with it. This dissatisfaction, which originates in man from his realization that *nāmarūpa* does not comform to his requirement, is what is called *dukkha*.

Since *nāmarūpa* is unreal and impermanent, naturally it cannot be considered as the basis of ture happiness. True happiness is therefore, to be found "elsewhere" outside *nāmarūpa*. In order to attain true happiness one has to transcend *nāmarupa*, one has to attain *nirvāna*.

The attainment of *nirvana* is the direct result of the destruction of passions (*kilesa, klesa*) such as craving (*S.* I, 12;*Sn.* v. 355; *SnA.* I, 350f) and greed for (*Sn.* v. 537) as well as attachment to, *nāmarūpa* (*S.* I, 23). It is these passions that constitute the fetters (*samyojana*) and ties (*gantha* : *S.* I, 23) that bind living beings to *nāmarūpa*, i.e., *samsāra*. One has, therefore, to shatter these fetters and ties as well as the false notion that *nāmarūpa* is *ātma* (*Sn.* v. 537, 950; *Dhp.* v. 367; *SnA.* II. 568, the notion that promotes the growth of passions, the fetters and the ties.

Since ignorance (*avidyā*) which gives rise to this notion is the root cause of all this trouble, it has to be

overcome and its opposite quality, wisdom (*vidyā* or *paññā*) has to be developed before one attains freedom from bondage to *nāmarūpa*. It is by the realization of the true nature of *nāmarūpa* (*nāmarūpānam yathāvadassanam* : *Abhvt.* v. 1224; *Vism.* 512; *Abhidhammatthavikasini* 403; *anuvicca nāmarūpam* : *Sn.* 530; *SnA.* II, 131) that freedom from *nāmarūpa* becomes possible. This realization, brought about by analyzing the nature and contents, as well as by determining the scope of *nāmarūpa* (*nāmarūpa-vavatthāna* : *Vimuttimagga*, 36; *Vism.* 512; Consits seeing only the meutal and material elements in *nāmarūpa* (*nāmarūpa matha-dassana* : KphA. 79) and seeing no-being or soul in, or over and abouve *nāmarūpa* *Vism.* 512 KhpA. 79). This realisation is called "Purification of views" (*Diṭṭhivisuddhi* *Abhvt.* 1224; *Abhidhammattha-vikāsinī*, 403), the third of the seven stages in which perfect purity is attained (*M.* I, *Sutta* no. 24; *Vism. ch.* xviii ff).

He who has realised the true nature of *nāmarūpa* and overcome the false notion of a self will naturally reach disgust (*nibbidā*) with *nāmarūpa* ; being disgusted he becomes detached from it (*virāga*); on being detached, "his" *viññāna* does not find a foothold in a future *nāmarupa* ; the *viññāṇa* becomes extinct (*nirodha*). And due to the extinction of *viññāna nāmarūpa*, too, becomes extinct (*viññāṇanirodha*[13] *nāmarūpa-nirodho* : *Vin.* I, 1); for, if *viññāna* is not implanted in *nāmarūpa*, the latter does not take root in a mother's womb. This refers to the demise, or the attainment of *parinibbāna*, of an arahant a person whose passions are completely destroyed (*khīṇāsava*) for, without passions, his vinnana does not perpare a future birth; and without that, his *viññāṇa* does not find a foothold in *nāmarūpa*. There will be no future origin of dukkha which consists of rebirth, old age, illness and death (*D.* II, 63).

This is the attainment of nibbana, the blissful state in which manifold streams of *nāmarūpa* cease to exist, due to the prior extinction of *viññāna* [14] (*D.*I, 223, Sn, v. 1037). This is how bondage to continue existence (*bhava-bandhana*) is cut off (*S.* I, 15,35).

To sum up we might quote a very enlightening verse uttered by the Buddha himself on this point. This verse is in the form of a reply to a question formulated by himself as a corrective to an erroneous question said to have been previously put to various types of deities by a certain monk. the erroneous question runs like this: "Where do these four great elements-earth, water, fire and wind-pass away leaving no trace behind (*Kattha nu kho ime acttarao mahābhūtā aparisesa nirujjhanti seyyathidam, pathavidhātu āpodhātu tejodhātu vayodhatu ti*: D. I, 215). The Buddha corrects the question to read as follows :

Kattha āpo ca pathavi tejo vāyo na gādhati
Kattha dīgham ca rassam ca anum thūlam subhāsubham
kattha naman ca rūpan ca asesam uparujjhati ?
(*D.* I, 223)

Where do earth, water, fire and wind,
And long and short, and fine and coarse,
Pure ad impure, no footing find?
Where is it that both *nama* and *rupa* name and form
Die out, leaving no trace behind?

to that the Buddha's answer is:

Viññānam anidassanam anantam sabbato pabham
Ettha āpo ca paṭhavi tejo vāyo na gādhati
Ettha dīgham ca rassam ca anum thūlam
subhāsubham
Ettha nāmañca rūpanñ ca asesam uparujjheti (ibid.)

"The intellect of Arahantship is invisible, infinite and luminous from all sides; there is it that earth, water, fire and wind and long an short, and fine and coarse, pure and impure, no footing find. There is it that both *nama* and *rupa* die out, leaving no trace behind. When intellection ceases, they all also cease"

Conclusion : The concept of *nāmarūpa*, and even the term itself is pre Buddhistic in origin, for it has been used in the early Upanisads in the sense of the individual, and its origin goes backe to the Rg-Veda itself.

The difference in the use of the term in the two systems is that in the Vedic system *nāmarūpa* was

13. *Viññāna* in this context refers both to the "final consciousness" (*carimaka-viññāna*) and the "preparing consciousness" (*abhisankhāra-viññāna*: *DA.* II, 392f).
14. *Viññāna* in this context refers both to the "final consciousness" (*carimaka-viññāna*) and the "preparing consciousness" (*abhisankhāra-Viññāna* : *DA.* II, 392f).

considered to be a differentiation, or rather a manifestation, of the Brahman which is the untimate reality, whereas in Buddhism the term is made use of in analyzing the entire phenomenal existence thereby showing that there is nothing pernanent and real underlying it.

In Buddhism, the term *nāmarūpa*, in its strict usage, meant the psycho-physical organism that is implanted in the womb of a mother at the moment of conception i.e., an embryonic being. It also meant a fully developed individual and even the entire phenomenal world in general.

Although this so-called individual is not real in the ultimate sense, being constituted of physical and psychological elements which, too, are unreal, yet it appears to the unenlightened mind like a real one. This appearance leads, or rather misleads, the ordinary man into believing that this individual is permanent and real, thus creating in him the notion of a soul. He considers that a particular *nāmarūpa* represnets him; that *nāmarūpa* or individual is "he" and it is "his". He considers "his" *nāmarūpa* to be real and permanent when in fact it is unreal and impermanent. He also mistakes certain favourable sense-experiences which he has undergone to be happiness although it is not real happiness.

It is these perverse views which are responsible for all the trouble that originates, for he wants to perpetuate what in his view is happiness; he does not realize that frue happiness cannot originate from something that is impermanent and unreal. This makes him tied to *nāmarūpa*.

The root cause of all this is ignorance; the ignorance of the real nature of *namarupa* that it is not real, not permanent and cannot form the basis for real happiness. The way out of the trouble is, therefore, to be found in wisdom, the realization of the true nature of *nāmarūpa*.

He who grasps the true nature of *nāmarūpa* becomes disgusted with it; disgust causes him to be detached from it; detachment results in the freedom from *nā marūpa* which is the real happiness i. e., *nibbana*.

UPALI KARUNARATNE.

NAME AND FORM See NĀMARŪPA

ÑĀṆADASSANAVISUDDHI, purity of knowledge and insight, the last of the seven stages of purity outlined in the *Rathavinitasutta* (*M.* I. 147 ff.) and elaborated in the *Visuddhimagga* (ch. XXII). This constitutes the knowledge which is associated with any of the four kinds of supramundane path - consciousness (*sotapatti-magga*, etc., *Vism.* 577-82). So, this *visuddhi*, purity, belongs to the supramundane (*lokuttara*) sphere.

Transition from the mundane (*lokiya*) to the supramundane sphere takes place as follows: Immediately upon *anuloma-ñāṇa*, insight of adaptation, that belongs to the sixth stage of purity, *paṭipadāñāṇadassanavisuddhi*, purity of knowledge and insight of the path, there arises what is called maturity-knowledge (*gotrabhu-ñāṇa*, q.v.) which takes as its object the unconditined, i.e., nibbāna, thus transcending the rank (*gotra*) of the worlding (*puthujjana*) and entering the rank of the noble ones (*ariya*), being the first turning towards nibbāna. As the immediate continuation, following upon that maturity-knowledge, there arises the first path consciousness (*sotāpattimagga-citta*) for ever destroying the first three fetters (*saṃyojana*). The process goes on until all passions are destroyed and the fourth path-consciousness (*Arahattamagga-citta*) arises (*Vism.* 57 p. 82).

This knowledge of the four paths is what is called *ñāṇadassanavisuddhi* (*Vism.* 582) which constitutes the means to the attainment of final deliverance (*anupā dā parinibbāna* : *ñāṇadassana-visuddhi yāvadeva anupādāparinibbānattā*: *M. I.* 150) through the attainment of arahantship. See VISUDDHI.

UPāli Karunaratne

NANDAMAÑÑA, a tantric Buddhist temple in Pagan in Myanmar. An inscription set up within the precincts of this temple itself states that it was built at the instance of kings Narapatisithu in 1248 A. C. The same inscription also refers to the monks who lived in a monastery close by, the remains of which can still be seen, not far from the temple itself. It further states that out of the revenues of the land dedicated to the temple the monks residing in the monastery were daily provided, morning and evening, with meat, rice, betel and a jar of spirits. The most curious fact mentioned in this inscription is that king Narapatisithu asked one of his ministers to build this temple and the monastery attached to it, and that he sent Shin Arahan (q. v.) to Tennasserim to bring sacred relics to be deposited in the temple which evidently was associated with the Tantric cult of the Mahāyānists. Shin Arahan was the Theravādā primate of the realm and the person who had brought the Theravāda to Pagan. The paintings on the walls of this temple and also the contents of this inscription prove very clearly that not only did the Theravāda flourish in Pagan side by side with Mahayanist and Tantric cults but also that the latter had considerable bold on the people of the court for Shin Arahan and king Narapatisithu, both devout Theravādins offered their support and patronage to this of religion.

The paintings on the walls of the Nandamañña temple prove very clearly that it was a temple of the Tantric cult of the Mahāyānists. They are more sensuous and erotic, and represent a greater variety than those of the Payāthoūzu temples, a few yards away from the Nandamañña, and are thus iconographically much more interesting. Among the representations on the walls are figures of the Buddha and bodhisattvas in different attitudes (*mudrā*) and postures (*āsana*), episodes from the life of the Buddha and figures of divinities. A large panel is exclusively devoted to the representation of a group of women in most voluptuous postures.

The information contained in the inscription mentioned above supports the view that the Nandamañña temple belonged to the Tantric cult for, taking food in the evening, partaking of meat of drinking spirits were particularly abhorrent to the Theravāda monks. (N. Ray. *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma* pp. 51. *ff*)

H. R. PERERA.

NAN-HAI-CHI-KUEI-CHAVAN *The records of the Inner Law Sent Back From the South Sea*, or in a simpler form the *Records Sent Back from the South Sea*, was composed by I-tsing of the T' ang dynasty at Śrīvijaya, a country of the South Sea. I-tsing (635-714A.C.) was a native of the Shan- Chuang Village of Ch'I-chou, modern Chinan, Shantung. Shortly after entering the Buddhist order, he became an admirer of the noble careers of Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang in travelling to the west to seek for the Law, and began to conceive a resolve of going to India at the eighteenth year of his age. This intention was realized in the 2nd year of Hsien-heng (671) of Emperor Kao-tsung, when he set upon his westward voyage at Canton. Passing Sri-vajaya in the South Sea, he arrived at Tāmra-lipti in India in the 4th year of the same period (673), and thence proceeded to Central India, paying pious visits to sacred places. He studied in Nālanda for ten years. In the 3rd year of Ch'ui-kung (689) of the Wu-chou reign, he took his return journey back to china. On the way, he passed Śrivijaya once more, where he stayed to take up translation and writing works. In the 2nd year of T' ien-shou, (691) he sent Ta-chin back, conveying a request to the court, asking the state to build a monastry in India as a lodging place for Chinese pilgrims. By the same messenger, he sent back a number of his translations and written works done during his sojourn there, this *Record* being one among them. In this book, I-tsing put down the principal rules for daily practices in monastic life as he had seen or heard of in India and the South Sea Countries, with a purpose to give the incorrect practices of Chinese monks at the monastery some rectifications according to the Inner Law. The Author has a preface at the beginning of the book and a concluding message at the end, in which he respectfully addressed the learned masters at home, saying that, staying beyond the sea, he was not sure whether he could have the chance of talking to them in person, whereby he sent back this book in advance for their reference. It is for this reason that he entitled it the *Records of the Inner Law Sent Back from the South Sea*.

This book describes in 40 chapters the monastic customs that were actually carried out in India at that time, giving clear and definite explanations to the important practices in their daily life, mostly according to the tradition of the *Mūlasarvāsrivāda* School. The first of the four fascicles comprises 9 chapters, viz. chapter on the question that the non-observance of the summer retreat does not entail degradtion, etc., facicle 2 comprises another 9 chapters, viz. chapter on the necessity of food and clothing, etc.; fascicle 3 comprises 12 chapters, viz. chapter on the regulations for ordination, etc.; and fascile 4 comprises 10 chapters.

viz. chapter on rules of decorum in bathing the Buddha's Image, etc. Many of the items have connections with the active commandments in the *Vinaya*, i.e. the *karmas* prescribed in the *Ekaśatakarman* and seventeen *Vastus*. These were the things that I-tsing paid special attention to during his Law-seeking pilgrim-age in the West. When he was studying in *Nālandā*, he not only had the opportunity of reading the complete text of the *Ekaśatakarman* (all previous Chinese translations on this subject are not complete), but also translated *Viśakhās* (*mūlasarvāstivāda*) *vinaya kārikā*, and made thorough studies on the important particulars of the Seventeen *Vastus*. (*vide*, the above-cited Vinaya-*Kārikā* , fasc.3). On such a basis he composed his *Records Sent Back from the South Sea*, with special emphasis given to those matters that were neglected or misinterpreted in China. Regarding such matters as the regulations for ordination (fasc.3), rules for the consecrated ground, the summer retreat (*varsa*) for the five groups, the period of relaxation after the *varsa*, the three garments with the patches sewn together, the mode of wearing the garmens (the above matters being related in facs.2), symptoms of bodily illness, rules for giving medicine (the above matters being related in fasc.3), etc., there is no need to say that they are derived from the respective *vastus* concerning ordination, summer retreat, clothing, medicine, etc. Rules for other matters such as those concerning food and drink, the use of water, the reception at the *Upavasatha*-day (fascs.1&2), evacuations, baths (fascs, 2&3), the paying of obeisance, the disposing of the property of a deceased monk (fasc 4) etc. .....are also extracted from various *vastus* or *karmans*. As for many of I-tsing's opinions ....e.g. that the non observance of the summer retreat does not matter in one's seniority in the Saṃgha (fasc.1); that a senior need not be too modest in receiving obeisance (fasc.3); that urine and faeces should not be as used as medicament (fasc.3); that the parctice of taking full ordination with unshaven head, burning one's fingers or destroying one's own body, and making agreement to instigate one another to destroy one's life, etc, are all incongruous with Buddhist precepts; etc. .... these are strong and thorough refutations directed against the abuses of his time. These argumentations of I-tsing are highly credible and answer the practical needs very well. They deserve an estimation that is comparable with that of the *Hisng-shih-chao* or (*manual of Buddhist Practices*) of the Nan-shan School then prevalent in China. At the end of the book, I-tsing appended an account of his two teachers, an *Upādhyāya* and an *Ācārya*, their attainments in scholarship and their virtuous deeds and teachings, followed by an account of himself, relating his voyage to the West, his pilgrimages and studies in India and his stay in Śrivajaya in his return journey.

Although the principal portions of this book consist in those sections that concern disciplinary rules, the author in the course of his exposition has to touch upon a number of other subjects, such as the dissemination of different schools of Buddism, the systems and doctrinal characteristics of monasteries, the well-known masters of that time, as well as the general customs of the Indian society. In this way, he preserves a considerable Quantity of historical materials of Buddhism in ancient India and the South Sea countries. According to the Introduction of this book, the traditional division of the *Vinaya* into five classes was only applicable to the condition of the Western Regions. In India itself, the Srāvakayāna at his time had already been intermingled and evolved into four principal schools, *viz*. Mahāsaṃghika, Sthavira, Mūlasarvā stivāda and Sammitīya. The most popular one was the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* School, which flourished in Central and North India as well as in the South – Sea Countries. The Sammitīya School floursbed in Lāta, Sindhu and other regions of West India. Thus the main land of India seemed to have been divided under the influence of these two schools. As for the Sthavira, it held sway only in Simhala. In the North, followers of the Mahā saṃghika were occasionally found. In the eastern frontier countries (i.e. those countries 500 *yojanas* from Nālandā), the four schools were found side by side. The same phenomenon existed in Magadha or Central India. I-tsing also relates that all people of North India and the South-islands followed the Sra-vakayāna except in Malāyu where some adherents of the Mahāyā na wer found, while in Central India both vehicles wer prevalent. A number of countries were mentioned in this book as to have been existing along the sea-shore on the east from the Great Black Mountain southward, viz. Sriksetra, Lankāsu, Dvārapati, etc., ending at Lin-I, (Mahācampā) on the easternmost extremity. In all these countries, people embraces Buddhism and the practice of begging and *dhūta* were held in defernce (*vide*. Fasc i, Introduction).

Each of these four principal schools of Śrāvakayāna, as the book describes, had a special way of wearing the skirt, so that the wearer's *nikāya* could be discerned at once from the form of his attire (vide. Fasc.2, chapter on the necessity of food and clothing). Concerning monastic regulations, I-tsing had described

how in the monasteries of Tāmralipti in East India as well as Nālandā Monastery itself monks used to have rules established by the essembly of the Samgha; how the land outside the premise was to be tilled by tenants with one third of the product apportioned in kind to the Monastery; and how on the four *upavasatha*-days every month, all monks were to assemble late in the afternoon and listen to the reading of the monastic rules (fasc. 2 chapter on the necessity of food and clothing). All monasteries as a rule used to perform the bathing of the Buddha-image in the fore- noon and the worship and chanting in the late afternoon. In Nālandā there was a selected presenter who received special gifts from the monastry and whose duty was to go round from place to place in the monastry every after-noon, singing hymns in praise of the Buddha in high tones so that all monks of the eight apartments would hear him and accordingly perform the worship and chanting at their own respective places. It is also related that in the five parts of India, every initialed monk, no matter which vehicle he belonged, was first taught to recite Mātrceta's *hymn* in 400 *verses* or *hymn in* 150 *Verses* as well as *Nāgarājuna's Suhrllekha* (i.e. letter to an intimate friend) (*vide*. Fasc.4, chapter on rules of decorum in bathing the Buddha-image and chapter on the ceremony of chanting). All those were recommendable examples for Buddhist monks in China.

This book contains a fairly complete description of the educational system of India at that time, particularly the stages of learing prescribed for Buddhist students, which are valuable information for the study of Indian bibliotheca as well as Buddhist history. Concerning the general education as described in the chapter on the method of learning in the west (fasc.4), we are told that there were five text books on *Sabdhavidyā* common to all : viz. the *Siddhirastu* in more than 300 *ślokas* ; the *sutra* in 1,000 ślokas composed by Pānini which was the foundation of the grammatical science; the *Dhātupātha* in 1,000 *ślokas* was a work on grammatical roots; the Trikhila (or book on the three pieces of waste land) in 3,000 *ślokas* which was a work on the seven cases, the Las(of tense) and the eighteen finals; and the *Vrtti-Sūtra* (*kāśikā vritti*) in 18,000 ślokas which was a commentry on the *Sūtra* composed by Jayāditya. To each book, I-tsing gives a shot account explaning its principal contents, the program of the course and the length of time it would take. These *Śabdhaviyā* works consituted the foundation for all learnings. For further attainment, one had to study Patañjali's Cūri, which was a commentary on the *Vrtti-sutra*, Bharthuri's –śastra which was a commentry of the Cūri, the same author's Beda and the commentry on it by Dharmapāla. Bhartrhari was a contemporary of Dharmapāla. He became a monk seven times, and seven times returned to lay life. He was well-versed in the doctrine of Vijñāpti - mātra and skilled in the discourse on the Hetuvidyā . At the time of I-tsing, he had been dead for forty years. The foreging books were to be studied by both monks and laymen, without sufficient knowledge of them; one could not expect to be qualified for the fame of a man versed in *Śabdhavidya* or a man who had heard much.

As regards the education of Buddhist monks, in addition to the basical study of *Śabdhavidya* and the regular training in the prepects, they should proceed to the advanced courses of the *Hetuvidyānyāya-mukha* and the *Abhidharama-kośa* and the reading of the *Jatakāmālā*, before they could go to *Nālandā* or the country of Valabhi for higher eductaion. I-tsing tells that anyone who wished to learn the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* must at the same time thoroughly study the "eight(branch) *sāstras*" written by Asnaga (and Vasubhandu), viz. the *Vimiśatikā—vijnāpti mātratā—siddhi*, the *vijñāpti - mātrata-trimsikā*, the *Mahāyānasamgraha*, the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, the *Madhyānta-vibhanga*, the *Pratitya samutpādasāstra*, the *Mahayānā sutrālankara* and the *Karmāsiddhi prakarana*. Those who wished to learn the *Hetuvidya* had to read the "eight *śāstra*" of Dinnāga, viz. the *Trikalāpariksā*, the *Sāmānyāparīksā*, the *Ālambana parīksā*, the *Hetūdvāra*, the *Hetu dvārābhāsa*, the *Nāyayāmukha*, the *Upādāyāprajnapti*, and the *Pramānāsamuccaya*. In studying the *Abhidharma-jnānaprasthāna*, one should go over all the "six pādas", and in reading the Āgama, all the four divisions should be taken up. The above list will help to form a graphic outline of the whole system of Buddhist education carried out at India at I-tsing's time, including its contents, its stages and its characeristic features.

In the course of his narration, I-tsing enumerates a series of learned Buddhist scholars with whom he had established personal association in India. E.g. Ven. Jñānacandra of Tilādhaka, Ven. Ratnasimha of Nālandā, Divākaramitra of East India, Tathāgatagarbha of South India, Sākyakirti of Srivijaya of the South Sea, etc. He also mentions the ten great masters who flourished a little prior to his time namely, Dinnāga, Dharmapāla, Dhramakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Candrasinha, Sthiramati, Gunamati, Prajñāpālita, Gunaprabha and Jinaprabha.

Of these. Dhramakirti and Prajñāpālita as renovators of the Hetuvidyā, and Gunaprabha as a re-propagator of the *Vinaya-pitaka*, were all scholars of renown at that time; and their traditions after being introduced into Tibet have been carried on down to the present day ; In the Han region of China, however these brief accounts in I-tsing's book seem to be the only information available of them. As for Gunamati whom I-tsing mentions as a master noted for his accomplishment in *dhyāna*, the actual facts of his life seemed to have sunk afterwards into obscurity and oblivion.

It is of interest to note that I-tsing has a narration about king Śilāditya, who being a lover of literature made a collection of laudatory poems on the *Jātaka* stories of the Buddha, which amounted to 500 packets. This king also versified the story of Bodhisattva Jimūtavāhana who gave his body in place of a *nāga*, and the poem set to music. This poem, together with another narrative song about Prince Visvantara composed by Mahāsattva Candragomin, a poet of East India, was later popularized all over the five parts of India as well as in the South-Sea Countries, where people all sang and danced to it. These records are of course useful information about the history of Indian literature.

I-tsing's attitude toward the Chinese rendering of Sanskrit words was very serious. In this book, whenever he comes upon any term for which the old translation might seem inadequate in his opinion, he would proceed to give rectifications of his own. For instance, his suggestion that the term "*samvrtisatya*" should be interpreted as "*fu-su-ti*" (meaning "concealed truth") instead of the old translation "*Shih-su-t'i*" (meaning "World truth") is something that the translations in the past hat not been aware of. He stresses the importance of the study of the Sanskrit language, which would remove the obstacles in translation. He points to the fact that, even in the country of Kamrun and in the country of Su-li, people understood to esteem Sanskrit scriptures. How then should the people of China not strive to approach the holy Teaching in its original texts? With this view in his mind, a particularly lengthy portion of this book is given to the rudimentary informations on the *Sabdhavidyā*. I-tsing was dissatified with the Chinese Vinaya- observers who were too apt to intermingle the systems of different schools, so that the sectarian distinctions were obscured and the regulations as to permissions and prohibitions often got confused. He urges the monks to follow their respective systems strictly and abide by their own regulations. He also opposes the Chines Vinaya-exponents who often made too minute and complicated commentaries. He says that writers should aim at the clear presentation of their subjects so that the reader will easily understand. There is no reason for them to create unnecessary difficulties and confusions that would only turn out a burden to the practitioner instead of a help. One more point to be noted is that, in view of the special oeference paid by Chinese Buddhists to Mahāyāna, It sing especially points out the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra as the two extant Mahāyāna systems in India. Both of them, he remarks, equally lead to the attainment of Nirvāna, and between them no essential divergence or contradiction really exists. One should not trouble oneself with the baffling attempt to split them apart that would only make the fundamental truth obscure. All these discourses are illustrative of his earnestness in trying to bring the Chinese Buddhism of that time into the right track. Unfortunately his endeavours failed to produce any actual result other than this volume which has come down to posterity as a piece of literature comparable with the works of Fahsion and Hsian-tsang.

A few commentary works on this book have been produced chiefly by Japanese scholars, viz. Jiun's *Onko Kairansho* in 8 fascicles, *A Private Record* in 4 fascicles by an unknown auther, the *Lectures* in 4 fascicles by Kiken Wakiya etc. An English translation was produced by J. Takakusu in 1896 under the title of *I-tsing's Records of the Buddhist Religion* which has been frequently alluded to by modern scholars of Buddhism.

Bibliography :

Chih-shêng : *A Catalogue of Buddhist Sacred Books Compiled in the K' aj-yüan Period*. fasc. 9

Onko : *The Kairansho* (Commentary on the Records of the Inner Law Sent Back from the South Sea), edited by B. Nanjio and J. Takakusu (edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Japanese Buddhism* Tokyo, 1917.

Tsan-ning : *Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled under the sung Dynasty* fasc. 1

Yu Hsia

NARAKA See HEAVEN AND HELL

NARCOTICS See DRUGS

NASIK, a town in western India close to Bombay, in the upper valley of the *Godāvari*, famous for its rock-cut Buddhist cave temples locally known as the *Pāndu* Lena, located in one of the three iselated hills called Trirasmi in the inscriptions in *situ*. This hill is atually found about five miles south-south-west of the town of Nāsik and close tothe Bombay road.

According to James Fegusson and James Burgers (*cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, pp. 263ff.) there are seveteen rock-cut temples, but Bhagavan al Indraji, (*Nāsik, Pāndulena Caves*: from *The Bombay Gazetteer*) has listed twenty four caves altogether. These cave-temples constitute an interesting group of such temples in India, especially the two viharas Nos. III and VIII (numbering them from west to east) which display in their facades a richness of decoration quite unlike the modest exteriors of those belonging to a period before the Chirstia era. The majority of the caves, belong to the *Hinayāa*, being devoid of images or any representation of the Buddha as an object of worship or any other features of the *Mahāyāna* type.

The caves are situated about 300ft. above the level of the plain below, and extend about a quarter of a mile along the face of the hill. The fact that these caves face the north and north-east has saved them from the sun and south-west monsoon rains, and much of the rich carvings and many long and most valuable inscriptions have been preserved unharmed though nearly two-thousand years. Nevertheless, some of the rock-caves have been damaged by blasting.

Cave No. 1: This is a large, unfinised excavation, including a vrandah and a hall. A middle and two side doors, separated by two squāre windows lead from the verandah into the hall. At a later date the hall has been turned into a rain-water resevoir by digging the floor several feet below its original level, probably because of a leakage in t he ceiling. The only point or inerest in this cave is an unfinished and unusually well-carved rail in a frieze in the outer face of the verandah, where the three panels are beautifully sculptured with finguers of animals, Buddhist symbols and foliage patterns. The best executed animals in the rails are a bull biting its hind leg, a tiger devouring a man, a running elephant, a deer scratching its mouth with its hind leg, a galloping bull and a prowling tiger.

Cave No. 2: This is a small excavation which originally, as an old (*circa* 10 B. C.) dwelling cave, consisted of a verandah, 11 1/2ft. x 4 1/2ft. with two plain cells at the back. The *Mahāyāna* Buddhists of the sixth or seventh century have turned in into a sheire with sculptures of sitting and standing Budhhas, bodhisattas, *Vidyādharas* etc. On what remains of the back wall of the verandah, close to the ceiling, is a fragment of an inscription which, when tranlated, reads as follows:

"To the perfect One: on the.....................day of the fifth fortnight of summer in the year in the year six of the illustrious Kind Pulama-yi son of *Vāsisthi* ...."(1)

Cave No. 3 : This is a beautifully sculptured large dwelling-cave caused to be constructed by the mother of the great *Gautamiputra* (15 B. C). The front is borne by six large figures of Yaksas or Guhyakas, bearing the cave from heaven to earth. The cave is in three parts-a hall, eighteen cells and a verandah. The hall is 45 ft. long, 41ft. bread and 10ft. 6 in. high. In front of the cells is a bench 1ft. 8 in. broad and 1ft. 2in. high. Between the third and the fourth cells in the back wall are bar-reliefs of a stupa adorned by umbrellas, gandharvas and the wheel and lion on either side of the stupa. The stupa, wheel and the lion symbolize the Buddha, Dhamma and the Sangha.

The cells are plain, and have benched recessess for the monks who occupied them.

The hall has a large main doorway, 5ft. 10 in. broad and 9ft. 10in. high in the middle, and a side doorway to the right 3ft. 7in. broad and 7ft. 8in. high. On either side of the main door way is a window. Both doorways have grooves for a wooden frame-work. The main doorway is beautifully sculptured with an ornamental gateway or *torana* of nineteen panels, each about a foot square, seven of them over the doorway, and six on the face of each of the two door-posts. Of the seven panels over the doorway, the middle panel has a relic shrine with an umbrella, and two male figures standing on either side of it. On the ether six panels, tree on each side of this central panel, are the sculptures of the Bodhi-tree, the Buddhist wheel with shaft, a standing Buddhist monk in the attitude of worshpping, a female figure in a monastic grab and turban, and two male figures with turban and hands folded on the breast.

Of the six panels on each of the door-posts the lowest contains an ugly dwarf-like male figure. The other five on each pest seem to illustrate two stories

the left panel the chaste wife who, inspite of coercion and force, remains faithful to her husband and is rescued by him, and the fight panels the unchaste wife who, though married to an affectionate husband, elopes with a menial and has to be dragged away from by force.

On either side of the doorway are two standing male figures 6ft. 2 in. high, with bunches of lotus flowers in their hands, and wearing waist-cloths, turbans, bracelets and earrings, and probably representing guardians (*avārapālas*).

The verandah 46ft. 8 in. long, 7ft. 10 in. broad and 13ft. 2in high has two benches, two benches, two cells and a recess for sleeping, and several pillars which contain some sculptures of animals, humans and foliage patterns. Above these pillars is a beam cut in the natural rock, on which rests the ceiling. On he top of the capitals of the pillars and on either side of the beam are pairs of different animals, some mythical, seated back to back and with riders, both male and female.

Above this beam on the outer projection of the ceiling is a frieze in the railing paten, about three feet broad, and heavily sculptured with lotuses, foliage patterns and animals in different positions.

On the back wall of the verandah, are two inscriptions, one below the other, in eleven lines and four lines respectively. The first of them mentions that the dwelling-cave, meritorious gift, was caused to have been made on the summit of the Trirasmi hill by the great queen *Gautamī Bālasrī*, mother of Sātakarni Gautamīputra and was dedicated to the congregation of the mendicant assembly of the Bhadrayāni School (a Buddhist sect.) The inscription also gives a long account of King Gautamiputra, which is historically very important.

The second inscription, which begins in the middle of the last line of the first inscription and therefore appears like a continuation of the first, records the grant of the village of Samalipada, with immunities by Visisthiputra Pulamāvi to Dharmasetu, who was probably the manager of the cave to show hospitality to mendicants of this cave.

The inscriptien ends with the words "............ Salutation to the great Jina, the Buddha, who has no reval."

On the left wall of the verandah are two more inscriptions. The first of them records the grant of a paddy field to the "Tekirasi ascetics" of this cave-dwelling by Gautamīputra Sātakarni. The other records the grant of a hundred *nivartanas* of the royal field in the confines of the city by Jivasutā, the great queen of the Gautamīputra Sātakarni, to the monks of the caves of the Trirasmi mountain.

Cave N. 4 : This was originally a dining hall with a verandah, but was laer turned into a cisterm or reservoir by hewing out rock several feet below the level of the original floor. In front of the verandah are some pillars with sculpture. There have been a plain doorway and two grated windows leading into the cave whose lower parts are now damaged.

Cave No. 5 : Originally this has been a dwelling cave with two cells and a werandah, but now it is a large cistern with fresh water. The rock has been hewn about twelve feet below the original level of the floor. Two pillars and two pilasters have adorned the verandah but most of them have sufferec' destruction.

Cave No. 6 This is a four-celled dwelling-cave whose floor, like that of cave No. 5 has been hollowed out and turned into a large cistem. The pillars in pilasters in front of the verandah contain some sculptures and an inscription in the back wall of the verandah describes this cave as the meritorious gift of the. mendicant Viragapapati his wife Nandasni and his daughter purusadatta-. The cave is dedicated to the monks of the four quarters.

Cave No. 7 : Originally a dwelling cave of one cell, this too has later been turned into a cistern. In one of the walls is an inscription describing it as the aenteneus gift of a nun and a female disciple to the monks of the four quarters.

Cave No. 8 : In the back wall of the verandah of this cave is a one-line inscription, which describes the cave as the meritorious gift of Dāsaka Mugūdāsa and his family. Another inscription in the same cave describes Mugu-da-sa as a follower of the Cetika School and records the grant ofa field by one Dhammanandi to this cave.

Cave No. 9 : This is a small dwelling-cave with a verandah and three cells. The verandah is 4ft. 5 in. deep, 19ft. 4 in. wide and 7ft. 1in. high. In its front are two pillars and two pilasters. The capitals of these pillars and pilasters are sculptured with animals with riders. In front of the verandah is court 8ft. long and 14ft. 10 in. broad. In the right of the court is a cistern.

Cave No. 10 : This is the second largest vihāra at Nāsik. It contains a hall, sixteen cells and a verandah. Pillars in front of the verandah are sculptured. The hall is 43ft. by 45ft. and is entered by three plain doorways, and contains two windows. Inside are several cells. In the back wall there had been a stu-pa in bas-relief, which has been long afterwards hewn into a figure of Bhairava, evidently by some Hindu devotee.

In the verandah of this cave there are four inscriptions. The first of them, which fills the whole length of the wall, about 40ft., is the longest inscription in any of the Nāsik caves. It is in Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit. The inscription mentions that this dwelling cave and two cisterns were censtructed in the Triraśmi hill in the Govardhana district by Usavada-ta, son of Di-ni-ka and son-in-law of Kastrapa Nahapāna of the Ksahara-ta dynasty. A long description of Usavadāta is also given in the inscription.

The second inscription, over the doorway, of the left cell in the verandah describes that cell as the girl of Daksamitrā, daughter of Kastrapa Nahapāna and wife of Usavadāta.

The third inscription refers to the deposit of three thousand kahāpanas by Usavadāta in two guilds in Govardhana for the benefit of the monks dwelling in this cave during the rainy season. The fourth inscription is a repetition of the second.

There are two more inscriptions in the court of this cave, both registering donations to the monastery on the Triraśmi Mountain.

Cave No. 11 : This contains a verandah and an inner room 11'x7"x7'. 10" having a cell 6' 8" square at the left end and another, not so large, at the back. On the walls are carvings, evidently of late Jaina workmanship. A two-lined inscription under the celling describes the cave as the gift of Ramamnaka, son of Sivamitra, the writer.

Cave No. 12 : This cave contains six cells, which appear to be the remains of three bermitages. One of these cells centains an inscription of Ramamnaka mentioning an endowment of one hundred kahāpanas for a garment to the ascetic residing in it during the rainy season.

Cave No. 13 : This cave is in three sections-a verandah, middle room and cells. The verandah, which was 12ft. 8 in. bread, 4ft. deep and 7ft. 2 in. high is now in ruins. The middle room is 11ft. 8in broad. 7ft. 7in deep and 6ft. 10in. high. there is a benched recess along the right wall. In the back wall are two cells, about 7ft square.

Cave No. 14 : This is in two sections-a verandah and some cells. The Verandah is 14fth. 11 in. broad, 5ft. 11in. deep and 6ft. 7in high. Two pilasters in front of the verandah are now in ruins. In the back wall of the verandah are three cells. Close to this cave is a cistern still containing fresh water.

Cave. No. 15 : This cave contains sculptures of the Buddha, the bodhisattvas and the Natarāja, like those of the isxth century caves at Ajantā and Kanheri and show Mahāyāna influence.

Cave No. 16 : An iron staircase of nineteen steps set up about 1880 leads to the cave, which is an old cell, also turned into a Mahāyāna shrine.

Cave No. 17 : This is the third largest viha-ra at Nasik. The hall measures 22ft. 10in. by 32ft. 2in., and

has a back aisle screened by two columns of which the elephants and their riders and the thin square members of the capitals only are finished. The shrine as a whole has never been completed. On the wall of the back aisle is a standing figure of the Buddha, 3 1/2ft. high. On the left side of the hall is a recess 18 1/2ft. long and 4ft. 3in. high by 2ft. deep, intended for a seat, or perhaps for a row of metallic images. There are also several cells. As inscription in the back wall of the cerandah, in three and a half lines, describes it as a dwelling cave with a shrine and two cisterns, caused to have been excavated by Indra-gnidatta and Dhammarakkhita, and dedicated to the monks for spiritual good of (indrāgnidatta's) mother and father.

Cave No. 18 : This is a Caitya-cave with plain pillars and rail patterns. The name of Mahā Hākusiri, found in one of the three inscriptions here helps to assign this cave to some period about or before the Christian era. The exterior of this Caitya-hall is elaborately sculptured, but the interior is severely simple. The doorway, of which the ornamentation up the left side is almost identical with that found on the pillars of the northern gateway of Sāñcī, could be assigned to the thirst century A. C.

The carvings over the doorway representing the wooden framework which filled all openings of a similar class at that age is of a much more ornamental character than usual. Animals and emblems like the *triśūla* and the shield in a very ornamental form too have been sculptured.

The interior of this Caitya-hall measures 38ft. 10in. by 21ft. 7in. The nave, from the door up to the stu-pa is 25ft. 3in. high. The stūpa is placed on a cylinder 5 1/2ft. in diameter and 6ft. 3in. high and is surmounted by a very heavy capital. Five octagonal pillars with high bases, but without capitals on each side of the nave, and five without bases, round the stūpa divide off the side aisles.

An inscription engraved vertically on two pillars describes this Caitya-cave as a gift of the royal minister Araha-laya and also Satāriyā, the daughter of Līsilanaka. Another inscription ever the doorway records the gift of the village of Dhambika by the inhabitants of Nāsika.

Cave No. 19 : This is a small vihāra, 14ft. 3in. square, with six cells, and a verandah, In the front wall are two lattice windows. Over one of these windows is a Pāli inscription stating that the cave was constructed by the Śramana officer of Krsnarāja of the Sātavāhana dynasty, residing at Nāsika. This inscription is the oldest at Na-sik, and on this evidence the cave is assigned to the first or the second century B. C.

Cave No. 20 : This is another large viha-ra, its hall varying in width from 37 1/2ft. at the front to 44ft. at the back, and 61 1/2 ft. deep. It has eight cells on each side. In the middle of the floor is a low platform, about 9ft. square, apparently, intended for an *āsana* or seat, either for an image or for the teacher when teaching or discussing. The antechamber is slightly raised above the level of the hall, and the two are divided by two richly carved columns. The doorway of the shrine is flanked by two gigantic *dvārapālas*, 91/2 ft. high, each accompanied by a female attendant. These *dvārapālas*, hold louts-stalks, and wear eleaborate head-dresses, have *Vidyādharas* flying over their heads and very much resemble those of the later Buddhist caves at at Aurangaba-d. Inside the shrine is a colossal image of the Buddha, 10ft. high, holding the little finger of his left hand between the thumb and the forefinger of his right and attended by two gigantic chauri-bearers.

An inscription in the verandah of this cave, dated in the seventh year of Yajña Śri Sātakarni Gautamiputra states that this cave was begun by an ascetic named Bopaki, that it long remained unfinished and that it was completed by Vāsu, the wife of a general named Bharagopa and given to the use of monks.

Cave No. 21 : This is a rough hall, with a varying breadth of about 20ft., depth or 23ft. 10in. and a height of 10ft. In the court is a large, deep cistern. No. cells or benches ar found in this cave, and, therefore, it was probably not a dwelling cave but a *sattra*, i.e. either a cooking - place or a place for distributing grain.

Cave No. 22 : It is only a cell with an open werandah in front. The cell is 9ft. 8in. deep and 5ft. 4 in. broad, with a doorway 2ft. broad. The verandah is 5ft. 7in. broad and 3ft. deep.

Cave No. 23 : This is a large cave partitioned into several shrines. The first of these shrines is in two parts, an inner shrine or *garbhāgāra*, and a porch. In the back wll of the *garbhāgāra* is in image of the Buddha sitting on a lion-seat with the usual ornamental back. On each side a *Vidyādhara* and Vidya-dhari-, bearing materia is of worship fly towards the Buddha. To the right and left of the Buddha are also two fly-whisk bearers. One each of the side-walls is a Buddha sitting cross-legged over a lotus. On either side of each Buddha are three small Buddhas, one over the other, sitting on lotuses. The side posts of the doorway are carved in a twisted pattern with flowers. At the foot of each post is a figure of a *nāgarāja*.

In the porch are also figures of Padmapa-ni Lokesvara, Ārya Tārā etc.

The other shrines of this cave also contain similar sculptures. Almost all these shrines of this cave have been out of a laready existing dwelling-caves. A fragmentary inscription in one of these shrines, states that it is the work of Kutumbika Dhanama, and his mother and father.

Cave No. 24 : This is an old dwelling-cave with a verandah and two cells. There are pillars and beams with sculptures of tigers with riders and other animals. An inscription here mentions a gift of a dwelling-cave and two cisterns of Vudhika the Damacika Saka, a writer inhabitant of Dasapura. Of these the second was for the benefit of accruing merit to mother and father.

These Nāsik caves, like those at Kanheri, belong principally to the periods of the Ksaharāta kings of central India and Āndhrabhrya kings of the Deccan. Originally the caves were constructed as dwelling for monks and contained no images. Later when images formed part of Buddhist worship probably due to lack of other suitable sites the old caves were modified to suit the new worship. Similar images are found in some of the Buddhist caves at Kanheri, Ajantā, Ellorā and Kārle.

The Nāsik inscriptions hold the first place among the inscriptions of western India on account of the valuable information they supply, their lenght and the excellent state of the perservation. Though these inscriptions do not give a connected historical record, the light they throw on the history of western India for the period between 100 B. C. and 100 A. C. is invaluable. The kings mentioned in these inscriptions are Kanha or Krsna, Hakusiri or Hakusri. Nahapāna gautamipura Sātakarni, Vāssthiputra Pulamāvi, Gautamiputra yajñsri Sātakarni, Madharipulra Śivadatta and Īsvarasena. The worship of the Buddha and bodhisattvas and the use of Sanskrit in the inscriptions point the influence of northern Buddhism in India about the 5th or 6th century A. C.

The people in the neighbourhood of Nāsik have entirely forgotten the fact that these are Buddhist caves and call them pāndu Lena regarding the images of the Buddha and the bodhisattvas as statues of the five Pa-ndava brothers.

Biblography : James Fergusson and James Burgess. *The cave Temples of India, London*, 1880 & Bhagavanlal Indraji. *Nasik, Pāndulena* Caves (from *The Bombay Gazetteer*).

I

Notes.–

1. Fergusson and Burgess (The cave Temples of India) translate this as "Siddham In the sixth year of the king, the prosperous puduma-ya, the son of Va-sisthi-, in the fortnight of Cri-shma, on the 5th.

2. Bhagavanlal Indraji lists this cave as No. 10 but in Fergusson's list it is described under No. 8.

H. R. Perera.

ÑĀTAPARIÑÑĀ See PARIÑÑĀ

NĀTHAPUTTA See MAHĀVĪRA, NIGANṬHANĀ THAPUTTA

NATTHIPACCAYA See PACCAYA

NAVADHARMA, is a term used to donote the nine very important *Mahāyāna* texts, which are held in great esteem expecially in Nepal. These nine texts are : The *Astasa-hasārikāprajñapāramitā* (q.v.), *the Gandavyūha Sūtra* (q.v.), the *Dasabhumisvara* (q.v.) the *Samādhiraja Sūtra* (q.v.), the *Lankāvatāra Sutra* (q.v.), or *Saddharmalankāvatāra Sūtra*), the *Lalitavistara* (q.v.) the Suvarnaprabha-sa Su-tra (q.v.) and the *Tathāgataguhyaka* (or *Tathagatagunajñāna*) (q.v.), All these texts fall under the category of "*Vaipulya -Sūtra* (q.v.) and they deal with popular Mahāyāna teachings as well as with abstruse Mahāyāna and esoteric philosophical doctrines. For details see under each name.

· S. K. Nanayakkara.

NEKKHAMMA = A term of very great religio-ethical significance in Buddhism, both for monk and layman.

It can be explained as :

1. Regulation, reduction or rejection of sense gratification or ***Kāma***. Etymologically this meaning is derived from the combination ***ni*** [= not] + ***kāma*** [= sense delights]. We believe, this in itself, does not imply departure from household-life.

2. Renunciation of household pleasures or departure from the household and taking to a life homelessness. This is more appropriately derived from the combination prefix ***nis*** [away from] + root ***kam/kamati*** [goes, departs, leaves behind].

We see from the above that both these meanings nearly point to the seme. But the first has a special point of emphasis above the second in that its stress is on one's attitude to sensory gratification, even while being in the household, without serious departure therefrom. This polarized emphasis is seen in such Pali references as ***kāmānam ādīnavam*** *okaram samkilesam* ***nekkhamme ānisamsam*** *pakasesi* [at *DN*. I. 110], as well as ***kāmesu ādīnavam*** *disvā* ***nekkhammam datthu khemato*** [at *Sn*. 424].

Note also the explanation of nekkhamma-sankappa in marked contrast to *kāma - ankappa* in the explanation of *micchāsankappa* in the *Mahacattālisaka Sutta* at MN. III. 73 [*Katamo ca bhikkhave micchā -sankappo ? Kāma-sankappo vyāpāda-sankappo sankappo vihisma -sankappo. Ayam bhikhhave micchāsankappo.*]. This value and validity of getting rid of ***kāma*** as one ascends the ladder of spiritual development in Buddhism is further witnessed in a study of teh *jhānic* process. The very first ***jhāna*** requires that one gets rid of ***kāma***- [*vivicceva kā mehi*], together with singul states of mind [*viviceeva akusalehi dhammehi*] for its successful completion [*DN*. I. 73].

Let us now clearly get the Buddhist idea of ***kāma***. According to Buddhist teachings, not all beautiful things

in the world [*citrāni*] are ***kāma*** or lustful in themselves [*Na te kāmā yāni citrāni loke*. SN. I.22]. It is the lustful attachment to things of the world that brings about taint to them [Sankappa-ra-go attachment to things of the world that brings about taint to them [*Sankappa-rāgo purisassa kāmo*. loc. cit.].

This is a vital point of ethical correction in Buddhism. At the very outset of being a Buddhist, one has to get a correct awareness of the Buddhist attitude to life in the world. One gets this through an understanding as to the what the Buddhist dhamma is. This position is clearly indicated as ***āgato imam saddhammam*** [*Kittāvatā kho āvuso ariyasāvako sammadiṭṭhi hoti. Ujugatā ssa ditthi dhamme aveccappasādena samannāgato āgato imam saddhamman' ti. M.* I. 46]. The Buddhist texts precisely call this ***sammā- diṭṭhi*** [=coorect or corrected vision].

There is no mistaking that this is also called the first itms [*sammādiṭṭhi pubbangamā M.* III. 72] in the Eightfold Path to Nibbana.

When one knows his true identity as a Buddhist, he is invariably called upon to plan and structure his thinking in accordance with Buddhist aspirations. This invariably brings us to the **second successive stage** in the Buddhist Noble Eightfold Path, namely ***sammā sankappa*** or **regulated thought structure**. The primary re structuring of Buddhist's thinking, **once on the Path**, aims ar gradual moving way from one's gratification of senses. This really is **Nekkhamma-sankappa.**

This alone makes sense in the Buddhist scheme of religious cluture. This change of direction is closely supported by the other two items of ***sankappa***, namely ***avyāpāda*** [non-hostility] and ***avihimsā*** [non-violence]. This is also how one embarks on the first stage of ***sīla-sakkhā*** or grounding in morality [the first of the therefold Buddhist culture of ***tisso sikkhā***] which is constituted by the three items of *sammā -vācā sammā - kammanto* and *sammā - ājivo* as the third, fourth and fifth ascending steps of the Eightfold Path.

The associated idea of '**total renunciation of household life**' or ***pabbajjā*** coupled with ***nekkhamma*** is not necessarily an illogical derivative. But it must be remembered that ***nekkhamma*** is not the exclusive prerogative of the monk [***pabbajja*** or ***bhikkhu***]. The Buddhist has to begin his religious life founded on this psycho-ethical basis of ***nekkhamma***. As the Muni Sutta of the Sutta *Nipāta* puts it, the difference between the ***gihī*** and the ***bhikkhu*** who is bent on his spiritual aspirations in only of speed, as they both travel towards the same goal [*Sikhī yathā nīlagīvo vihangamo hamsassa nopeti javam kudācanam Evam gihī nānukaroti bhikkhuno munino vivittassa vanamhi jhāyato. Sn.* v. 221].

Dhammavihāri

NEKKHAMMA PĀRAMITĀ See **PĀRAMITĀ**

NEMBUTSU See **JAPAN**

NEPAL, which lies in the Himalayan valley was occupied in pre-historic times by a people of Tibetan origin. In the 2 nd Cent. A. C., the Indian Licchavis founded a dynasty there, taking with them from Vaisali, most of the important elements of Indian civilization. The religion of the Nepalese people has been an admixture of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. What is of importance about Nepal from the Buddhist perspective is the Nepalese *stūpas*.

Great antiquity is ascribed to these monuments, four at Patan, which, (according to tradition) were founded by Asoka. These four are still intact and are of the old Indian hemispherical type. The chief characteristic of the later types is the elongation of the *chātravali* (on the summit). This devlopment certainly had a share in the Far Eastern pagoda. The Nepalese temple is typically provided with a succession of sloping roofs. During the Middle Ages, Buddhism and Brahmanism or rather a *Tantric* combination of the two were equally prevalent and images of Hindu deities and those of the Buddhist *Tratric* pantheon occur in equal numbers, side by side.

Nepalese art is best known by the metal images, usually copper or brass and of fine workmanship. On the whole Nepalese bronzes are more Indian in character and better executed. Some of the best and earlier examples, which can hardly be dated later than the 10 the century, are now in the Museum of fine Arts, Boston. The standing Avalokitesvara (Padmapāni) of capper gilt, is perhaps the best of all known bronzes that may definitely be classed as Nepalese. It illustrates a Nepalese peculiarity rarely seen in Indian works. It is inlaid with precious stones. In style it is very close to Indian types. Metal images of considerably later date are often of high merit; even up to quite recent times, good work has been done.

Nepal also possesses an important school of painting, which, in the same way as bronzes, reflects Indian forms and has preserved even up to modern times, a style comparable to that of Pala and Gujarati schools. In the 11 th century, the distinction of style as between the Bengali and Nepalese illustrated manuscripts is extremely slight. Among the important Nepali manuscripts of this date are two *Astasāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā* manuscripts (11 th Cent) containing 85 and 31 miniatures (now preserved in the *RAS*. Library, Calcutta.). A manuscript of the same text is preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (dated 1136 A. C. with 18 miniatures). There are several other noteworthy manuscripts, containing miniatures. One such manuscript carries representations of four episodes from the *Vessantara Jātaka*.

Originally, the inhabitants of Nepal (called Newars) were animists. Later Buddhism threw a philosophic covering over animism and gave it some aesthetic value. The early funeral mound (*caitya*) changed into a single and massive *stūcpa*. The earliest specimen of this form, lies south east of Katmandu, in one of its suburb towns, called Patan. Except for relics in Tilaura and Piprawa, the *stūpas* are the oldest monuments of architectural importance. There are five in number, four in the citadel and one at its centre known as Pimbahul. Four of these are attributed to Asoka.

These *stūpas* are in the shape of a hemisphere constructed out of bricks on a plinth of the same (two, however on a pavement of stone) and devoid of any architectural decorations. They are very simple and came into being along with Buddhism. At the top there is a small chapel, which is the only ornament, but this is also simple. The chapel is dedicated to Vairocana. The hemisphere contains in its innermost recess, a chapel, entered through a by-door, now a depository for ceremonial purposes. At each internal chapel attached to the hemisphere, which has changed from a simple stone vault into a multiple pagoda, the images of the four meditating Buddhas, Amitabha, Ratnasambhava, Aksobhya and Amoghasiddhi, exhibit the influence of the Mahāyāna.

The central *stūpa* is more like an early funeral mound and stands on a tier of brick and stone platforms unlike the mass of bricks characteristic of other *stū pas*. The summit is a cube shaped canopy and in the form of rings like the *toranas*, which maintain a *chatra* standing on a tripod of metal. The Asoka stūpas are respectively called *Laghan Tanda*, *Traitas Tanda*, *Phulcha Tanda* and *Zimpi Tanda*. Smaller mounds of

earth supporting a Buddhist structure have also been found in different parts of the valley. Besides these there are miniature *stūpas*, with a courtyard, of the description of larger works and of the same design and execution. They are called Chaitya in Nepal. The site they occupy is known as *Chibahal* (small monastery). They belong to comparatively recent times.

Svayambhunāth and Bauddhanāth : Not far from Katmandu and at its western end overlooking the spacious valley, stands the 400 ft. high hillock which is named Svayambhu having a multitude of miniature *stūpas*, pagodas shrines and chapels all round. From the eastern side rises a stone staircase, nearly 300 steps, very steep and narrow. Down below are 3 great images of the Buddha in meditative posture. On both sides one sees, a masquerade of deities mainly in meditation and of *stupas* and chapels of simple and beautiful design.

There is another hill close by, on which stands the chapel of Manjusri (who is), according to local tradition, the Chinese incarnation of the Buddha and to whom is ascribed the humanising of the valley. The common belief is that the hillock was a lotus flower, which came into being by a supernatural feat of drainage of the great lake that hid the beautiful valley in the past. The image of Manjusri Bodhisattva holds a book and a sword in the hands.

The summit where Svayambhū is situated is a flat surface, some thousand square yards in area. Almost every inch of it is studded with religious images of the Buddha and his followers, the Dhyāni Buddhas and numerous Vajrayāna deities. At the centre stands a monument on a plinth of stones, hemispheric in shape, completely whitewashed to look like an egg, but which is bulging, out in the middle. The finial is a copper gilt bell tower.

The shape of Bauddhanath is another marvel of simplicity and undecorated beauty. It is on a site near Pasupati between Katmandu and Sankhu. This place is a centre of pilgrimage and attracts a large number of devotees during winter. The *stupa* is a central shrine around which are the dwelling houses of the Lamas. The *Stūpa* is enclosed by a wall. The base is of three successive pavements on which the *garbha* rests and is approached by a flight of stairs. At the corners of the terrace stand small *stūpas* in harmony with the main dome. They contain a row of niches. All other features exactly resemble those of Svayambhūnath. In common parlance the Bauddhanath *stupa* contains relics of Buddha Kasyapa.

Such *stūpas* are numerous in the valley. Half a dozen in Katmandu, a dozen in Paton, and a quarter in Bhatgaon and a few more in towns like Chobhar, Bungmati, Harisidhi and Thecho. The main *stupas* are in Lathesimbhu, Mahabauddha, Tebahal, Yakkha and Lagaro in Katmandu and in Nagahahal Pimbahal and Pulchok (large Asokan stūpa) and Yagbahal in Paton.

Stūpas of small size are called caityas and the precinct is known as Chibahal. The *caitya* like the *stupa*, harbours the Dhyāni Buddhas.

Kathmandu is a city of temples and so are Paton and Bhatgaon. The Mahabauddha temple of Katmandu was constructed on the model of Buddhagaya but it looks a little awkward. The *stūpa* is a copy of its Indian prototype, but the temple is essentially a Nepalese one in design and structure. The Nepalese images in gilt copper are worth studying. There is the delicate pose, serene outlook, simple garments etc. Occasionally they are studded with precious stones. Some of these go back to about the 7 th cent. A. C. The most prominent gilt figures are of Dīpankara Buddha, Tārā etc.

Sculpture: Stone work in Nepal has closely followed developments in India. The three colossal statues of the Buddha on the way to Svayambhūnath are specimens, which show the influence of Pala school of N. E. India.

Nandasena Mudiyanse.

NESAJJIKAṄGA See DHUTAṄGA

NETHERLANDS : Although it is recorded that a Dutchman, Bergendahl, became a *sāmanera* under the name of Sunno in Ceylon in 1906, popular Buddhist activities in the Netherlands began only in the 1930s with the short-lived Nederlandsche Maha Bodhi Vereeningin. This Society met in Amsterdam under M.G.J. Beets.[1]

After the Second World War, a small group met under J.H. Van der Ven in The Hague in 1946. However, this soon passed from the scene to give way to the Nederlandsche Buddhistische Vriendenkring which was effectively inaugurated in 1948 with a public lecture in The Hague by Christmas Humphreys (the founding President of the Buddhist Society, London). The founder, Mrs. A. Spruitenberg-Dwars, formerly Secretary of the Theosophical Society at Adyar (near Madras), settled down in Huizen (near *Amsterdam*) and circulated a modest periodical, *Samenspraak* "Right Speech", which included translations of articles on Buddhism contained in books and magzines. During the 1950s another Dutch journal, *Magga*, appeared from Antwerp under the editorship of a Fleming, Adriaan Peel. The regular meetings, which continued for the next sixteen years, were usualy held in the home of Drs. Ernest Verwaal but the Annual May festival of *Vesakha* was celebrated at the founder's house. Occasional public lectures were sponsored in The Hague to wich D.T. Suzuki and the Sinhalese Dhammadūta, Narada, were invited as guest speakers.

A few years later, Ir. Jan Bloemsma established his " Buddhist Institute" in The Hague which still exists on paper.

Verwaal's efforts were continued for a further two years from 1965 by Albert Kolle and Khema Verloop. Monthly meetings were held in the Royal Thai Embassy at The Hague where the ambassador's wife, Mrs. Bhakdi, became Chairman of the "Buddhist Circle of Friends". She encouraged the practice of meditation amongst the maximum of fifty-five members on the society's books. Both Kolle and Bolemsma gave lectures and Bruno Mertens became a member at this time. A frequent visitor from London was Phra Maha Vichitr Tissadatto (later Chao Khun Sobhana Dhammasuddhi and now Mr. V. R. Dhiravamsa).

Albert Kolle (of French Huguenot descent) had attended the Public meetings in The Hague before becoming actively involved. From 1965 to 1967 he was Secretary General of the "Buddhist Circle of Friends" and openly avowed his staunch adherence to the Theravādā tradition. In 1971 he arranged for Ven. M. Vajiragnana (then in residence at the Vihāra) to conduct lectures at Leiden, Delft and Tilburg Universities. Kolle was a senior lecturer in mechanical engineering at Delft and died suddenly from a tumour on the pancreas in May 1974 at the early age of 47.

On 8th November 1967 the *Stichting Nederlands Buddhistisch Centrum* was founded, also in The Hague, by Rev. Pieter van de Beck (AMM) and Jack de Boer (a political journalist and trade union leader). Although this new organization, predictably, endeavoured to fulfill a whole range of objects, Article 2 of its Constitution expressed the *raison de' etre* of this interdenominational society : "To promote the study of the principles of Buddhism and to encourage the practical application of these principles; the Foundation shall aim at carrying out its activity in close col'aboration with Buddhist organizations and instituions in the Netherlands". Members of the latter were even eligible for election on to the " Foundation's" committee (Article 5.3).

A few groups are also operating under the auspices of the "Foundation" which are situated outside The Hague: Viz. a Zen group which meets in the home of de Boer in Amersfoort: a meditation group which meets in Amsterdam under Erik Bruijn (2nd Secretary of the "Foundation" and author of De Weg Van Zazen – Ankh-Hermes, Deventer); and other groups that meet in the homes of Miss A. Stade (Utrecht) and Hanna Perk (The Hague). Twice a year, weekend seminars are conducted and, in October 1973, the Dalai Lāmā was the "Foundation's" guest during his three-day visit to the country.

The "Foundation" (Which has a current membership of 150) publishes a monthly journal, *Saddharma*, in addition to special booklets from time to time.

An unusual venture was mooted in 1968 by Drs. C.T. Zelvelder van der Laan of Delft. This was the Buddhistische Sociale Arbeid which was intended to implement the tenets of the Dhamma in relation to social problems. However, no further news of this group's progress has been reported.

In more recent years other Buddhist groups and centres have arisen. One serious and commited group was the T.N.V. Werkgroep Boedhisme which was basically a *vipassanā* meditation club meeting in Urse. Jack Monshouwer founded it after meeting Dhiravamsa

[1] Whilst part of the Dutch East Indies, a W. Josias Van dienst, together with fellow European Buddhists, started an " Association for the Propagation of Buddhism in Jāvā" in 1929. This may well have pursued activities until the Japanese invasion in 1942. Narada, the Sinhalese Dhammaduta Bhikkhu, first visited Batavia Bauddhist Association".

(see above) although he himself later moved to Amsterdam and now lives in Tenerife. The leadership of the group fell to an Indonesian bhikkhu who is able to live independently in Scheveningen.

In 1973 a Thai temple (*wat*), whose forbidding name of Dhammasucharitānucharee was wisely changed to Bauddhārāma, opened in Waalwijk, North Brabant. The Head of the *Wat* is Ven. Phra Mahā Theeraphan Mettāvihāree, who is assisted by Vens. Phra Samuh Pherm Ariyavamso and Phra Mahā Sawrang Dhirapanno. They have conducted at least three Samanera Ordinations: Wim Reinier de Wilde (May 1974), Willi Horstman (Ānando, March 1975) and G.R. Kneefel (June 1975)[2]. Under the chairmanship of de Wilde an administering committee includes Otto and Elisabeth Van der Hijde, with executive patrons including Veronica Laterveer (formerly Treasurer of the "Foundation") and Jan Bloemsma.

Regular activities are held at the Weekend : meditation and a lecture in English from Ven. Mettaviharee on Saturdays; lectures from invited speakers in English, Thai or Dutch on Sundays. During the week instruction in meditation is available for visitors and it is worth noting that up to fifteen people can reside at the temple during week-long *vipassana* courses. A bi-monthly journal, *The Wheel of Dhamma* (Het Wiel van de Dhamma) is duplicated in Dutch, English and Thai.

However, the *wat* attracts mainly Thai Nationals and immigrants from Indonesia. The now-defunct *Jonge Boeddisten in Nederland* (Young Buddhist Association) used to supply the material needs of the resident bhikkhus and to arrange the more traditionally Thai activities.

An overall assesment of contemporary Buddhism in the country is included in an "underground" brochure, *Religieuze Subcultur in Nederland*, edited by Nico Tydeman and Martin Heymans. In the same vein, the now famous Kosmos centre in Amsterdam caters for the needs of those looking for alternative life-styles.

Of literature, several books on the subject have appeared over the years although few are completely authentic and reliable. General works include Conze's *Het Boeddhisme* (Utrecht, 1970), J.W. De Jong's *De Studie van het Boeddhisme* (1956) and von Glasnapp's *Boeddhisme* (1971). Predictably, a number of books on Zen and meditation have been published to cater for the growing demand from the younger generation. Representative examples include: C.C. Krieger's *Het Zen Buddhisme en Zijn involed op de Geest van Japan* (Leiden, 1948), D.T. Suzuki's *Inleiding tot het Zen Boeddhisme*, E.H. Verwaal's *Zomaar een glimlach:Chinese Zenmediatie* and Else Madelon Hooykas /Bert Schierbeek' *Zazen* (all published by Ankh-Hermes, Deventer, in 1974). (The same publisher also issued a translation of one of Evans-Wentz's classic studies, *Het Tibetaanse dodenboek*).

A few writers have expressed their ideas and experiences in the English language. One young globe-trotting ex-policeman and crime writer is Janwillem van de Wetering,who has already had published two books related to Zen: *The Empty Mirror* and *A Glimpse of Nothingness*: Experiences in an American Zen Community (Routledge & Kegan Paul London,1973/5). Nina van Gorkom, the wife of the Dutch Ambassador to Thailand, published privately her *Buddhist Outlook on Daily Life* and *Abhidhamma in Daily Life* (Bangkok, 1969,71).

Even including the pioneer Hendrik Kern (1833-1917 - , there have been few Buddhist scholars who have not incorporated the subject in other fields of study. Kern's only contemporaries in the Buddhist field were J.S. Speyer, (Speijer) and J.J.M. de Groot. The former was Professor of Sanskrit at Lieden University (1904) who edited the *Avadānastaka* - "A Century of Edifying Tales belonging to the Hinayāna"- for the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1906-9). He also translated Āryasūra's *Jātakamālā* "Garland of Birth Stories" -for the Sacred books of the Buddhists series (London, 1895; reprinted Delhi, 1971). De Groot was Professor of Ethnography at Leiden. He edited and translated the Chinese version of the *Brahmajāla Sūtra (Fan-wan-king)* which appeared as *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine, son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laique* (Royal Academy, Amsterdam, 1893; reprinted 1967). This was subsequently translated as *The Religion of the Chinese* (New York, 1910).

Johannes Rahder edited two chapters (*Vihāra and Bhūmi*) of the *Dasabhumika Sutra* (Brussles, 1926). In the same year, he presented the complete text, with an English translation of the seventh chapter, to Utrecht University as his doctoral dissertation. With Shinryu Susa, he edited the *gāthā* portion of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese recensions appeared in the *Buddhica* series (Paris, 1928).

---

[2] The only other Dutch monks known to the author are : Nya-navipula (died at Dodanduwa, 1972) Oland A-nanda (Colombo,1975) and Marcel Bertels, who joined the International Mahayana Institute (founded 1973) at Kopan Gonpa, Near Kathmandu, and was ordained as Thubten Palgye.

Translated extracts from the *Lalitavistara* were included in two studies on Borobudur; C.M. Pleyte's *Die Buddhalegende in den Skulpturen des Temples von Bōrōbudur* (Amsterdam, 1901) and N.J. Krom's *The Life of Buddha on the Stu pa of Barabudu* (The Hague, 1926). M.W. de Visser compiled a monumental work on Ancient Buddhism in Japan. *Sūtras and ceremonies in use in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. and their history in later times* (Paris, 1928:2vols.,Leiden,1935). He also wrote a general work, *Buddhas Leer in het Verre Oosten* (Amsterdam, 1930). Jean Philippe Vogel contributed *op het voetspoor van Boeddha* (Haarlem, 1934) whilst Willi Baruch's study, *Beitrage zum Saddharama pundarikasūtra*, was published in Leiden (1938). Finot's Sanskrit text of the *Rāstrapālaparipracchā* was translated by Jacob Ensink and appeared as *The Questions of Rāstrapāla* (Utrecht University,1952). The same translator also produced a rare volume of Mahayana texts under the title of *De Grote Weg naar het Licht* (2nd ed. Amsterdam, 1973). Erik Zurcher (born in Utrecht in 1928) obtained his doctorate at Leiden for " *The Buddhist Conquest of China*". This was subsequently published (2 vols. Leiden, 1959; reprinted 1972) and has become the definitive textbook in this field. He has compiled a general statistical work, *Het Boeddhisme, Onstaan en verbreiding in kaart, woord en beeld* (Amsterdam, 1961) which was translated as *Buddhism, Its Origin and spread in words, maps and pictures* (London and New York, 1962). And, with F.Vos, he wrote a general study on *Zen Buddhism in Korea*, Spel zonder snaren (Deventer, 1964). The Developments of Buddhism in Japan were the subject of a volume by J.H. Kamstra, *Encounter or Syncretism: the initial growth of Japanese Buddhism* (Leiden,1967) C.C. Berg edited and translated an Indonesian version of the *Lalitavistara*; *Māyās hemelvaart in het Javaanse Buddhisme* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1969), whilst the late W.B. Bollee edited and translated the *Kunāla Jātaka* for the Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series (London 1970). Ria Kloppenberg teaches in the Department of the History of Religions in Utrecht University and was awarded her doctorate for an academic study of Buddhist asceticism, "*The Pacckebuddha*". This was published accompanied by relevant passages from the commentary to the *Sutta Nipāta*. Waldschmidt's Sanskrit text of the Catusparisastūtra was translated by her as The Sūtra on the Foundation of the Buddhist Order and formed the first volume in Brill's new Nisaba Religious Texts Translation Series.(Leiden, 1973). E.P. Mate has contributed *Buddhasvāmin's Brahatkatha slokasamgraaha*. A literary study of an ancient Indian narrative (Leiden, 1973). J.W. de Jong was made the first Professor of Buddhist Studies at Leiden University in 1956. He worked in the Kern Institute, which specializes in Eastern Languages and culturs, assited by two Tibetan Lamas, Geshe Tsultim and Repten. Apart from contributing papers to academic journals, in the major centres of Oriental studies in Europe, he edited the *Mi La Ras Pa'I Rnam Thar*, the Tibeten life of Milarepa (The Hague, 1959). This formed an Indo-Iranian Monograph one of a series edited by de Jong and F.B.J. Kuiper. The same pair also edited the Indo-Iranian Journal which has appeared every quarter since 1957 and deals with the, religions and history of India and Iran in the Pre-Islamic period. De Jong is now Head of the Department of South Asian and Buddhist Studies at the Australian National University in Canberra. He was succeeded at Leiden by P.H. Pott where the same lamas are assisting him in Tibetan studies. (One of the richest collections of original Buddhist materials is to be found in Leiden. Sets of the Tipitaka include editions in Burmese, Sinhala, Thai, Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan. Pott himself compiled and Introduction to the Tibetan Collection in 1951. Elsewhere, Prof. Dr. K. Vreese (who translated the Milindapanha) lectures in the Department of Modern Indian Languages in Amsterdam University, whilst Prof. J. Gonda (whose only book on Buddhism was published in the Hague in 1943) teaches Sanskrit at the Oriental Institute of Utrecht university.

The Dutch Oriental Society was founded in 1920 but does not publish any regular journal. It formerly participated in the production of *Acta Orientalia*, the annual journal of the Oriental societies of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. This appeared, from 1923, in English, French and German and was printed in Leiden until 1948 when the Dutch Society dropped out. (The journal is now edited in Copenhagen under the sponsorship of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies.

One Dutchman who may be said to act as a link between theory and practice, academic and popular literary output, is H.G.A. Van Zeyst. In his early life he pursued a remarkable ascetic career. Having been a Franciscan, Trappist and Carthusian, he embraced Buddisam at "The Buddhist Mission". London, in 1938. Later that year he traveleed to Ceylon where he became ordained as Dhammapāla at Dodanduwa. Later he married and worked on the Editorial Board of the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism from his home in Bandarawela. His writings include : *Basic Buddhism and Buddhism for students* (1945). *The cultural Evolution of Buddhism*, Gunasena, Colombo. 1969) *Broadcasts on Buddhism*, (BPS, Kandy, 1969), *Karma and Rebirth* (1970) The *Challenge to Buddhism* (1970) and *One Hour for Buddhism*, Gunasena, Colombo, 1969)

Nyanavipula.

NETTIPPAKARANA is a post canonical treatise traditionally ascribed to the elder Mahā-Kaccāna, who was recognized by the Buddha as the foremost among anlytical exponents of the *Dhamma*. *Nettippakarana* is not included in the canon in Sri Lanka. Yet it is held on the same authority as books admitted within the *Tipiṭaka*. But in Burma it is included in the canon (*Khuddaka Nikāya*) along with *Petakopadesa*. The commentator Dhammapāla presents a comprehensive analysis of the term *Netti* thus : "*Tattha kenatthena Netti, Saddhammanayanatthena, Yathā hi taṅhā satte kamādibhavaṃ nayatiti bhavanetti ti vuccati, evam ayam pi veneyya satte ariya dhammam nayati ti saddhammanayanathena netti ti vuccati. Athavā nayanti tāyāti netti, Nettippakaraṇena hi karanābhibhūtena dhammakathikā veneyyasatte dassanamaggam nayanti sampāpenti ti.*" (*Nettippakaraṇa with Extracts from Dhammapala's commentary PTS.* London, 1961, p. 194). "In what sense *netti* (Guide) is so called ? It is called *Netti* in the sense of guiding (*nayana*) to faith's true object ; for just as it is said, "craving guides (*nayati*) beings to the realm of sensual desire, etc., thus it is the Guide to existence (*nayati*), beings capable of being guided out (*Veneyya*), to the noble *Dhamma*, it is called a Guide in the sense of its guiding to the noble *Dhamma*. Or alternatively, they guide (*nayanti*) by its means. The expounders of the *Dhamma* using the *Nettippakarana* as a tool guide the capable beings to the path of realization (*Dassanamaggaṁ*)".

From the above description of the *Netti* commentator, it is clear that the *Nettippakaraṇa* is a treatise intended to assist the people to understand the *Dhamma*. At the conclusion of the *Nettippakaraṇa* it is said that it was composed by the elder Mahā-kaccāna, approved by the Buddha and rehearsed at the First council (*Ettāvatā Samattā Nettiyā āyasmatā Mahā kaccena bhāsitā Bhagavatā anumoditā Mūlasangitiyam Saṃgītā-Nettippakaraṇa* PTS. p. 193)

It is necessary to examine the tradition that ascribes the authorship of *Nettippakaraṇa* to the elder Mahākaccāna. The present day scholars are hesitant to accept Mahākaccāna's authorship of the *Nettippakaraṇa*, as it exists today. But there appear some historical truth behind the tradition that ascribes its authorship to him. The need for the accurate interpretation of the teachings of the Buddha was felt when the Buddha was still alive. The opportunity was there to refer a problem to the Buddha himself when he was living and in the *Suttapiṭaka* itself, we find *suttas* such as the *Mahākamma Vibhaṅga sutta* (*M.* III. 207 f) the *Koṭṭhika sutta* (*S.* IV 145f), which are of an exegetical nature, ascribed to the Buddha. Similarly there are numerous instances in the canon where the disciples have elaborated on the brief teaching of the Buddha,[1] which subsequently received the Buddha's approval. But it was the elder Mahākaccāna who was recognized by the Buddha himself as the foremost among those who elaborate on points taught in brief by the Buddha (*Etadaggaṃ bhikkhave mama sāvakānam bhikkhūnaṃ sānkhittena bhāsitassa vitthā rena vibhajantānam*(A. I. 23). The *Madhupiṇḍika sutta* (*M.* I. p. 108) and the *Hāliddiya sutta* (*S.* IV. p. 115) contain the explanations of the elder Mahākaccāna, which received the Buddha's approval. Elder Mahākaccāna was living at Avanti, a distant province where there were few monks and they did not have the opportunity of referring a point to the Buddha, whenever such an issue arose. Therefore the need for a system of accurate interpretation of the Buddha's teachings would have been felt there thoroughly. Therefore the elder Mahākaccāna would have played a leading role in evolving a system for an accurate interpretation of the Buddha's teachings. Under the circumstance the elder Mahākaccāna is considered as the author of the commentarial traditon during the lifetime of the Buddha. Therefore there seem to be a certain amount of justification in ascribing the authorship of the *Nettippakaraṇa* to the elder Mahākaccāna in view of the fact that he originated the system of interpretation, but not the authorship of the *Nettippakaraṇa* as it exists today.

[1] Ananda's expositions (*Subhasutta D.* I. p. 204) Sāriputta's (*Mahāvedalla* (*M.* I. p. 282), Dhammadinnā's (*Culavedalla M.* I. p. 299)

It is also necessary to examine the statement that *Nettippakarana* was rehearsed at the First Council.

This statement too should be understood in a qualified sense. It is clear that it was not the present *Nettippakarana*, as we have it today that is stated to have been rehearsed at the First Council. It was the exegetical tradition commenced by the elder Mahākaccāna and approved by the Buddha that would have been rehearsed at the First Council. The emergence of the *Nettippakarana* embodying the commentarial tradition would have taken place in a subsequent period.[2] It is relevant to refer to *Peṭakopadesa*, a post canonical treatise on textual and exegetical methodology also ascribed to Mahākaccāna, in the course of studying *Nettippakarana*. As *Nettippakaraṇa*, *Peṭakopadesa*, too, deals with *Hāra Naya* and *Mūlapada* and is intended for guidance through thte canon. Thus *Nettippakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa* are similar in contents, methodology and also in the case of intended purpose. Though the scholars assign both treatises more or less to the same period, they have no consensus as regards which of the treatises is anterior. Hardy[3] observes that *Peṭakopadesa* seems to presuppose *Nettippakaraṇa* while *Lankananda*[4] feels that *Peṭakopadesa* is posterior to *Nettippakaraṇa* and points out that matters not discussed in the *Nettippakaraṇa* are taken up in the *Peṭakopadesa*. Winterniz[5] too considers *Peṭakopadesa* as a continuation of *Nettippakaraṇa*. Barua[6] also hold the same view. An examination of the methodology followed in the *Nettippakaraṇa* shows, that it has not followed the word analysis system seen in the subsequent commentaries. *Nettippakaraṇa* has adopted a different methodology in order to elucidate the *Dhamma* i. e. by way of *Hāras* (connected chains) *Nayas* (modes of inspection) and *Mūlapadas* (main ethical topics). It is clear that the methodology proposed is to capture the Buddha's teaching into identified instrumetnal areas or to an identified plan and convey the meaning without resorting to a word to word explanation process. At the very beginning of the treatise, it is seen that the methodology to be followed is presented thus :

Solasāhārā Netti pañcanayā sāsanassa pariyetthi
aṭṭhārasa mūlapadā Mahākccānena niddiṭṭha

Mahākaccāna has shown sixteen *Hāras* (connected chains) five Nayas (modes of inspection) and eighteen *Mūlapadas* (main root topics).[7] The treatise has two broad divisions, namely, *Sangahavāra* and *Vibhāgavāra*. *Sangahavāra* gives the conspectus of the whole treatise and the *Vibhāgavāra* presents the systematic treatment of the subject.

The *Vibhāgavāra* is, again, divided into three main divisions *Uddesavāra*, *Niddesavāra* and *Paṭiniddesavāra*. *Uddesavara* presents a bare statement of the thesis or a table of contents. The *Niddesavāra* specifies the import or definitions, the theses to be treated in detail next. *Paṭiniddesavāra* elucidates and elaborates the scheme.

The *Paṭiniddesavāra* has four sub-divisions *Hāravibhaṅga*, *Harasampata*, *Nayasamuṭṭhana* and *Sāsanapaṭṭhāna*. It is under *Paṭiniddesavāra* that the proper treatment of the subject begins. The sixteen *Hāras* or connected chains are *Desanāhāra* (method of Instruction). *Vicayahāra* (the method of enquiry).

[2] Buddhadatta thinks, that as there is no mention of the *Abhidammapiṭaka* in the *Nettippakarana*, it would have been composed prior to the *Abhidammapiṭaka* (Buddhadatta A. P. *Pali Literature* (Sinhala script) Colombo 1966 p. 138)

[3] *Nettippakarana*, Ed. Hardy E., PTS., London, 1961, Introduction XIX.

[4] *Petakopadesa* (Sinhala script), Buddhajayanti Edition cited by Lankananda L., Introduction XII.

[5] Winterniz, M. *History of Indian Literature* (English translation by Ketkar and Kohn H.), University of Calcutta, 1933. Vol. II. p. 183).

[6] *Petakopadesa*-Barua (PTS) p. III.

7 Ñānamoli translated *Hāra* as conveying *Naya* as guide lines and *Mulapada* as root terms. The sixteen *Hāras* as *Teachings, Investigation, a Construing, Footings, Characteristics, a Fourfold array, a Convertion, an Analysis, a Reversal, Synonyms, Descriptions, way of Entry, a Clearing up, Terms of expression Requisites, a co. ordination* respectively (Bhikkhu Ñānamoli, Guide, PTS. 1977, p. 1-5)

Yuttihāra (the method of establishing connection in groups), *Padaṭṭhānahāra* (the method of teaching with reference to the fundamentals) *Lakkhanahāra* (the method of determining implications by characteristic marks), *Catuvyūhāra* (the method of fourfold array), *avatthāra* (the cyclical method), *Vibhattihāra* (the method of classification), *parivattanāhāra* (the method of transformation) *Vevacanāhāra* (the method of synonyms), *Paññattihāra* (the method of determining signification), *Otaranaāhāra* (the method of descending steps), *Sodhanāhāra* (the method of rectification), *Adhitthānahāra* (the method of detemining position), *Parikkhārāhāra* (the method of discriminating causal relations) and *Samāropanāhāra* (the method of attribution). Under the *Hāravibhanga* analysis the sixteen *Haras* are individually taken and discussed, citing quotations from the *suttas*.

After *Hāravibhanga, Hārasampāta* treatment is commenced. *Hārasampata* is dependent on the *Haras* and its purpose is to present the projections or main moral implications of the *Hāras*. Here too all the sixteen *Hāras* are dealt in the same order. *Desanahara sampāta* : It is said in *Desanāhāra sampāta* tha Māra invades only a mind, which is based on false beliefs, on idleness etc. *Vicaya Hārasampāta* : Here it is said that craving (*tanhā*) is of two kinds, *Kusala* and *Akusala*. One leads to *Nibbāna* and the other to birth and suffering (*samsāra*) etc. In the *Yuttihārasampāta* it is stated that sloth, stupor and misery disappear from him who is well protected in mind etc. In *Padatthāna hāra, sampnta* and *Lakkahaṇa-hāra sampāta* the *Padaṭṭhānas* (reasoning) are described as belonging, to one who is well restrained in mind, word and action etc. In *Catuvyuhāra Sampata, Āvattahārasampāta, Vibhattihārasampāta* etc. a great stress is laid on the right perceptions, mindfulness and kusala deeds, which lead to the knowledge of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*.

The five *Nayas* (modes of inspection) consist of the following ways of viewing things : (1) *Nandiyāvatta* (2) *Tipukkala* (by triple lotus) (3) *Sīhavikkīlita* (the lion like sports) (4) *Disālocana* (broad vision) and (5) *Ankusa* (focussing).

The eighteen *Mūlapada* (main ethical topics) comprise of nine *Kusalas* and nine *Akusalas*. The nine *Akusalas* are : *Tanhā* (thirst), *Avijjā* (ignorance), *Lobha* (covetousness), *Dosa* (hatred), Moha (delusion), *Subhasanna* (false idea of purity), *Niccasaññā* (false idea of permanence), *Attasaññā* (false idea of personal identity) etc. The nine *Kusalas* are *Samatha* (tranquility), Vipassana (insight), *Alobhā* (absence of covetousness), *Adosa* (absence of hatred), *Amoha* (absence of delusion), *Asubhasaññā* (idea of impurity) *Dukkasaññā* (idea of discordance), *Aniccasaññā* (idea of impemanence) and *Anattasaññā* (idea of non identify). For a more detailed account of *Hara, Naya* and *Mūlapada*, the reader may refer to B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, Vol. II. p. 344-351) and Ñāṇamoli, *The Guide*, Introduction XXIX. ff).

The commentary to *Nettippakaraṇa* has been composed by the celebrated commentator Dhammapā la of Badaratittha Vihāra. It is noted that the other commentaries assigned to Dhammapāla carry the special name *Paramatthadīpanī* but *Nettippakaranatthakathā* is not given a similar name. Whoever may be the commentator, it is seen that he is making a great effort to attach much authenticity and credibility to the *Nettippakaraṇa*. He is trying to explain why a *Nidāna* (origin) is not given in the case of the *Nettippakaraṇa* while even the *suttas* assigned to the *Sāvakas* (disciples of the Buddha) such as *Subhasutta, Ananganasutta* etc. carry *Nidānas*. The commentator argues that some of the expositions are either attributed to the Buddha or to his disciples, such as the *Dhammapada*, the *Niddesa*, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, which do not carry *Nidānas*. He further points out that the *Nidānas* have been uttered by the disciples such as Ven. Ananda (*Dhammabhāṇḍāgāraka*) and Ven. Upali etc. He says that, similarly the *Nettippakaraṇa* too, was uttered by a great disciple. Therefore he says that leaving aside the thera (the author of the *Nettippakaraṇa*), this should be examined in other ways; and questions as to the purpose of searching for a *Nidāna*. One should search for the meaning to see whether it contradicts the text (Pāli) or the Commentaries ; Like *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and *Niddesa* there is no separate *Nidana* in this case. The commentator also replies, if some one were to ask, "How does one come to know that this (*Nettippakarana*) has been uttered by a disciple and approved by the Buddha." In reply to such a question he says : "there is no other guage than the Text (Pāli) itself. If it does not disagree with the four *Mahāpadesas* (four guide lines) that is sufficient".

All these arugments and explanations show that there have been some who did not accept its authenticity. It is observed that the *Nettippakarana* is not included among the canonical books handed down by the dwellers of *Mahāvihāra* in *Anuradhapura*., nor is it included in the list of books mentioned by Buddhaghasa (*DA*. I. p. 17).

Utilitywise, too, the commentator attaches a very high position to the *Nettippakarana*, when he says : "*Nahi Netti upadesasan nissayena vinā aviparitasuttatthāvabodho sambhavati*. (It is not possible to understand the undistorted meaning of the *suttas* without the advice of the *Nettippakaraṇa*" (*Nettippakarana with extracts of the commentary* (*PTS*. p. 195). The commentator does not stop there. He further adds that all the exegesis of the *suttas* belong to *Netti* instructions, the *Netti* is of *sutta* origin, and the *suttas* originate from the Buddha (*Sabbā hi Suttassa atthasamvaṇṇanā Nettippadesāyatta, Netti ca suttappabhavā, suttaṃ Sambuddhappabhavanti* (*loc cit*).

Malalasekara is of the view that the *Nettippakarana* as well as *Kaccāyana* Grammer were not known to Buddhaghosa[8]. Hardy says that it is not certain whether Buddhaghosa was aware of the *Nettippakarana*[9]. But there is sufficient evidence in Buddhagho'sas commentaries indicating that he consulted the *Nettippakaraṇa*. While commenting on the *Mūlapariyāyasutta* of the, *Majjhimanikāya*, Buddhaghosa refers to the *Nettippakaraṇa* thus : *Evam Nettiyam Lakkhano nāma Hāro vutto, Tassa vasena yasmā catusu bhūtesu gahitesu upādārupam pi gahitam eva* (*MA*. I. p. 37) It is significant that the *Nettippakaraṇa* has quoted from a large number of unknown sources. Bhikkhu *Nānamoli* has detected 65 such quotations 37 verses and 28 prose are of *Suttapitaka* type[10]. Lankananda, L. has observed that when quoting from the *Suttapiṭaka*, the author of the *Netti* has mostly preferred *Samyuttanikāya* and his instances of quoting from the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima Nikaya* are very few, but has quoted from the *Udāna*, the *Dhammapada*, *the Jātaka*, *the Anguttara Nikāya*, *Itivuttaka and Vimānavatthu*, too. Lankananda says that the fourteen verses on the future Pacceka *Buddha* named *Vatamsaka* (*Netti* p. 138) he was unable to trace any where i nthe known scriptures[11].

The commentator Dhammapāla identifies the *Nettippakarana* as a commentary on the *Navangasatthu Sāsana* (Buddha's nine fold teachings). But it is difficult to compare it with those commentaries that came out subsequently, during the commentarial period, where a different commentarial system has been followed. It will not be of much assistance to beginners, but to those already familiar with the *Tipitaka*. It is evident that the commentators like Buddhaghosa have consluted it and it has its influence over their commentaries. Therefore the *Nettippakarana* could be regarded as a forerunner of the commentaries, a treatise which provided the guidelines for the commentators. Thus the *Nettippakaraṇa* (as well as the *Peṭakaopadesa*) represent a stage half way between the canon and the commentaries, in the process of the development of Pāli commentarial literature.

The *Nettippakaraṇa* has been edited in the Roman Character by E. Hardy and Published by the *PTS*. in 1902. Two English translations are extant, one by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the title "Book of Guidance" and the other by Bhikkhu Nanamoli under the title the "Guide" (*PTS*. in 1977). A *ṭīkā*, sub commentary on the *Nettippakarana aṭṭhakathā* has been written by a Burmese monk, Samantapala, in 1575 A. C.

Bibliography

1. Hardy E. The *Nettippakarana* with Extract from Dhammapala Commentary *PTS*. London, 1961.
2. *Nettippakarana* (Sinhala Script), Buddha Jayanti Edition by Lankananda L., Colombo, 1980.
3. *Nettippakaraṇa aṭṭhakathā* (Sinhala Script) Edited by Widurupola Piyatissa (Simon Hewā vitārana Bequest), Colombo, 1921.
4. *Peṭakopadesa* (Sinhala script), Buddha Jayanti Edition, Edited by Lankananda L., Colombo, 1983.
5. Law B. C., *History of Pali Literature* Vol. II, Regan Paul. Trench Trubner, London, 1933.
6. Nānamoli – *The Guide*, *PTS*. London, 1977.

K. Arumasiri.

[8] Malalasekera, G. P. *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958 p. 184.
[9] *Nettippakaraṇa*, Ed. Hardy, E. (*PTS*) London, 1961. Introduction, p. XIV-XV.
[10] Bhikkha Nānamoli. *The Guide* (*Nettippakaraṇa*) PTS., London, 1977. Introduction p. IV.
[11] *Nettippakarana* (Sinhala Script), Edited Lankananda L., Introduction p. XV

NIBBĀNA. There is no doubt the Pali Buddhist term *Nibbāna*, as much as its Indian Sanskrit parallel *Nirvāna*, denotes in general the highest spiritual attainment in religious culture. For example, the union of the individual self or *pratyag-ātman* with the divine *parāmātman* in the *Bhagavadgītā* (Section II. verse 72) would be referred to as *Brahma-nirvānam*. All these religious creeds hold this state to be an unsurpassed blissful one, beyond which there is none better. The Buddhists refer to this as *nibānam paramam sukkam* that Nirvāna is the highest bliss. In it one discovers the desired peace and tranquility. Buddhists speak of it as (*anuttaram santivarapadam pariyesamāno* = searching for the unsurpassed state of peace). The Bodhisatta himself refers to it so in the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (*M.* I. 163)

What each religious creed believed this to be seems problematic and open to diverse interpretations. Even within different schools of Buddhist thought, interpretations as to what *Nibbāna* is are qualitatively different, one from the other. This is more so when one attempts to find etymological explanations for the word. Etymology apart the word has come to denote *an ultimate state of peace tranquility*. That is why its past participial derivative form in *nibbuta* very broadly means tranquilized, peaceful and blissful. Note uses *nibbutā nūna sā mātā yassā yaṃ idiso* (Tranquilized indeed in the mother ...whoever has such a...) in the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*.

Coming back to Buddhist religious thinking itself, we feel that *Nibbāna* stands polarized to the concept of *Samsāra*. As *Samsāra* stands for the ceaseless continuance (*samdhāvati samsarati*) from birth to death and death again and again, Nibbāna is undoubtedly the joyous termination of this painful process which is referred to as *nibbuti* (*nir+vṛti=nibbuti*=no more rolling on. It is derived from the root *vrt/vaṭṭam na vaṭṭati* = to roll on, turn) In *Nibbāna*, this *Samsāric* process of rolling on ceases - *yattha vaṭṭam na vaṭṭati* (S I.15). This we believe is the primary and fundamental scope of *Nibbāna*. Also note the statement with the parallel meaning in *nā paraṃ itthattāyā ti pajānāti* which is ascribed to every arahant on his attainment of this final goal. The Buddha himself is said to have claimed, on becoming the Buddha, that this is his last birth and that he is not going to be born again (*ayaṃ antimā jāti natthi dāni punabbhavo 'ti*). We believe that this is what well and truly happens in *Nibbāna*. And that, while one still exists here and now in flesh and blood, as the Bodhisatta himself did at the age of thirty-five. What better fulfillment of an aspiration could here for a Buddhist? We would therefore find in the word *nibbuti* the *etymologically justified best expression* for this achievement in *Nirvāna*. Not being again is only possible where the wheel of the life turns no more (*yattha vaṭṭam na vaṭṭati*). We have this idea of *nibbuti* as the equivalent of *nibbāna* clearly expressed in *laddhā mudhā nibbutiṃbhunja māna* at *Sutta Nipāta* v. 228. Also *Udāna* p. 75, where the Buddha, hinting to Venerable Sariputta about Lakuntakabhaddiya's enlightenment i. e. termination of this Samsāric continuance, uses this same phraseology. Note the beauty of the following usage.

> *Acchijji vaṭṭaṃ byagā nirāsam Visukā sarita na sandati. Chinnam vaṭṭaṃ na vattam. Es. 'ev' anto dukkhassā ti.*

Such explanations as the above come from viewing life in *Samsāra* and release therefrom in *Nirvāna* as active dynamic processes propelled or ceased to propel by humans themselves. (Note - also here the use of the word *nirvṛti* in *Saddharmapundarika Sutra*'s statement *Pratyātmikiṃ nirvṛti kalpayāmah* is undoubtedly for this final release in Nirvana).

The form *nibbāna* (*i. e.* verbal noun meaning 'blowing away' or 'blowing off') itself gives us yet another vibrant active aspect of this process of release. Qualitatively this seems very closely related to the form of the termination of the 'process of rolling' on which is referred to as *vaṭṭati*. This latter word is *nibbanti* (*nir*+root *va/vāti* = *nibbāti*-blows off, blows away). See the very powerful expression at *Suttanipāta* verse 235 where it says that "These wise persons get blown off (away from *Samsāra*) into the tranquility of *Nirvāna*) like the lamp whose flame goes off (*nibbanti dhirā yathā yaṃ padāpo*)" Here we would take the verb *nibbanti* as an *intransitive verb* which

means that the 'lamp goes off or gets blown off'. Likewise in the *Therigathā*, we meet Theri Patācārā- (not the mis-identified Their Kisāgotami. See *Therigā thā* verses 219 to 223 for this correction) who tells us, without any ambiguity, that in the attainment of her enlightenment, her mind was liberated (freed from *samsāra*-binding defilements) like the going off of the flame of the lamp (*padīpass 'eva nibbānam vimukkho ahu cetaso, Therigātha v. 116*). A process that once existed has now ceased to be. In this concept of getting *blown off* too, we have a very clear pic'''re of what happens in the process of moving out from *Samsāra* to *Nirvāna*. It is the very cessation of a seen and known process. resulting in a total removal of what once did exist. The negative result of this is declared to be very real by the Buddha himself in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* where he says, "No gods or Brahmas will ever track the mind of a liberated disciple, saying, "here lies perched his consciousness "(*Evam vimutta-cittaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhuṃ sa-Indā devā sa-Brahmaka sa-Pajāpatikā anvesaṃ nadhaigacchanti idaṃ nissitaṃ tathāgatassa viññanan ti* (*M*. I. 140). The reason for this is that the *nibbānic* being has, in this very life itself, gone beyond time-space realities (*Taṃ kissa hetu. Ditthev āhaṃ dhamme tathāgataṃ ananuvejjo ti vadami. loc. cit*). It is not possible for us not to make mention here to the very cryptic injunction of the Buddha to Bāhiya Dāruciriya which is recorded at *Udāna* p. 8. where the *overriding of time-space concepts in Nirvāna* appears to be clearly indicated. It is indeed an extremely subtle point of doctrine to grasp. But Bāhiya is seen grasping it with commendable wisdom. See what the Buddha himself says about Bā hiya's achievement. *Pandito Bhikkhave Bāhiyo Daruciriyo paccapādi dhammassā/nudhamman. Na ca maṃ dhammādhikaranaṃ viheseti, Parinibbuto bhikkhave Bāhiyo Dārucīriyo ti*. This is what it means: As a wise person indeed did Bahiya get at the essence of the *dhamma*. On account of *dhamma* deliberations, he did not make me weary. Bāhiya Daruciriya has died as a fully enlightened person. Explaining further the religio-philosophical (or metaphysical, if you like) import of this situation, the Buddha himself tells Bahiya that on "reaching the Nibbanic state" (*i. e.* when one does not push cognitive or perceptive processes like seeing (*diṭṭhe*) hearing (*sute*), feeling (*muta*) and

apprehending (*viññāta*) to be anything more than the very process itself, then one ceases to think in terms of here, there or anywhere. This makes end of suffering.

Conceptual alignments with *Nibbana*, detected and discovered in Buddhist texts, possibly over the centuries, have led to the presentation of several more explanations and interpretations as to what *nibbāna* is. In a creed which emphasizes that *Samsārā* is the very natural outcome of the activity of craving or *tanhā* (*Anamataggā yam bhikkhave samsāro avijja-nivaranā nam sattānaṃ tanhā-samyojanānaṃ sandhavataṃ samsarataṃ* S. II. 178) it is natural to look upon Nirvāna as 'where *tanha* ends' i. e. *tanhakkhaya*. Urging the Aryan disciple to aim at termination of *tanhā* as his spiritual goal, the Buddha admonishes Ayasmā Upasiva in the following words : *Tanhakkhayaṃ nattamahābhipassa* = Day and night look up to the termination of craving as your ideal (*Sn.* 1070)

Apparently sensing this affinity between *tanhā* and *nibbāna*. the Buddhists also strive to work out an etymologically acceptable explanation of *nibbāna* in relation to *tanhā*. They take a form *vāna* to mean craving or *tanha* and propose an explanation as *ni* (or *nir*) = not, away from + *vanā*=craving. The Commentary to the *Itivuttaka* reference quoted below says : *Vānam vuccati tanhā Nikkhantaṃ vānato natthi vā ettha vānam imasmim vā adhigate vānassa abhā vo : i nibbānam*. In other words, *Nirvāna* is where one has moved away from craving or where craving does not exist any more. *Paramatthadipanī* eleborates it fi rther as (.... *vāna-sankhātā ya tanhā yā ti. Nikkhantattā nissattattā. Paramatthadīpanī*).

To us, this explanation is no more correct or incorrect than the attempted etymological explanation of the word *bhikkhu as samsāre bhayam ikkhati ti bhikkhu* (=He who sees fear or danger is Samsaric existence is a *bhikkhu*). It certainly does mean a great deal. We certainly know of the existence of the word *vāna*, together with *vanatha*, both meaning desire, craving as in the uses *Nikkamo nibbāno natho* (Sn. verse 1131) *Nibbanā hotha bhikkavo* (*Dhp.* v. 283) and *samasaggā vanath ojāto* (*Iti*. p. 70). We discover the most impressive and most convincing uses of the

word *vanatha* in the sense of craving or sensory attachment in the following verse in the Vangisa Thera collection :

aratiṃ ratiṃ ca pahāya sabbaso gehasitañ ca vitakkaṃ
vanathaṃ na kareyya kuhiñ ci nibbanathā avanatho sa hi bhikkhu

(*Thag*. v. 1214)

Nibbāna-dhātu- In passing, it seems also necessary to refer here to the existence in some Buddhist texts of a concept of *nibbāna-dhātu*. It is said that there are two categories or elements which are referred to as *dhātu* into which *nibbāna* could be divided. In a style, which in our opinion is not very characteristic of early Buddhist thinking, the attempt at dividing, classifying and categorizing religious and philosophic concepts seems to reach here even upto *nibbāna*. the *Itivuttaka* (p. 38 f) speaks of two distinct categories of *nibbana* as *sa-upādisesa and anupādisesa* (*Dve mā bhikkhave nibbānadhātuyo, Katamā dve. Saupādisesā ca nibbānadhātu anupādisesā ca nibbānadhātu*) Here one notices two bases of division of *nibbāna*. The section in prose deals with a qualitative difference in the two categories.

i. The *nibbānic* individual, i e. the *arahant* (*arahaṃ hoti khīnāsavo vusitavā katakaraṇiyo ohitabhāro anuppattasadattho parikkhīṇa-bhavasaññojano sammadaññā vimutto*) is said to possess his five sense organs intact or undamaged (*avighātattā*) and therefore to experience (*paccanubhoti*) all sensations, pleasant and unpleasant (*manāpāmanāpaṃ paccanubhoi sukhadukkhaṃ paṭisaṃvedeti*) and become aware of pleasure and pain. His elimination of *rāga dosa moha*, (i. e. on becoming an arahant), and for this reason apparently of experiencing sensations, is said to be at the level of *sa+upādisesa-nibbāna-dhātu*.

But we fail to see here how the left-over-faculty of sensory experience (pleasant and unpleasant) in the arahant could be labelled as *sa+upadi+sesa*. If the word -*upādi* here is derived from the word *upādāna* (*upa+a+root dā/dadāti*) which means - to grasp (i. e. grasping at life, leading to continuance in Samsāra ; we maintain that it cannot be said of a *nibbānic* individual, because *upādāna* which must invariably lead to another existence (*upadāna paccayā bhavo*) is already eliminated at the level of becoming an arahant.

The use of this derivative word *upādi* from its original *upadāna* in the *Paṭiccasamuppadā* (as in *Upādāna-paccayā-bhavo*) is vitally important here. We insist that in any context, *upādāna* must imply the connection between two life phases in *bhava*. By no stretch of imagination can we accept the *Itivuttaka* Commentarial explanation that *Upādi* here means the five aggregates or *khandhapañacakam* of this life which has been derived as a result through craving -*Tattha tanhādihi phalabhāvenā upādiyati ti upādi. Khandhapañcakam*)

ii. The *Itivuttaka* introduces the second category of *anupādisesā nibbānadhātu* as follows:

When the arahant, described exactly as above, does not delight in any sensory experience in this very life (*sabba-vedayaitāni anabhinanditāni*) they are said to cool off or cease to exist (*siti bhavissanti*). Such a bhikkhu is said to be in the state of *anupādisesā nibbānadhātu*.

Unmistakably this classifications assumes two stages, a first and second as it were (as against two different types), in the life of the same arahant, packed within one life time. The two are clearly progressive the second implying a higher and more serene state than the first. The second one necessarily implies and upgrading over the first, for he has to get beyond his left over *upādi+sesa*.

If they imply two different types, they necessarily indicate two different grades of arahants, at two different points of time, an earlier lower grade and a later higher one.

On the other hand, the accompanying metrical portion of the *Itivuttaka* which is closely associated with the prose gives a completely different picture. We are inclined to believe that the merical version is

the earlier and more authentic. While the classification of the prose section had essentially a qualitative differentiation , the metrical note stresses only a temporal one, one of time phase only ; of an earlier stage in life (while living) and a later one, after the death of the same arahant. This gives us a feeling that the Buddhists are apparently trying here, and we believe for no valid reason, to offer a parallel to the Indian twin concept of release of *Jivan mukta* (in this very life) and *videha mukta* (in the next life, of the self same person, after separation from his physical body at death, and on union with *paramātman*).

This is what the metrical portion of the text (*PTS*, p. 38-9) says :

Saupadisesa : One state bears fruit here and now (*Ekā hi dhātu idha ditthadhammikā*) with *upadi* left over but the lead to existence terminated (*aupādisesā bhavañettisamkhayā*)

Anupādisesa is of the life beyond (*ampādisesāpana Samparāykā*) wherein all existences totally ceased to be (*yambi mirujjhanti bhavāni sabbaso*)

But the tradition of early Buddhist *suttas* like the *Satipatthāna Sutta* (*M.* I. 1.63) and *Kitagiri Sutta* (*M.* I. 481) of the *Majjhima Nikāya* forbids us from accommodating this kind of what we believe to be unwarranted divisions and classification within the straightforward teaching of early Buddhism. Both these *suttas*, while speaking of gradatioins on the spiritual ascent, tell us only of two possibilities, namely the highest and the very next. i .e. full enlightenment (*aññā*) in this very life and escape from *Samsara*, or one more birth to be gone through (*anāgamitā*) there being left-over upadisese (....*dvinnam phalānam aññataram phalam pātikantham ; ditthe va dhamme añña, sati vā upādisese anāgāmaitā*. Both quotions are in the *Maijjhima Nikaya*, at the places referred to above). These references also occur in many places in the *Anguttara Nikāya*.

In both these instances, we are convincingly told that any residual karmic force, categorically referred to as *upādi* (found within one =*sati vā upādisese*) prevents release from Samsāra. How then can there be any *nibbanadhatu* with *upādi* + *sesa* ?

We have one more reference related to this subject from the *Suttanipāta* on which we like to comment here (*Sn.* pp. 59-62, vv. 343-358)

On the death of his teacher Nigrodhakappa, Venerable Vamgisa was in doubt whether his teacher, at the time of his death, had reached his Nirvana or not. The word used by him for this is *parinibbuto* (*parinibbuto nu kho me upajjhayo udāhu no parinibuto ti. Sn. p.* 59) We are certain that the word *parinibbuto* is generally used to refer to the physical death of a person who has attained full enlightenment or *aññā* i. e.*Nirvāna*. At *D.* III. 55 the word *parinibbuto* is however used even with reference to the living Buddha (*Parinibbuto so parinibbānāya dhammam deseti - Udumbarikasihanāda Sutta*).

Later on in the metrical portion of this *sutta*, Vangisa is seen putting this same question to the Buddha somewhat differently. He wishes to know whether "pursuing his life of *brahmacariya*, his teacher reached Nirvāna or whether he is left with residual *upādi*" (*Yadatthiyam bramacariyam acari Kappāyano kacci ssa tam amogham. Nibbayi so udahu saupadiseso, Yathā vimutto ahu tam sunoma S.* V. 354)

Here we are immediately reminded of the statement of the *Majjhima Nikāya* quoted earlier *Ditthe va dhamme añña sati* va *upādisese anāgamita*. We feel the real question here is whetehr "one is fully liberated in this life or has to be born again."

The Buddha' reply to Vangisa makes us feel that the Buddha also understood it the same way. The Buddha's reply is : "Here and now he has completely cut off his greed for this self, the stream of evil which has been flowing for long. He has completely crossed birth and death. (*Acchecchi tanham idha nāmaarupe - iti Bhagavā - Kanhassa sotam digharattānusayitam, Atāri jātimaranam asesam* Sn. v. 355). This answer of the Buddha, we must confess, has for us a more specific early *Sutta* tradition refering for *upādisesa*.

Whatever or wherever be its origin, this theme of *Saupādisesa* and *Anupādisesa* is latterly seen to be popularly dwelt upon and elaborated in several places in the *Anguttara Nikaya*.

1. The Buddha is supposed to have passed away through *anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā Idha tathā gato anupadisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbuto* ti. A II. 3240.

Are we prepared to say there that the Buddha, at the age of thirty-five attained only the *saupadisesa-nibbana-dhātu* ?

2. Divinities reporting to the Buddha that some Bhikkuniyo reached their liberation as *Etā Bhante bhikkuniyo anupādisesā suvimutta* ti A. IV. 1604.

Are we to take as a report of their physical death ?

Qualitative attributes of Nibbāna :

Tanhakkhaya : Let us conclude with a brief study of the qualitative attributes of *Nibbāna*. There is no gainsaying the fact that *tanhā* perhaps looms largest in a study of Buddhism. It is logically so. The Buddha's primary message to the world was the presence of *dukkha* in the world and its elimination. He repeatedly said this in this manner. *Pubbe cāham bhikkhave etarahi ca dukkhañ c eva paññāpemi dukkhassa ca nirodham* (M. I. 140) the promulgation of the Four Noble Truths which primarily centers on this first assertion of the Buddha about *dukkha* and *nirodha* brings out in its further analysis *tanhā* as the cause or *samudaya* of *dukkha*. Therefore, we believe *tanhakkhaya* has to come as the most fitting epithet of Nibbāna.

We have already quoted the *Suttnipātā* reference which call upon the disciple to look upon the termination of *tanhā* as his spiritual goal (*tanhakkhayam nattamahābipassa* Sn. v. 1070) The Buddha's reply to Vangisa quoted above also offered termination of *tanhā* as the highest Nirvanic attainment (*acchecchi tanham idha nāmarūpe*) The Buddha gives Pingiya the same advice at Sn. 1123 -*Jahassu tanham apunabbhavāya*, Elimination of *tanha* therefore leads to the reduction of *Samsara*-building activity or *kamma-kkhaya* and that leads to the termination of *dukkha or dukkakkhaay*.

This thesis is worked out beautifully by the Buddha himself in great detail at *Samyutta Nikaya* V. 86-7, where he says that it is through the Seven Factors of Enlightenment : *Katamo ca bhikkhave maggo katamā ca patipadā tanhakkhayāya samvattati yadidam satta bojjhangā*.

He further elaborates it and says that each of these items has to be developed through the phase of *viveka* (disconnection) *virāga* (detachment) and *nirodha* (complete cessation). The process must also fructify in complete abandonment (*vossaggaparināmim*).

Nirūpadhi : In marked contrast to *tanhā* (or craving) which as a very active agency keeps beings tied to the process of Samsaric continuance (*tanhā-samyojanā nam*) we have *upadhi* which is viewed as a personal and already-collected substratum in *Samsara*, an underlyihng deposit. It is formed with the prefix *upa+root dha/dadhāti*=places, deposits, i. e. a product of craving (*tanhā*) or grasping at (*upādanā*) and accumulating. This is viewed as the submerged foundation for Samsāric build-up. Its presence guarantees Samsāric continuance, Its complete elimination or *upadhi-samkhaya* alone assures us of the availability of *Nirvāna*. In Nirvana one is completely freed of *upadhi* and Nirvāna is therefore referred to as *nirupadhi*.

Note the word of the *Itivuttaka* as to what *nirupadhi* is and how one gets to that state.

In whomsoever the defilements which foster Samsāric continuance are exhausted such a one is totally freed without any substratum left behind (*nirupadhi*). He is presently in his last physical form (*dhāreti antimam deham*) having crushed the entire host of Māra, the Evil One.

Bhavāsavo parikkhīno vippamutto nirupadhi
Dhāreti antimam deham jetvā māram savāhinim
It. p. 50

Dhammavihari.

NIBBIDĀ A word which ranks high in the religio-ethical system of Buddhist thinking, as invariably leading a disciple to liberation in Nirvāna. Literally it means 'not obtaining delight in (sensory gratification)'. It is best etymolgically derived from prefix *nir* = not + root *vid* / *vindati* = obtains, finds (i. e. sensory delight, satisfaction or gratification). Basically *nibbindati* must mean 'not finding delight or satisfaction in'. Therefore it seems also to have the extended meaning of 'dissatisfied with, disgusted of (carrying within it the further impregnated meaning of 'not finding it adequate or meaningful' as in the phrase *tam dhammam analankaritvā tasmā dhammā nibbijja pakkāmim* at M.I.165 where the Buddha-aspirant expresses his dissatisfaction with the teachings of his teachers Āḷāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta because they did not take him out-*anissaṭa*-of Samsāric cyclical continuance.).

Following our earlier observation about the word's religio-ethical significance, let us reproduce here its cognate use with two other supporting words *virāga* (detachment) and *vimutti* (release) which closely follow it. Note the following quote from the *Samyutta Nikāya* (*S.* II. 94) which speaks of an uninitiated ordinary worldling who is untutored in the *dhamma* (*assutavā puthujjano*) who would go through these three psychologically valuable stages or gradations of mind-reaction towards his physical body which is made up of the four great elements (*Assutavā bhikkhave puthujjano imasmim cātummahābhūtikasmiṃ kā yasmim nibbindeyya'pi virajjeyya 'pi vimucceyya 'pi loc.cit.*). The reason for this is given as 'that a person sees both the build up and the disintegration (*ācaya* and *apacaya*) of this four-element physical body as well as its acceptance and its laying aside (*ādāna* and *paṭinikkhepana*). This merely physical external observation associated with the body is considered adequate for the above reactions of *nibbidā* (dissatisfaction), *virāga* (detachment) and *vimutti* (liberation) in a person. But with penetrating philosophical subtlety this text further points out that an untutored worldling would still look upon this four-element body as his self (*attato upagaccheyya*). He would not look upon so about his mnd. The reason for this being that the body would still be seen as continuing to exist even a hundred years or more. But what is called *citta* (thought) *mano* (mind) and *viññāṇa* (consciousness) is something that comes, both by day and by night, into being as one thing and ceases to be as yet another thing (i. e. with no apparent persistent continuity).

Thus a wise man should reflect well on the causal genesis alone, namely that dependent on one thing another arises and upon the cessation of the former, the latter ceases to be. Namely that the life-generating stuff (as process or product) called *samkhāra* is brought about through *avijjā*, i. e. lack or absence of correct vision. Thus with this methodological approach begins the correct analysis of the human life process referred to as the Chain of Causal Genesis or *Paṭiccasamuppāda* which extends infinitely through *Samsāra*.

This particular *Samyutta Nikāya* text we have presented here sums up beautifully its teaching, saying that this kind of approach and the consequent vision (*evam passam*) leads a wise disciple to take a detached view with regard to one's five-aggregate-body -*pañcakkhandha*). This detachment or *nibbidā* leads to a total under-valuing or non-clinging (*virāga*) and that in turn to a complete liberation (*vimutti*) from one's leaning on to a notion of oneself. Here is the text : *Evam passam bhikkhave sutava ariyasāvako ru pasmim 'pi nibbindati vedanāya 'pi nibbindati saññā ya 'pi nibbindati sankhāresu 'pi nibbindati viññā ṇasmim 'pi nibbindati. Nibbindam virajjati. Virāgā vimuccati vimuttasmim vimuttamiti ñanam hoti. Khī nā jāti vusitam brahmacariyaṃ katam karaṇiyam nā paraṃ itthattāyā ti pajanāti. Ibid.* One notices in this context that *nibbidā* (*nibbidati*) or detachment from sensory gratification is invariably the gateway to final release in *Nirvāna*. That is why the constant injunction by the Buddha to his diciples to earnestly develop this attitude of detachment (*nibbidā-bahulo bhava. Thag. vv. 1223-5* and *Sn. v.* 340).

It is well worth taking a closer look at the above two contexts. Let us first glance at the verses of Thera Vangisa in the *Theragatha* (*Thag. vv.* 1223-5). The first verse No. 1223 really introduces us to the situation which necessitates the talk about *nibbidā*, i. e. restraint in or moving away from *kama*. Thera Vangisa refers to *kāma* within himself as a consuming fire (*kāmarā gena dayhāmi cittam me paridayhati*) and requests for its being put out (*sādhu nibbāpanam bruhi*). What a wonderful admonition follows this. In reply to this, it is said : "It is the perverse nature of your sense reactions that makes you burn within" (*saññāya vipariyesā cittam te paridahati*). It is further said : "Avoid taking things of the world as wholesome and lustfully gratifying" (*nimittam parivajjeti subham rā gūpasamhitam*). The final summing up is as follows :

"With a *totally unified mind*, learn to focus attention on the *unwholesome reality or the world*. May you have an awareness of your own physical being. *Be thou constantly detached*" (*asubhāya cittam bhāvehi ekaggam susamāhitam sati kāyagatā ty' atthu nibbidā -bahulo bhava*).

We are not unaware that the *Theragāthā* Commentary endeavours to place this apparent dialogue as being between Thera Vaṅgisa and his senior brother in the *Sāsana*, Thera Ānanda. But the depth of wisdom about the problem shown here and the penetrative analysis of it undertaken make us associate the whole episode with the Buddha himself. A similar admonition made by the Buddha to Venerable Rāhula in the *Suttanipāta* (*Sn*.vv.335-342) impresses us with an unmistakable closeness of analysis and instruction given to Vaṅgisa and Rāhula therefore leads us to believe that it is more appropriate in the hands of the Buddha.

Now let us go over to the Buddha, admonishing his son Rahula (*Sn*. vv. 335-342). He gives his young son a very comprehensive code for good living, leading up to Nirvāna. The inspiration and guidance is derived both from *the Suttas* and *the Vinaya*. Primarily *pabbajo* and the termination of Samsaric ills (*dukkhassantakaro*) are shown to be closely coupled. The Buddha is seen telling him that since he has left the household life and pleasures therein with conviction, he should endeavour to make an end of suffering.

Pañcakāmagune hitvā piyarūpe manorame
saddhāya gharā nikkhamma dukkhassantakaro
bhava, Sn. v. 337

Then the Buddha indicates to him all injunctions relating to monastic propriety like moderation in eating (*mattaññū hohi bhojane*), and limited desire for food, clothing, shelter and medicaments. Even the restraint with regard to the *Patimokkha* is specifically indicated (*samvuto patimokkhasmim*). In addition to these which are, more or less, semilegal *Vinaya* considerations, we get once again the more authentic and traditional psychoethical injunctions about attitudinal changes to the world one lives in which are derived fromt he *suttas*. There is considerable identity here between the verses of Theras Vaṅgisa and Rāhula. To Rāhula also, the Buddha delivers his basic injunction *nibbidābahulo bhava* = Be thou constantly detached from sensual pleasures (*Sn*. v. 340).

Note here the identities in the two sets of verses:

Vaṅgīsa : (Theragāthā)

nimittam parivajjehi subham rāgupasam hitam
asubhāya cittam bhāvehi ekaggam susamāhitam v.1224

sati kāyagatā ty' attha nibbidā bahulo bhava 1225

animittañ ca bhāvehi mānānusamujjaha tato mānābhisamayā upasanto carissasi. 1226

Rāhula : (Suttanipāta)

nimittam parivajjehi subham rāgūpasam hitam
asubhāya cittam bhāvehi ekaggam susamāhitam v.341

sati kāyagatā ty' atthu nibbidā bahulo bhava 340
animittan ca bhāvehi manānusamujjaha tato manābhisamayā upasanto carissasi 342

To whom shall we ascribe the authorship of these instructions, to the Buddha or to Ānanda or to both?

One should not fail here to observe the nearness of the term *nibbidā* to *nekkhamma-sankappa* which is the first of the three separate items of *saṅkappa* under *Samma-saṅkappa*. And we insist that *Sammā-sankappa* is the second successive item on the Noble Eightfold Path to which one steps in after gaining an insight or *sammā-diṭṭhi* into the Buddhist way of thinking (*āgato imam saddhammam*). In the Noble Eightfold Path too, *nekkhamma-saṅkappa* is more and no less than moving away from *kama-saṅkappa* or proneness to sensory gratification.

Thus invariably, *nibbidā* in Buddhist religious culture is no more and no less delay, reduction and finally moving away from gratification of sensory delights of the world or *kāma* with which humans are constantly seduced and enticed.

Dhammavihāri.

NICHIREN was born in the year 1222 in Awa, located in modern Chiba Prefecture. At the age of sixteen, he was ordained into the priesthood of the Tendai sect at a temple called the Kiyosumidera, located near his birthplace. At the age of thirty-two, after having travelled and studied in the major Buddhist centers of Kyoto and Nara, he established the Nichiren sect. Nichiren realized that the essence of the teachings of Gautama Buddha is to be found in the *Lotus Sutra*. He insisted that the mystic law of *Nam-myohōrengēkyo* (Devotion to the Mystic Law of Cause and Effect) contained within the *Lotus Sutra* is the one true law for the *Mappo* period (Latter Day of the Law), the present age in which the Buddhism of Gautama has lost its effect. Acting on the basis of this conviction, he devoted himself entirely to the propagation of that law. During his lifetime other Buddhist sects and the governmental authorities closely associated with them persecuted Nichiren for his work. His home was burned and he himself was ambushed, exiled once to the Izu Peninsula and again to the distant instant Sado off the Western coast of Japan, and ultimately sentenced to execution. He was miraculously saved from death just as the sentence was about to be carried out.

Seeing that his tribulations coincided with prophecies made in the *Lotus Sutra*, Nichiren was firmly convinced that the proof that he was the reincarnated Bodhisattva Jogyo, the leader of the Bodhisattvas of the Earth, who were prophesied to arise in the *Mappo* Period (Latter Day of the Law), the present age in which the Buddhism of Gautama has lost its effect. Acting on the basis of this conviction, he devoted himself entirely to the progagation of that law. During his lifetime other Buddist sects and the governmental authorities closely associated with them persecuted Nichiren for his work. His home was burned and he himself was ambushed, exiled once to the Izu Peninsula and again to the distant instant Sado off the Western coast of Japan, and ultimately sentenced to execution. He was miraculously saved from death just as the sentence was about to be carried out

Seeing that his tribulations with prophecies made in the Lotus Sutra, Nichiren was firmly conviced that they were proof that he was the reincarnated Bodhisattva Jogyo, the leader of the Bodhisattvas of the Earth, who were prophesied to arise in the Mappo Period to save mankind. (Jogyo is described in the fifteenth, or Yujuppon, chapter of the Lotus Sutra.) For this reason, he persevered in his religious activities in spite of all opposition. While in exile on the island of Sado, he declared the fact that he was the savior of the Mappo Period in two important works: On the Opening of the Eyes to True Buddhism (Kaimokūsho) written in 1272; and on the True Object of Worship in the Age in the Age of Mappo (Kanjinnohonzofisho), written in 1273.

After the sentence of exile was lifted in 1274, Nichiren was once again at liberty to pursue his religious tasks. From that timeonward, he devoted himself to systematizing his teachings for the sake of posterity. In 1279 he inscribed the Dai Gohonzon (Great Mandala), as the object of veneration for all mankind of the Mappo Period. After entrusting his teachings to his disciple Nikko, Nichiren passed away in 1282.

Nichiren's written works number about 400 items including on the opening of the Eyes to the True Buddhism, on the True Object of worship in the age of Mappo, The pacification of the Nation Through the Establishment of True Buddhism (Rissho Ankokuron), on the Selection of the Time for Buddhist Propagation (Senjisho), On the Buddha's Prophecy (Totaigisho), and numerous letters to his disciples.

Tomiya Akiyama

NICHEREN SHOSHU is the Buddhist sect that directly inherited the teaching of Nichiren. Daisekiji, the head temple of Nichiren Shoshu, founded in 1290 by Nikko, the successor of Nichiren, is located on the lower slopes of Mount Fuji in the Ueno district of Fujinomiya City, Shizuoka Prefecture, Japan. The present (1973) high priest, Nittatsu, is the sixty-sixth in the lineage descending from Nikko.

Owing largely to the vigorous membership campaings of the Soka Gakkai, the lay organization attached to Nichiren Shoshu, the sect has a Japanese membership of over ten million people, making it the largest organized Buddhist sect in Japan. In addition to its Japanese members, Nichiren Shoshu has followers in Europe, North America, Central America, South America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Africa. Its international character makes it one of the most unusual Buddhist sects in the world.

The Dai-Gohonzon, the major object of veneration inscribed by Nichiren in 1279, is housed in the Sho Hondo (Grand Main Temple) located at the Daiskiji and completed in 1972. The largest semi - rigid suspension-structure building in the world, the Sho Hondo is widely acclaimed for the way in which its architecture blends traditional motifs with modern technology.

Tomiya Akiyama.

NIDDESA : *Niddesa* is the eleventh book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, the fifth division of the *Suttapitaka* of the *Theravāda* canon. *Niddesa* from the verb *Niddisati* means "a descriptive exposition or explanation" suggests that the work belongs to the commentarial sector. It is an ancient commentarial work on the *Atthaka Vagga*, *Pārāyana vagga* and the *Khaggavisāna Sutta*, presently included in the *Suttanipāta*. Although *Niddesa* is a commentary it is included in the *Khuddakanikāya* and given canonical status. *Niddesa* consists of two main parts *Mahāniddesa* the exegesis of the *Attahakavagga* and *Cullaniḍdesa* the exegesis of *Pārāyana vagga* and the *Khaggavisāna sutta*. But *Niddesa* has been considered as one work, according to the tradition. In some traditional lists only *Mahāniddesa* is mentioned and in some other it appears as *Niddesa*. Yet it should be understood that both refer to *Niddesas* consisting of *Mahāniddesa* and *Cullaniddesa*. There are very rare lists, which contain both *Mahāniddesa* and *Cullaniddesa* and the scholars consider them as of later origin.

Niddesa and Navaṅga satthu sāsana : The commentators (*Atthakathācariyā*) have examined as to which limb of the "nine-fold limbs" (divisions) *Navangasatthu sāsana*) of the Buddha's teaching should *Niddesa* fall. But it appears that no consensus has been reached on the issue. the commentator Buddhaghosa (*DA*. I p. 231) has considered that *Niddesa* should be included in the *suttanga* of *Navangasatthu sāsana*. Ven Sāriputta (12th century A. C. Polonnaruwa period), the author of the sub commentary (*ṭikā*) of *Samantapāsādikā* has discussed the issue as to which *Anga* of *Navangasatthu sāsana* should *Niddesa* be included. Ven. Sāriputta says that Buddhaghosa and Dhammapala both have considered that *Niddesa* is included under *suttanga* in the *Navangasatthu sāsana*. He has further recorded that Ven. Upasena the author of the commentary to *Mahā niddesa* holds the view that *Niddesa* should be put under "*gāthā* and *veyyākarana*" of *Navangasatthu sāsana*. He argues that as there are, questions and answers in certain places of *Niddesa*, there is certain amount of justification in putting it under *veyyakārana* (exposition) and he questions as to the justification to put it under *gātha*.[1] It should be clear that the majority agree to put it under *suttānga*. Ven. Upasena's view appears to have been his personal view. It is also evident that there have been some disputes over this text among the scholars of the past.

The antiquity of Niddesa : The Theravada tradition trace back the origin of *Niddesa* to the very lifetime of the Buddha. The traditional view is that it was preached by Ven. Sāriputta and has been rehearsed at all the three councils. But modern scholarship does not agree to attach such remote antiquity to it. *Atthaka* and *Pārāyna vaggas* on which *Niddesa* is composed are among the earliest discourses of the Buddha. They have been quoted when the Buddha was living.[2] Though *Atthaka Pārāyana vaggas* and the *Khaggavisāna sutta* are embodied at present in the *Suttanipāta* all scholars agree that *Niddesa* is anterior to *Suttanipāta*. It is thought that those two *vaggas* and *Khaggavisāna sutta* have been in existence as independent anthologies prior to them being accommodated in the *Suttanipāta*. It is presumend that *Niddesa* has been prepared for *Atthakavagga* and *Parāyāna vagga* and *Khaggavisāna sutta* before they were incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*. There is one more piece of evidence that lead to the same conclusion. It is seen that *Culaniddesa* does not contain the exegesis of the 46 *vatthugathas* (introductory verses) found at the beginning of the *Pa rāyanavagga* incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*. It is clear that *Niddesa* was written before the *Vatthugathās* were added to *Pārāyanavagga*. However, Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India* p. 188) thinks that *Suttanipāta* is anterior to *Niddesa*.

Scholars have identified the bulk of evidence within the *Niddesa* itself that conduce to the conclusion that it represents a later stratum of Buddhism.

Niddesa gives the names of cities and territories beyond the Indian frontier which were not known to the compilers of the early texts of the canon, such as Takkola, Takkasilā, Tambapanni, Tamalim, Bārukacca, Vanga, Surattha, Suvannabhumi, Allasanda and country of Yonas. (Some of the names in the list cannot be identified). It was under the patronage of the emperor Asoka that Buddhism was propagated in the surounding countries of India in the third century B. C. This points to a period in or after the 3rd century B. C. It is also seen that the monastic life was well established, when *Niddesa* was written.

The monasteries were fully equipped. The academic institutions such as *vijjāyatana*, *sippāyatana* and parivena were attached to the monasteries. The monks were well versed in *sutta* and *vinaya*. The reference is made to "Dhammakathika Bhikkhus". The elements of later development in Buddhology too are

[1] *Sāratthadipani Samantapasadika ṭika* Ed .B. Devarakkhita Colombo 1914, p. 80-81
[2] *S*. III p. 12, *A*. II pp 45, 390, 40

apparent "Nimmita" Buddha or created Buddha is found referred to. The first and second stanzas of *Culaviyuha sutta* and the first stanza of the *Magandiya sutta* have been preached by a "Nimmita Buddha" according to *Niddesa*. *Niddesa* presupposes the existence of the *Dhammapada*, the *Jātaka*, the *Itivuttaka*, the *Theragātha* and the *Udāna* of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. The scholars are of opinion that the texts of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* can easily be divided into two strata, one being early and the other late. The *Suttanipāta*, the *Itivuttaka*, the *Dhammapada*, the *Theragātha* (including the *Therigātha*) and the *jātaka* belong to the earlier strata. The *Khuddhaka pātha*, the *Vimāna vatthu*, the *Petavatthu*, the *Niddesa* the *Paṭisambhidā*, the *Apadāna*, th *Buddhavamsa* and the *Cariyapiṭaka* belong to the later stratum. Thus it is clear that *Niddesa* belong to the later stratum of the *Khuddada Nikāya*. Taking all facts into consideratin Abenayaka[3] concludes that the *Niddesa* might have been composed just before or after the Third Council.

Niddesa and Abhidhamma - It has been observed that interpretations definitions and explanations of the clauses and technical terms that *Niddesa* offers are of an abhidhammic nature. They agree completely with those of the early *Abhidhamma* books. *Niddesa* explained the relation between the '*citta*' and "*cetasika*" thus :

"*Ayam mano imāya pitiyā sahagato hoti sahajāto sansaṭṭho sampayutto ekuppādo ekānirodho ekavatthuko ekārammano*[4]. This is an Abhidhammic explanation. Such explanations are not found in the early four *nikāyas* but in the early *abhidhamma* texts. The term "Ābhidhammico" is found only in the *Niddesa* among the books in the canon. It is relevant to mention that, according to *Sumangalavilāsini* (D.A.I p. 15) the reciters of the *Dighanikāya* (*Dhigabhānakā*) maintain that, at the First council, after rehearsing the *abhidhamma piṭaka* the Theras rehearsed the *Jātaka*, the *Mahāniddeso*, the *Culaniddeso*[5] the *Paṭisambhidā maggo*, the *Suttanipāto*, the *Dhammapadam*, the *Udānam*, the *itivuttakam*, the *Vimānapetavatthu*, *Thera Theri gāthā* and attaached them to the *Abhidhammapitaka* naming them *Khauddakagantha* (small texts). It is presumed that the *Dhighābhaṇakas* thought that the *Niddesa* was akin to the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* and attached the *Niddesa* to the *Abhidhamma piṭaka* of course along with the rest of the texts mentioned. It had been observed that the Chinese translation of "Vimuktimagga" of Upatissa *magga*. But when quoting it is identified as from *Abhidhamma*. It is clear author of the *Vimukti magga* thought that these texts *Niddesa* and *Paṭisambhidamagga* as *Abhidhāmma* texts.[6]

Taking the above facts into consideration it is presumed that the *Niddesa* (along with the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*) represents a transitional period between *sutta* and *Abhidhamma*. However Mizuno[7] thinks early *Abhidhamma* books were already in existence in some for or at least in the course of growth by the time the *Niddesa* was composed. Accordingly *Niddesa* should belong to the latest part of the *Suttapiṭaka*.

Authorship : According to tradition the authorship of the *Niddesa* is ascribed to Ven. Sāriputta the Chief disciple of the Buddha. This attribution is found in Ven. Upasena's commentary to *Mahāniddesa* for the first time.

Sāriputto mahāpañño satthukappo jinatrajo
Dhamma cakkam vibhājetvā mahāniddesa abravi
(*Niddesaṭṭhakathā*)

But modern scholars do not agree with this attribution. Abenayaka[8] is of the view that since Ven. Sariputta is associated with the last *sutta* of the *Atthaakavagga*, the authorship of the *Niddesa* would have been attributed to ven. Sariputta. But there appears no sound foundatin for his view. But next he offers a more plausible argument. He says in the *Nika yas* analytical and descriptive discourses are attributed to Ven. Sariputta. It might have been the reason behind attributing the authorship of the *Niddesa* to Ven. Sariputta and it appears more acceptable. He further says the attribution of the *Niddesa* authorship to Ven. Sariputta might have been done in Sri Lanka by the *Majjhima bhānakas*, whose origin is traced back to the pupils of Ven. Sariputta.[9]

The background for its emergence and the style of composition : The antiquity of the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana vaggas* is undisputed and it represents

[3] Abenayaka Oliver "*A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikaya*" Colombo 1984, p. 99
[4] *Mahaniddesa* I (P. T. S.) p. 3
[5] Sinhala characters edition of *Sumangala vilāsini* has only *Niddesa*.
[6] *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. I. p. 67
[7] *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Loc. Cit.

earliest strata of the canon. Its language is archaic. The contents are sibtle and deep. It differs from the other sections of the canon in language and contents. As time went on the necessity for a commentarial assistance was badly felt in order to understand the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vagga*. It was the time when dissident sects emerged within the *sāsana* due to misinterpretation of the teachings of the Buddha. The Theravada doctrine had to be explained and established to prevent misinterpretation. The formal commentaries were yet in the embryo stage. It was to meet this challenge that the *Niddesa* emerged and a Maha Thera whose name is not known or some Maha theras collectively would have composed it. Apparently there would have been more than one reason to accommodate it in the canon. The deep subtle authentic teachings it deals with the great antiquity of the text it attempts to elucidate, and the inability to accommodate it among the formal commentaries may be some of them.

Though the *Niddesa* is primarily a commentary it differs very much from the formal commentaries that were written in and after 5th century A. C. It does not contain a word-to-word explanation. Instead it gives a long list of synonyms in order to explain the meaning of a word and the same synonyms are repeated every time the word occurs. The *Niddesa* attempts to give the idea intended, instead of explaining each word in a phrase. It does not contain aecdotes as in the formal commentaries. No grammatical terminology is found there. It quotes from the four *Nikāyas* as well as from the other *Khuddaka* texts. As already said it offers abhidhammic explanations. It is closer to a treatise (*pakaraṇa*) than to a commentary. The *Niddesa* is a land mark in the long history of development of the commentatrial literature of the southern school of Buddhism.

Rejection of the Niddesa by Mahasanghikas : *Dipavansa* a chronicle of Sri Lanka (4th century A. C.) has referred to the *Niddesa* in the account of the second council. The author of the chronicle goes on to describe how the expelled dissident monks formed into a new sect called the Mahasangikas and made their own canon breaking the original canon says :

"Parivāram atthuddhāram abhidhammappakaranam Paṭisambhidanca niddesam ekadesanca jātakam' Ettakam vissajjetvāna aññāni akarinsu te"

Rejecting so many (texts) *Parivāra* exegesis *Abhidhammappakarana Paṭisambhidā niddesa*, they made Another one. (*Dipavamsa* V. verse 37)

It should be clear that dissident sects did not accept *Niddesa* and it survived in the Theravada School of Buddhism.

The *Samantapāsādikā* the Vinaya commentary (Vin. A. III p. 695) contains significant information pertaining to the *Niddesa*. It was during the great famine "Beminitiyāsāya" circa 1st century A. C. where many monks perished due to lack of food. The Tripitaka was still not committed to writing but maintained by oral tradition. There was only one monk who knew the *Mahāniddesa* surviving. Mahatipitaka Thera the preceptor of Catunekāyika Tissa thera requested one Maharakkhita thera to learn Mahaniddesa from him. He refused saying that he is a monk with low virtue. But said Sir, if you stay with me while I learn from him. Mahatipitaka thera agreed. Maharakkhita thera learnt the *Niddesa* day and night from the monk with low virtues in the presence of Mahatipitaka Thera. Thereafter many learnt the Mahaniddesa from him. It shows that the timely action taken by Mahatipitaka thera saved the *Niddesa* from extincton.

Since the *Niddesa* was recognized as a canonical text it has been thought that it too needs a commentary, for all the canonical texts have commentaries. A commentary to the *Niddesa* (both *Maha* and *Cula*) named *Saddhammapajjotikā* was composed by Ven. Upasena in the 26th regnal year of the king Sirinivasa Sirisanghabodhi who is identified as Aggabodhi I (564-598 A. C.). The biography (Moratotavata) of Ven. Moratota Dhammakkhanda Mahānayaka thera during the reign of king Kirti Sri Rajasinghe (1747-80 A. C.) it is said that he edited the *Mahāniddesa* text which was found to be highly corrupted.

The *mahāniddesa* and the *Culaniddesa* has been edited and published separately by the *PTS*.

K. Arunasiri

NIGAṆṬHAS see JAINISM, MAHAVIRA, NIGAṆṬHANATHAPUTTA

NIGAṆṬHĀNĀTHAPUTTA see JAINISM, MAHAVIRA

* Abenayaka op. cit.
* Abenayaka op. cit.

NIGRODHA JĀTAKA (No.445) A king named Magadha, once reigned in Rajagaha. His son married a rich merchant's daughter, but she, because she was barren lost favour. Thereupon she pretended to be with child, and when her time drew near, she journeyed to her home with an old nurse who was in the secrect. On the way she found a child desered by its mother, and, greatly rejocing, she claimed it as her own. The child was the bodhisatta and was called Nigrodha. His father found for him two companinos: Sākha, son of a merchant, and Pottika, son of a tailor. These three grew up together and were educated in Takkasilā. In the course of their travels, while his companions lay sleeping, Pottika heard a cock say that whoever ate its fat would become king, the flesh of its body commander-in-chief, and the flesh near its bones treasurer. Pottika killed the cock, gave to Nigrodha the fat, to Sākha the flesh of the the body, while he himself ate the flesh near the bones. Immediatly after, men, in search of a successor to the throne of Benares, Chose Nigrodha, while the others accompained his as commander-in -chief and treasurer. One day Nigrodha, wishing to have his parents near him, sent Pottika to fetch them from Rājagaha. On the way back he called at Sākha's house, but Sākha, who had a grievance against him for having given the cock's fat to Nigrodha, insulted him. When Pottika reported this to Nigrodha, he wished to have Sa-kha killed, but Pottika intervened on his behalf.

The Story was related in reference to Devadatta's ingratitude. sākha is identified with Devadatta and Pottika with Ānanda (*J.*IV. 37ff; s.v.*DPPN*)

H.R. Perera.

NIGRODHĀRĀMA, name of two groves, mentioned in Buddhist literature. One of them was near Kapilavatthu, where a residence was provided for the Buddha when he visited the city in the first year after his enlightement (*MA*.II.61). It belonged to a Sākyan named Nigrodha, who gave it to the Order. In order to convince his proud kinsmen of his attainments, the Buddha performed there the Yamakapātihāriya, and , when, at the conclusion of the miracle, a shower of rain fell, wetting only those who wished to be wetted, he related to them the Vessantara Jātaka (*Vin*.I.82; J.I.88f; VI.479;BuvA. 22; Dhp.A.III.163; also Mhvu. III. 101, 107,114,138,141,179). It was during this visit that Maha-paja-pathi- Gotami- first asked permission for women to enter the Order. This was refused, and from there the Buddha went on to Veasāli- (*Vin*.II,253;*A*.IV.274). The Buddha stayed at the Nigrodhārāma on several there (eg.*Vin*.III, 235,244;IV.55,101,167,181,262,314). Various Sakyans (*S*.V. 369-78, 395-7, 403-4; *A*II.196; III.284; IV.220;V.83, 328,332,334 came to see the Buddha at the Nigrodhārāma, among them, being Mahānāma, Godha, Srakāni, Nandiya, and Vappa. The Buddha himself visited Kāligodhā during his residence there. It was during a discussion with Mahānāma that the Cūla Dukkhakkhanda Sutta (q.v.) was preached. During one of the Buddha's visits to Nigrodhārāma, the Sakyans invited him to conserecrate their new mote Hall, which he did by preaching there far into the night and then asking Moggalla-na to continue his discourse (*S*.IV.182 ff. also *M*.I. 353; Sekha Sutta). On another occasion the Buddha is mentioned as having spent a period of convalescence at Nigrodha-ra-ma (*A*.I.219f.). The Buddha was living there when the quarrel broke out between the Sākyans and the Koliyans regarding the waters of the river Rohinī (*SnA*.I.357; but see *J*.v.413, where he is said to have been in Savatthi). It seems to have been the Buddha's custom, when staying at the Nigodhara ma, sometimes to spend the noonday siesta in the Maha vana near by (eg.*S*.III.91ff.).

Among others mentioned as having stayed at Nigrodhārāma are Anuraddha (*DhpA* III.295) and Lomasakangiya (*M*.III.200; a Deva called Candana there taught him the Bhaddekaratta Sutta. Whether this Lomasakangiya is the same as Lomavangisa, who is also mentioned (*S*.V.327) as having lived in the Nigrodhā rāma, is doubtful.

Near Nigrodhārāma was once the site of the dwelling of hermit (*isi*) called Kanha. The Buddha, remembering this, once smiled and, when asked the reason for his smile related the Kanha Ja-taka (*J*.IV.6)

There is a tradition (*CPA*. 1.8, *BuvA*.5) that the Cariyā Pitaka and the Buddhavamsa were preached by the Buddha to Sa-riputta during his first stay in Nigrodhā rāma. It was probably there that Anuruddha's sister built, at his request, an assembly hall of two storys for the Sangha (*DhpA*. III. 295f.) Buddhaghosa says (*MA*.IV.155;*M*.III.109f) that KālaKhemaka, the Sākyan, built a special vihāra near Nigrodhārāma, on one side of the grounds.

The other Nigrodhārāma was a grove in Rajagaha. THe Buddha says that there he once gave Ananda the chance of asking the Buddha to live for a whole aeon, but Ānanda missed his opportunity (*D*.II.116).

H.R. Perera

NIHILISM : The term basically refers to a view characterized by the denial of moral, ethical and social values. It denotes a sense of skepticism on the possibility of meaningful acts in these spheres. At times it is understood as involving denial of an objective reality, its knowability and the communicability as in the case of Gorgias (in ancient Greece) who held that (i) nothing exists ; (ii) even if something did exist it could not be known ; and (iii) even if it were known that knowledge could not be communicated.

According to Robert G. Olson (*Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards, Macmillan Publishing Co., 1967), the term is believed to have first coined in 1860s by the Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev in his novel *Fathers and Sons*. The main character of this novel is revolutionary, full of disdain for tradition and authority, great faith in reason and committed to materialism in philosophy. Mot of the early anarchistic and revolutionary nuances of the term were gradually lost when the term became popular in Europe and America. The more contemporary usage of the term is used to denote either that the doctrine that moral norms or standards cannot be justified by rational agruments or that human existence is devoid of any meaning or a value. The first view is what is known in philosophy as 'emotivism' and was pupularized by Logical positivists who held ethical statements to be mere expressions of one's likes and dislikes conditioned by one's social upbrining. The second was widely held by philosophers belonging to existentialist persuasion.

Both these views were understood to be atheistic and hence those who did not believe in the existence of God as the foundation of morality were called nihilists. The idea was that in the absence of God, who is believed to provide the foundation and criterion for morality, what emerges is nihilism or rejection of everything that is morally desirable.

Central to the position of emotivism is the sharp distinction believed to exist between fact and value. In formulating the Buddhist response to the emotivist claim first we have to admit that the question as discussed by modern philosophy is not known to the Buddha. As a result one cannot expect a direct answer from Buddhism to such a question. Buddhism nevertheless, does hold a position on the truth-value of the ethical claims it makes. For exampl., the five precepts (*pañca sila*) recommended for all householder Buddhists is understood as based on some facts concerning (human) life and the world. For example in accepting to abide by the precept to abstain from taking life one's act is based on such beliefs as that all living beings love their life, that it is not right therefore to take such life either out of hatred or out of any other sort of malicious or selfish motivation. Regarding other precepts too there are similar reasons given as facts. Monastic disciplinary rules are very often justified on a pragmatic basis having the realization of Nirvāṇa as the basic criterion.

Owing to this pragmatic basis one could argue that Buddhism subscribes to a form of relativism in ethics, a position akin to that of Logical Positivism. A closer analysis of the Buddhist position, however, would show that this is not the case. When Buddhism holds that whatever is conducive to Nirvāna is good we must not forget that it understands Nirvāna, characterized by the absence of craving, hatred and delusion, the fundamental sources of all evil, as the highest good or the most desirable state to realize. It follows form this that the pragmatic position on ethics held by Buddhism is not really relative. One cannot, on the other hand, describe this position as being absolutist, the traditional opposition of relativisism, for Buddhism recognizes other desirable states such as being born in heavenly abodes for which some other forms of behaviour are considered to be good.

A popular criticism of the nihilist position is that since it rejects the existence of God it cannot hold a moral or ethical position. It is clear that this criticism

is based on the view that theism is the only form of valid religion for, in the opinion of the theist, without god there cannot be a foundation for ethics and morality. Owing to the fact that Buddhism does not accept the existence of God one could equally level the charge against Buddhism. But Buddhism provides a clear case that ethics and morality can be established not on a supernatural ground but on natural grounds. What is good or bad is decided not on a decree of God but on pragmatic, psycholgoical and humanistic grounds. This shows that by merely rejecting God one does not necessarily become a nihilist.

The existentialist stand that life is meaningless has been identified as representing an attitude of nihilism. The existentialist position is a rejection of the theistic view that the universe created by God has a purpose determined by him and that it moves gradually toward its fulfillment. Although Buddhism agrees with existentialism in denying this teleological stand it does not contribute to the latter's sense of despair and loss of hope. Buddhism holds that the existence of an ordinary human being is characterized by suffering (*dukkha* or a deep sense of unsatisfactoriness). It, however, does not stop at that. It says that this suffering can be overcome and that there is a path leading to its realization. The Buddhist position may be summarized in the following manner : there is no meaning for human life originating from any supernatural source whatsoever ; meaning has to be created by individual human beings by living a life of compassion and wisdom. Thus Buddhism cannot be described as nihilist simply because it rejects the teleological stand professed in theism. As the preceding discussion shows Buddhism does share certain premises with nihilism although it does not necessarily draw the same conclusions from those premises as nihilists would do.

Asanga Tilakaratne.

NIKĀYA(1) See RAMAÑÑA NIKĀYA, AMARAPURA NIKĀYA SYAMOPALI NIKĀYA

NIKAYA (2) - Five-fold classification of the Sutta collection in Pali Buddihist literature. Perhaps the most authentic and the earliest reference to *nikāya* as a division of the early Buddhist texts of the Sutta collection or dhamma (as against the Vinaya) occurs in the Cullavaga account of the activities of the First Buddhist Council (*pathama-sangti*) or *Pañcasatī sangīti* (at Vin. II 284 ff.). This activity or the Council took place within a few months after the *parinibbāna* or passing away of the Buddha. It took another one hundred years for what is called the Second Buddhist Council. It is generally believed that perhaps these reports of the activities of these two Councils were compiled all together after the Second Council. Therefore we view this record about the First Council as possibly being at least a hundred years after the event. Nevertheless, it is old enough for our purpose. It is recognised by the Commentator as being canonical (*tantim aridhā*). We view it with serious concern when students of Buddhism, both of the philosophy and of the literature, speak of four *nikāyas*.

The *Cullavagga* reports that the Elder Maha Kassapa, having questioned Venrable Upali at this council with regard to the texts of the Vinaya, rehearsed the *Ubhato Vinaya* or the two *Vinayas* (*Eten eva upāyena ubhato vinaye pucchi*). A different tradition, recently adopted even by the Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Series of Sri Lanka, gives this as *Ubhato Vibhanga* (BJTS. 5/2. *Cullavagga* 2. p.550). This change is apparently adopted to be in agreement with the Myanmar *Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā* tradition. (We disagree and side with the Thai tradition which upholds the *Ubhato Vinaya* reading. As far back as 1910, Bentara Saddatissa edition of the *Culavagga* published in Sri Lanka also adopted the *Ubhato Vinaya* reading.)

In like manner, the Elder *Mahā* Kassapa questioned Venrable Ananda with regard to the major

content of the Buddha's message of liberation, known up to that time by the word *dhamma*. Elder Maha Kassapa's major concern at that assembly of the First Council was to fix on the identity of the Buddha's teachings, namely of the Dhamma and the Vinaya before they could suffer serious change in the hands of dissentients (*Handa Mayam āvuso dhammañ ca vinayañ ca sangāyeyyāma*).

At this state, Elder *Mahā* Kassapa is said to have started with the first *sutta* of the *Digha Nikāya*, namely the *Brahmajāla Sutta* and continued through all the then known Buddha teachings known as *dhamma*. The proceedings are totaled up as being 'five different groupings' (*ete eva upāyena pañca nikā ye pucchi. Vin.* II.p. 287).

This information preserved to us in the oldest known records of Canonical standing (*tantim ārū lha. i.e. Culavagga* XI *at Vin.* II. 286 f) leads us to the inference that at time of reckoning of the earliest literary output of Buddhist teachings, the *dhamma* teachings were contained in five specific divisions. This is the genesis of the earlier concept of five *nikā yas* (as against the oft misunderstood Four *Nikāya* theory of musch later origin) regarding the *Sutta* division of Buddhist teachings.

Inspite of the emergence of new literary clasifications like the Tipitaka or Three Baskets in the Subsequent centuries of Buddhist history, this early classificationof the totality of the *dhamma* teaching of the Buddha as five *nikāyas* seems to have survived almost up to the beginning of the Christian era. A very rich and meaningful verse in the *Milindapanha* which belongs to about this period says that when Elder Nāgasena arrive on the scene, there were monks who gathered around him who i. were masters of the Tipitaka, ii. were versatile in the five *nikāyas* as well as those iii. who had mastered only the four *nikāyas*.

Te ca tepiṭakā bhikkhu pañcanekāyakā pi ca
catunekāyikā c eva Nāgasenam purakkarum.

Milindapañha

How and why did this happen? What we are concened here is about the splintering into two groups of the masters of the older *nikāya* tradition. From the unassailable evedence before us, we have to infer that the five nikaya tradition is the older in our literary history of Buddhism. The first four of these *nikāyas* have a bold and clear-cut division. *Digha*(long) and Majjhima (medium) form one group on account of the length of their suttas and the *Samyutta* (kindred) and *Anguttara* (gradual) on account of the arrangement style of their contents. In the process, and historically in a very natural one, the fifth collection came to be called the *Khuddaka* which can mean the miniature collection either on account of the smaller size of the collection or because of the smallness of most books in the collection. A further influencing factor could be the questionable doctrinal worth of some of the books themselves.

But this collection which for the greater part consists of metrical compositions, has also books of considerable doctrinal value like the *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada* and *Theragātha* and *Therigātha* which necessarily make them part and parcel of the early sutta traditon. Here one cold even look out for yet another basis of descrimination like being classical or popular in content. Evidence of this stigmatization is seen in later times when this collection is even denied the right of being called a *nikāya* and instead has come to be called *Khuddaka-gantho*. But inspite of this theoretical exclusion of the *Khuddaka* from the five-fold division of the Sutta collection (which apparently had taken place before the time of the *Milindapanha*), some of its more important books like the *Suttanipata* would have continued to serve as part of the *dhamma* collection of the *Sutta Pitaka*.

In his *Aṭṭhakathā* tradition, the Commentator Buddhaghosa firmly fixes this four *nikaya* theory for the Sutta Pitaka when he says *Suttanta-pitake catusso Sangitiyo* (*DA*. I. 14).This , we have to firmly assert is contrary to the report of the Cullavagga to which

we have referred earlier (*eten eva upāyena panca nikā ye pucchi*). The *Cullavagga* knows of no *Abhidhamma* recital at the First Council. But Buddhaghosa is here compelled to accommodate the latterly evolved *Abhidhamma Pitaka* at the *Dhamma-Vinaya* recital of the First Council.

So he reports of the recital of the first four *nikayas* of the *Sutta Pitaka* at the First Council and winds up the recital with the *Anguttara Nikāya*. Thereafter, he himself reports that the seven books of the *Abhidhamma* were recited and jointly gone through by five hundred arahants and presented as the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. It is after this ingenious insertion of the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* in here (unknown to the tradition of the *Cullavagga*) that Buddhaghosa introduces the acceptance of the (stigmatized) *Khuddka* collection at the Recital. But he records here a serious disagreement.

The *Dighabhānakas* are said to accept only twelve books in the Khuddaka collection and are said to maintain that this collection was deposited in the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. The *Majjhimabhānakas* are said to accept three more books namely *Cariyapitaka*, *Apadāna* and *Buddhavamsa* into collection, making the total fifteeen, and maintain that it was contained in the *Suttanta Pitaka*. They both concede only the name *Khuddakagantha* to this collection (*DA*. 1. 15).

The reason for this manipulation of the position of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* in the Suttanta collection, we feel cannot and does not to be camouflaged. A new visitor to the scene in the person of the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* had to be accommodated. See the ingenuity of the Commentator Buddhaghosa (or of the tradition he had inherited) in creating a new division of the entire teaching of the Buddha (*sabbam 'pidam Buddhavacanam*) into five *nikāyas* (*nikāya-vasena pañcavidham DA*. 1 22)

The division admits , in the first instance, all the five *Nikāyas* by their original names including the *Khuddka* as the last. The first four are left intact. In order to ingeniously find a place to accommodate (in the activities of the First Council) the late arrival, i.e later than the First Council, of the *Abhidamma Pitaka*, they go so far as to say that all Buddhist lierature, barring the first Four *Nikāyas* (of the *Sutta Pitaka*) i.e the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhamma*, are contained in the *Khuddaka* (*Sakalam Vinaya-pitakam Abhidhamma-pitam Khuddakapāthādaya ca pubbenidassita-pancadasa-bhedā thapetvā cattaro nikāye avasessam Buddha-vacanam*.)

> *Thapetvā caturo p ete nikāye digha-ādike taduññam Buddhavacanam nikāyo Khuddako mato ' ti* DA. I 23
> VinA. 1. 28

Two things emerge from the study we have attempted so far. I. like the Atharvaveda of the Indian Vedic tradition which, on account of its concern with the popular and Vulgar activities like sorcery and witchcraft etc. has got pushed out of the perstigious Vediac collection of the original Four Vedas(*Caturveda*), creating the new elite group of only Three Vedas . We feel, eithout any doubt, that in the same way the *Khukddaka Nikāya*, on account of its willingness to accomodate never and unacceptable heterogeneous patterns of thingking , came to be stigmatized for that very reason. This we believe is how the *Khuddhaka* also came to lose its prestige as a *nikāya*.

2. Secondly this enlargement or the increasing in size of the *Kuddaka* in the five-fold division of the entire *Buddhavacana* (not the specific *Sutta Piṭaka*) enable s the inclusion of the *Abidhamma Piṭaka* within the original Buddhist teachings. Without much sense and meaning, this division also pushes into this *nikāya* the entire *Vinaya Piṭaka* as well.

Dhammavihāri

NIKĀYASAṄGRAHAYA : 'Compendium of Nikāya History', also entitled the *Sāsanāvatāraya* 'Descent of the Sāsana', by Jayabāhu Dharmakirti of the Gadalādeniya, traces the history of the dispensation begining from the parinirvāna of the Buddha to the time of king Bhuvanaikabahu V of Gampola (1372-1408). He authored two other works, the *Saddharamālankāraya* based ont he Rasavāhini and the *Jinabodhābvli*. The auhtor draws his material from earlier sources such as the *Mahāvansa*, the *Dīpavansa*, the *Thūpavamsa*, the *Samantapāsādikā* and many other sources, some of which are now lost. The purpose of the author is mainly to emphasize the part played by the Theravāda sangha in the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. He recounts the heretical movements that sprang up in the course of time and the attempts made to eradicate them with the support of the royality, so as to uphold the Theriya tradition. It is "the best known and the most important of the histories of the Sāsana" according to historians (*UCHC*.Vol.I.1 57). The author claims that this work is a *Dharmavyākyāna*.

The ten short chapters are centered around major ecclesiastical events, each leading to purification and revival of the orthodox tradition. The first chapter deals with the events leading to the First Council soon after the Buddha's demise and the establishement of the Theri-ya Nikāya in India. In the second, Ten Indulgences (Dasavatthu) such as "Salt reserved in Horns," and "Acceptance of Gold, Silver" etc, of the Vajjiputtaka Monks, which transgressed the strict Vinaya reules and the resultant controvery leading to the Second Council held during the time of Kālāsoka, about a century after the *Parinirvāna* of the Buddha is the major theme. In the ensuing controversy, the Vajjiputtaka monks are called the Alajji (shameless) as against the orthodox monks who are called Lajji (bashful). THe third chapter relates how the Vajjiyan monks held a Council of their own in a provincial town under a minor ruler and the emergence of the Mahāsanghika sect. Since then, within a century after the Buddha's demise, there appeared seventeen nikāyas, namely, the Mahāsanghika, the Gokulika, the Ekabbohārika, the Pragnaptivada, the Bāhulika, the Vaitulya, the Mahimsāsaka, the Vajjiputtaka, the Dharmattara, the Bhadra, the Channāgārika, the Sammitika, the Sarvārthavāda, the Dharmaguptika, the Kassapiya, the Sankantika and the Sūtravāda. According to the *Mahavamsa*, the first six of these originated from the Mahāsanghika also provides the details of the sub-sects. It is alleged that the Mahāsanghikas "Mutilated the texts, added spurious material disregarding the contradictions and composed whimsical commentaries". The Third Council of the Theriya sect was held under the auspices of Emperor Asoka (3rd Century.B.C.) It is mentioned that sixty thousand tirthakas (heretics) who surreptitiously had entered the Sāsana were expelled. They held views such as the Sassatavāda (Eteranlism), the EkaccaSassatavāda (Partial-eternalism), the Antānantika (Extentionism), the Amarāvikkhepavāda (Endless Equivocation), the Adhiccasamuppanna (Fortuitous Origin), the Saññivāda (Percipient Immortality), the Asaññivāda (Non Percipient Immortality), the Nevasaññi Nāsaññivada (Nither Percipient Nor Non-Percipient immorality), the Ucchedavāda (Annihilationism) and the *Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda* (*Nibbāna* Here and Now.) The fourth chapter shows how, 235 years after the Buddha's demise, nine subnikāyas had emerged from the 17 sects mentioned above. These are the Hemavata, the Rājagiriya, the Siddhārthaka, the Purvasaila, the Aparasaila, the Vājiriya, the Vaitulya, the Andhaka and the AnyāMahāsanghika. Some of the heretical texts of the Tantra, Guhya and Kalpa versions written by these groups are also mentioned. The next three chapters are devoted to relate how the Vaitulya (1st Cent. B.C.) the Vājiriya (2nd cent. A.C.) and the Ratnakūta etc., (9th Cent. A.C.) were introduced here.

The Vaitulyavāda was introduced on three occasions. First, the Abhayagirikas accepted the teachings of Dharmaruci of India during the time of king Vōhāratissa (209-231 A.C.). This was suppresed, but again the Dharmarucikas upheld them as the "Words of the Buddha' during the time of king Gothābhaya (249-262A.C.) The monks who did not accept the Vaitulya teachings left for the Dakunugiri Vehera and established the Sāgalika sect headed by thera Sāgala. The Vaitulya texts were bon-fired and the adherents were severaly punished, sixty of them being branded and expelled to India. Sanghamita, a student of one of these expelled monks, came to Sri Lanka and with the help of king Maha-sena (274-301A.C.) tried to convert the Theriya monks to the Vaitulyavāda. When this failed, he was able to temporaraily crush the authority of the Theriya sect of the Mahavihāra, destroy 364 of their monastic structures and make Mahāvihāra monks to flee Mahāvihāra, destroy 364 of their monastic structures and make Mahāvihāra monks to flee Anuradhapura and take refuge in remote areas. Later, though the king made amends by rebuilding all the structures and reestablished the Theriya sect, he build the Jetavana stūpa and the vihāra within the sīmā of the Mahāvihāra disregarding the objections raised

by the Mahāvihāra monks. Later, during the time of Silākala (518-531 A.C.), the Jetawana sect accepted the Vaitulyavāda. During this time, a Thera named Jotipāla came from India and worsted the Vaitulayavādins in a controversy. The Vajiriyavāda was introduced during the time of Matvala Sen (Sena I, 833-852 A.C.) by a heretic who lived om tje Virānkura Vihāraya. This form of Vaitulya came to designed as Rahas bana (Esoteric Doctrine) by the author, probably Vajrayana teachings (UCHC, I,I p.384). The Ratnakūta teachings consisting of Maha-ya-nst incantations too were introduced during the same time. The Nilapatadarsana, a sub sect of the Sammiti-ya, which enjoined the substitution of women, wine and love instead of the Tiratana, too, was introduced at this time. Though these were ridiculed and suppressed, the author mentions that they got absorbed into the popular belief system. The next important incident is the revival of the Sa-sana, and especially reintroduction of the Higher Ordination by Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110), who invited monks from Aramana country for the occasion as Sāsana had deteriorated during the period of the Chola domination.

In the ninth chapter the social and religious activites of Parakramabāhu I (1153-1186) are summarised. He built 360 Pirivenas and in order to "purify the Sāsana of the heretical immoral monks who prevailed from the time of king Valagambā for a period of 1254 years with sectarian distinctions and to unify the Sa-sana" he besought the support of the Forest Dwelling sect of Udumbaragiri, headed by Ka-syapa Thera. It is said that monks loyal to the Dharmaruci, the Sa-galika and the Vaitulya sects were expelled. Another similar unification of the Sāsana was effected by Vathimi Vijayabāhu (Vijayabāhu III, 1232-1236) and a Katikāvata was instituted with the support of Sangharaksita Thera and Dimbulāgala Medhankara Thera. His son, Pandita Parākramabāby (1236-1270), with the help of Dimbulāgala Medhanakara Thera, got both the Aranyavāsi and the Gamavāsi to unite and to be engaged in fulfilling their Vidarsānā and Granthadhura practices. The last chapter is devoted to the purification of the Sāsana by Nissanka Alagakkonara (14th cent.), with the help of Sri Dharmakirti Thera of Pala-batgala descendants of the Dimbula-gala fraternity.

While tracing the vicissitudes that the Theriya sect underwent in Sri Lanka, the author also deals with the literary traditions. This work became so important that the Saddharamaratnākaraya includes its contents in one of the chapters and the later Katikāvatas too have drawn their material from it. Even the historians of today regard this as a major reliable historical source.

P.B. Meegaskumbura

NIMITTA is a 'sign', in the sense of being a characteristic mark of things. The *Potaliya Sutta* (*M.* I, 360), for example, refers to the outer appearance of someone as a householder as '*nimitta*'. Similarly the *Ratthapālasutta* (*M.* II, 62) describes a slave woman recognizing the former son of the house, now a monk and returning after a long absence, by way of the '*nimitta*'.

In other passages in the discourses, the word *nimitta* suggests the idea of cause, such as for example in the *Sanimitta Vagga* of the *Anguttara Nikāya* (A. I, 82), where it is synonymous with such terms as *nidāna* (reason), *hetu* (cause) and *paccaya* (condition). In the *Vesārajja Sutta* of the same *Anguttara Nikāya* (A. II, 9), the same nuance can be found, when the Buddha pointed out that he did not see any ground (*nimitta*) based on which others could accuse him of falsely claiming to be fully awakened.

This causal nuance in the word *nimitta* also underlies the earlier mentioned examples, where the *nimitta* has to do with outer appearance. The point here is that for the slave women to recognize someone whose hairstyle and dress were by then totally different from the way she had been used to see him earlier, she had to become aware of those aspects of his appearance that had remained unchanged. Exactly these aspects became her '*nimitta*' in this situation, 'causing' her to be able to recognize him.

Thus the *nimitta* is a central factor in the operational mechanics of memory and recognition, since it is with the help of such a *nimitta* that the aggregate of perception or cognition, *saññā*, is able to match information received in the present moment with concepts, ideas and memories.

The fact that perceptions and cognitions operate based on recognizing such *nimittas* in the world around us, however, is not unproblematic. In order to be able to recognize someone after a long absence, those of his or her *nimittas* that are least susceptible to change need to be taken into account. This need, however, leads to an emphasis on the most permanent aspects of experience in our perceptual appraisal of the world. That is, the very mechanism of perception, based as it is on recognizing *nimittas*, easily leads to a mistaken notion of permanence. Every successful act of recognition, unless counteracted by systematic attention to the truth of impermanence, can in this way add to the unconscious presumption that there is something in phenomena that does not change.

Not only that, but the *nimitta* can also lead to other mistaken notions. In the process of perception the *nimitta* can carry with it a first evaluation of sense data, since it is at this early stage of perceptual appraisal that the semiconscious decision takes place whether the perceived sense-object is sufficiently interesting to merit further attention. It is due to this first evaluative input that an object can appear to be, for example, "beautiful" (*subhanimitta*) or "irritating" (*paṭighanimitta*). For this very reason the *Mahāvedalla Sutta* (*M.* I, 298) speaks of the three root defilements lust, anger and delusion, as "makers of signs", *nimittakaraṇa*.

In order to counter the influence of these three "makers of signs", meditators practising the graudal path are to develop sense-restraint. According to the instructions for such sense-restraint, the practitioner should not dwell on the "sign" (*nimitta*) or the secondary characteristics (*anuvyañjana*) of sense objects, in order to avoid the flowing in of detrimental influences (e. g. at *M.* I, 273).

The same idea of restraint at the sense-doors underlies the famous *Bāhiya* instruction, where the Buddha taught a non-Buddhist ascetic during their first encounter to practice in such a way that "in the seen will be only what is seen, in the heard only what is heard, in the sensed only what is sensed, in the known only what is known" (*Ud.* 8). Within minutes of this instruction, *Bāhiya* became an *arahant*. That this instruction was indeed concerned with the affective input provided by giving attention to unsuitable types of *nimitta* becomes evident from the elaboration of the same instruction by the monk *Mālunkyaputta* (*S.* IV, 73), who explained that due to attending to the sign of affection (*piyanimitta*) one's mind becomes infatuated and affected by unwholesome reactions.

In the early Buddhist scheme of mental training, the systematic development of *satipaṭṭhāna* serves as a major tool to counter this tendency of the mind. Turning the full light of mindfulness on the initial stages of the perceptual process lays bare the evaluative input provided by the *nimitta* and thereby helps to rectify its repercussions.

The development of *satipaṭṭhāna*, as described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.* I, 56), includes also direcitng awareness to the impermanent nature of all phenomena, by contemplating them as "arising" (*samudaya*) and "passing away" (*vaya*). Insight into the impermanent nature of all phenomean has the potential to culminate in full awakening, in realizing *animitta*, "signlessness".[1] With full awakening, all misleading notions and 'signs' of permanency are forever left behind.

The absence of any signs is also characteristic of a high level of meditative practice called *animitta samādhi*. Such "signless concentration of the mind", according to the explanation given by *Moggalāna*, is based on a high degree of concentration and requires the ability to withdraw attention from all signs (*S.* IV, 269).

The relation of the *nimitta* to the development of concentration is also reflected in the expressions "sign of tranquility" (*samathanimitta*)[2], "sign of concentration" (*samādhinimitta*)[3] and "sign of the mind" (*cittanimitta*)[4], which occur on several instances in the discourses. The development of beneficial types of *nimitta* is particularly relevant to the beginning stages of *samatha* meditation. According to the

commentarial exegesis (*Vism.* 125), the progress of concentration proceeds based on the first apperception of the object to be sued for such meditation by way of the *parikamma-nimitta*. Once one is able to perceive this object without needing to actually see it, i. e. by way of mentally remembering it, one has gained the *uggaha-nimitta*. When with further practice the mind reaches the level of "access-concentration" (*upacāra-samādhi*), this till somewhat unclear mental perception transforms into an entirely clear and stable internal image, the *paṭibhāga-nimitta*, which is regarded as a prerequisite to attaining full absorption (*jhāna*). In these contexts, too, the *nimitta* has preserved its causal nuance, since it is the development of such *nimittas* that 'causes' the practitioner to reach deeper stages of concentration.

To sum up : the "sign" 'signals' what is 'significant' enought to merit closer attention. Often the forces responsible for 'assigning' such 'significance' are lust, anger and delusion. If this is the case, the mind tends to react to what it presumes to be aspects of the outer objects and thereby become entangled in unwholesome mental associations and reactions. The same dynamics of attracting attention underlying the *nimitta* can however be skilfully used in order to develop deep concentration. In relation to the development of insight, the problem posed by the *nimitta* is that it easily lends itself to the erroneous assumption of permanency inherent in experienced phenomena. The absence of any *nimitta* comes as one of the three qualities of the realization of the signless (*animitta*) desireless (*appaṇihita*) and void (*suññata*) - *Nibbāna*. see also ANIMITTA

Bhikkhu Analayo.

NIRAYA *See* HEAVEN AND HELL
NIRMĀNA BUDDHA *See* DHARMATĀ BUDDHA
NIRMĀNA KĀYA *See* TRIKĀYA
NIRODHĀNUPASSANĀ *See* ANUPASSANĀ
NIRODHASAMĀPATTI *See* SAÑÑĀ VEDAYITA NIRODHA
NIRUTTIPATISAMBHIDĀ *See* PATISAMBHIDA

NISSAGGIYA-PĀCITTIYA, a Buddhist Ecclesiastical Offence (*Āpatti*) involving forfeiture. This comes under the very broad category of ofences called the *Pācittiya*. training (*Sikkhā*), culture and growth (*bhāvanā*) and discipline (*vinaya*) are key words in Buddhist religious life, which oeprate in the two major areas of (1) the lay community (*gihi*) at large and (2) the selected community of those men and women (*pabbajitā*) who have taken to a life of renunciation (through self-choice). As a term of very wide coverage, the word sikkha is used to contain the entire garnut of development in Buddhism as a religion. The concept of *sikkhā* as training is carefully graded into three ascending stages of 1. *sila*, 2. *samādhi* and 3. *paññā* which are collectively referred to as *tio sikkhā*

This training begins, for every Buddhist, whether monk or layman, with grounding in morality. It is primarily the regulation of conduct or behavioural pattern of life of all humans in society, including men, women and children. This premliminary stage is refered to as *sila-sikkhā*. It basicialy concerns itself with interpersonal relationships within the family, society or community, and finally with the state and the nation. Inter-state and international relations and harmony is not lost sight of.

The basis for this goodness on life for humans is self-example or *attūpanāyika*, i.e. behaving towars others in a way that one would like others to behave towards one. It has to grow out of an awareness of human nature, human needs and human feelings. It needs no external divine authority of command. This is the basis of the entire Buddhist concept of *mettā* (Skt, *maitri*) or universal loving kindness, which is

1. A correlation of the characteristic of impermanence with the signless emancipation can be found at *Patis.* II, 48 and *Vism.* 657.
2. At *D.* III, 213; *S.* V, 66; S. V, 105.
3. At *D.* III, 226; *D.* III, 242; *D.* III, 279; *M.* 1, 249; *M.* 1, 301; M. III, 112; A. I, 115; A. I, 256; A. II, 17; A. III, 23; and A. III, 321.
4. E.g. at *S.* V, 151; A. III, 423; and *Thag.* 85.

delevered direct from person to person, with no external intermediary agency.

With this primary concern, Buddhist morality begins with respect for life (stretching even as far as animal and plant), respect for the legitimately owned and possessed property of the other. Buddhists also show a very serious concern for the healthy and proper relationship between the sexes, both for sanity and normalcy here in this life and also essentialy as a basis for the upgrading of Buddhist spiritual life, with unmistaken transcendental aspirations.

We make these introductory remarks here with a view to stress the need for sustained application in the progressive development of religious growth ; call it moral, intellectual of spititual. Here one sees the emergence of the more seriously concerned persons taking to a full-time life of renunciation or *pabbajjā* . They leave behind their household life, along with its multiple activities. Literaly they are launched off on a specific spiritual jouney. This is the beginning of Buddhist monasticism. The religious culture of those who embark on this jouney was first achieved through the instructions, i.e. the *dhamma* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. Then owing to the institutional expansion through time and space, there began to appear laxities in discipline. This brought about the necessity for the legalized machinery called the *Vinaya* for the maintenance of monastic discipline which brought in its wake both prosecution and punishment. The subject of *nissaggiya-pācittiya*, which we take up now properly, belongs to this area of legalized Buddhist monastic discipline.

The *Vinaya* introduces to us (*Vin*. 1.103) five different kinds of monastic offences (*pañcannaṃ vā pattikkhandhānaṃ*) which number at times also rises to seven (*sattannaṃ vā āpattikkhandhanaṃ*). They directly result from the breach of the monastic regulations called sikkhāpada laid down in the pā timokkha. They are 220 in number for the monks and 304 for the nuns, leaving aside in each case the seven *adhikara ṇa-sanatha-dhammā* which are common to both groups and are provided for the settling of community legal disputes.

These sikkahāpada are arranged in descending order of gravity, starting with 1. the four *Pārājika* which are the most serious of all monastic offences, requiring the miscreants to be forthwith expelled from the Order. No remedial action whatsoever is possible with them (*pārājiko hoti asamvāso*) 2. Next come the *Saṅghādisesā*, thirteen in number. These contain very specific individual offences against the spirit of monastic life. Some are also damaging to the prestige of the community. Punishment for these include, on the voluntary announcement of his or her offence by the offender to a member of the Sangha, public withdrawal for a specific period of six days (*chāratta ṃ mānattaṃ*) of privileges normally enjoyed by a monk, such as being attended on by a junior. Associated with this penalty of Mānatta is another derivative punishment called Parivāsa, which is imposed for the number of days the offence had been concealed. This precedes the regular *Mānatta* penalty. *Mānatta* follows on the satisfactory and successful completion of the specified period of *Parivāsa* penalty.

Offences below these two categories do not, on the whole, carry specific punishments recommended for them. They are no doubt offences or transgressions against monastic propriety and the miscreants must admit their guilt and express their regret and remorse about them. Repetition of offences must be discreetly avoided (āyati *samvara*). There is a very large group, which goes under the name of Pācttitiya. These are offenses over which one feels and expresses one's remorse and regret and seriously undertake not to repeat them.

This large category of *Pācittiya* is divided into two groups. The first called the *Nisaggiya pācittiya* consists of 30 considerations (there being the same number for both monks and nuns), which reckon with unauthorized possession of monastic property like robes, bowls, rugs, carpets, coverlets etc. These include what have been obtained by monks in improper manner from nuns or from lay persons, by directly specifying and ordering them. Or a monk may exceed the legally authorized and allowable quantities of such items. The punishment is that they have to be surrendered to the community (for the benefit of

others who are in need). This voluntary forfeiture which is legally required under monastic legislation, of what one has got into one's hand, is *Nissaggiyam pācittiyaṃ (idā ṃ me bhante cīvara ṃ dasāhatikkanta ṃ nissaggiyaṃ Imāhaṃ āyasmantānaṃ nissajjāmi. Vin.* III. 196 f.) The Sangha then accepts it in his name and re-allocates it to another who is in ned of one (*..Idaṃ cīvaraṃ itthannāmasso bhikkhuno nissaggiya ṃ āyasmantanaṃ nissaṭṭhaṃ Yadi āyasamantānaṃ patakalla ṃ āyasmantā ima ṃ cīvara ṃ itthannāmassa bhikkun dadeyyun' ti loc cit.*).

At a time when the Buddhist Sangha were entirely dependent (*parapaṭibaddha*) on the gifts of food and clothing given by the pious lay community, it would have been necessary to eliminate or reduce to a minimum the gap between the haves and have- nots in the Sangha community. Food and clothing had to be equitably shared for the peaceful continuance and survival of the community.

Dhammavihārī

NISSAYA (1) : In the study of Buddhist monasticism, the word *nissaya* covers two important areas :

1. *Nissayā* as in the four *nissayas or cattāro nissayā* refer to the four basic items of sustenance in the life a Buddhist mendicant or *pabbajita*. They cover food, clothing, shelter and medicaments, referred to as *bhojana, cīvara, senāsana* and *gilāna-paccaya*. In the case of a Buddhist mendicant, these items are to be of a special sort. Simplicity has to be their hallmark. In their acquisition, they should cause minimum inconvenience to the lay community who provide them to the monks in a spirit of sheer charity. A mendicant has to be of very light livelihood (*sallahuka-vutti*). The *nissayā* should also encourage in the life of the mendicant a frugal, abstemious and unostentatious character. (a). Food should be obtained through begging from door to door whatever is available to be offered as bits of food or *piṇḍa* (*piṇḍapāta* or *piṇḍiyālopa-bhojana*). It is through this habit of begging for food that a Buddhist mendicant comes to be called a *bhikkhu* (*bhikkhatī' ti bhikkhu*). (b). Clothing should consist of robes made of fragments of cloth collected at random, literally from garbage dumps or cemeteries where dead bodies were thrown (Therefore also covered with dust or *paṃsukūla*). When prepared for wear they were obisously called *kāsāyāni vatthāni*, multi-coloured fargments stitched together and dyed (*kāsāvā* or *kāsāya*) into a singhe colour. Mendicants' robes were dyed robes. Therefore they are *kāsāyāni vatthāni*. Also referred to as being kasava. (Note : uses like *kesamassum ohāretvā Kāsāyāni vatthāni acchā detvā* (*D.* I. 63) and *anikkasāvo kāsāvaṃ yo vatthaṃ paridahessati* (*Dhp.* v. 9). It is a gross error to call a Buddhist monk as being 'Yellow robed'. (c) Shelter shall normally be at the foot of trees (*rukkha-mūla-senāsana*). (d). cattle urine, with items of medicinal value like gall-nuts seasoned in it, was normally considered adequate. These were considered normal basics for the mendicant (*...nissāya pabbajjā*). In special cases and under special circumstances, many more luxury-looking items were permitted under all four heads. The basics were the minimum with which a monk should be satisfied to carry on his mendicant life without any grumbling (*tattha te yāvajīvam ussā ho karaṇīyo*). On obtaining higher ordination or *upasampadā*, a monk is to be immediately and invariably reminded by his preceptors of these four items, which are referred to as *cattāro nissayā* or Four Basics (*upasampadentena cattāro nissaye ācikkhitum. Vin.* I.58)

2. In monastic community life, *nissaya* also refers to the period of tutelage under which a junior monk should live (*nissāya vatthabbaṃ* under his teacher (*ācariya*) or his preceptor (*upajjhāya*) for a specified period of time-something like a period of monastic apprenticeship. This is meant to be period of growth in monastic life, under real paternal care of *in loco parentis* (*Puttacittam upatthapetvā/pitucittam upaṭṭhapetvā. Vin.* I. 45, 60). This was originally fixed at ten years but latterly reduced to five years (Ibid. 60, 62). But a proviso was placed that an incompetent monk should live under this tutelage all his life (*Ibid.* 80). Also under reasonable conditions, this tuterage could be justifiably terminated as in the case of death or departure of the teacher. It was not everybody's privilege in the monastic community to hold this position of tutor. *Vinaya* regulations required them to be qualified to hold these positions.

Nissaya or monastic apprenticeship in Buddhist *Vinaya* is not to be viewed as a junior monk being put under subordination for its own sake. The *Upajjhāya* and *Acariya* under whom this is to be lived have to be competent teachers who are expected to educate the novitiates in these two specific areas of (i). Monastic training with regard to social relationships (*abhisamācārikā sikkhā*) and (ii). Monastic training in higher religious culture (*ādibrahmacariyikā sikkhā*). Their academic life has also to be looked into (*abhidhamme*

vinetum abhivinaye vinetum). All these references occur at *Vin.* I. p. 64.

In Buddhist monastic history, we also get under *nissaya* an act of ecclesiastical punishment or *danakamma*, which is referred to as *nissaya kamma*. In monastic law there are two kinds of punishments : 1. for breach of *Pāthimokkha* discipline and 2. for violation of *non-Pātimokkha* monastic propriety which lies outside the legalized discipline.

Nissaya kamma which means, more or less, Act of Subordination (i. e. being put under the watchful care of) comes in the second category (See *Vin.* II. P. 7f.). The Buddha himself is said to have recommended it to be carried out on a monk by the name of Seyyasaka. The offensive traits of character which call for this punishment are listed as being foolish (*bālo*), not educated/learned (*avyatto*), full of monastic offences (*āpattibahulo*), not blameless in character (*anapadā no*), and involved with lay persons in unacceptable and undesirable relationships.

Dhammavihari

NISSAYA (2), requisites or sustenance of a monk as prescribed by the Buddha. There are four requisites allowed for monks, and three four nuns.

The four requisits are (1) food obtained by begging (*pindiyālopa-bhojana*), (2) robe made of cast-off rags (*pamsukula-civara*), (3) the foot of a tree as a dwelling place (*rukkhamula-senasana*) and (4) decayed cattleurine as medicine (*Putimutta-bhesajja* : *Vin.* I.58). The third is disallowed for nuns, as it was considered not safe for them to live alone under a tree in the forest as men of evil character might seduce them; hence there are only three nissayas for nuns (*Vin.* II. 274,278).

These are called *nissaya* because it is on account of them that life subsists : food, clothing, lodgings an medicine constitute the bare necessities of life and without them one cannot possibly live. They are also called *paccaya* (*Vin A.* V. 984).

The Buddha advise that these requisites should be made known to these monks and nuns at the time of their higher ordination so that there will be no misunderstanding about the mode of life that the ordained monk or nun will have to live (*Vin.* I. 58. II 274).

Although, according to strict regulations, a monk or nun is to depend on these requisites, yet some allowances are made so that he or she could resort to substitutes. The monk (or the nun) should try, as long as he (or she) lives, to live only on what he (or she) obtains by begging; he (or she) is also allowed to accept a meal offered to the Order (*sarigha-bhatta*), a meal specifically offered to an individual (*uddesa-bhatta*), an invitation (*nimantana*), meal distributed by ticket (*salākabhatta*), meal given on a particular day of the waxing or waning moon (*pakkhikam*), on an observance day (*uposathikam*), or on the day after an observance day (*pātipadikam*). Failing to find cast-off rags, he or she is permitted the use of robes made of linen (*khoma*), cotton (*kappāsika*), silk (*koseyya*), wool (*kambala*), coarse hemp (*sāna*) and canvas (*bhariga*). Although the monk should make it a point to live at the root of a tree, he may also use a dwelling house (*vihāra*) a semi-detached house (*addhayoga*), a mansion (*pāsāda*), a storied house cave (*guhā*). He of she is also allowed to use ghee (*sappi*), fresh butter (*navanita*), oil (*tela*), honey (*madhu*) of molasses (*phā nita*) as medicine (Vin. I, 58). These are termed 'additional' or optional (*atireka*).

The correct use of these requisites constitutes a section of disciplinary rules (*sila*), called *paccayasannissita-sila*, moral habits with regard to the four requisites (*M.* I, 10; *Vism* 28-29). The robe is to be used only for the purpose of warding off the cold, the heat, the touch of gadfly, mosquito, wind, sun and creeping things simply for the sake of covering nakedness. Alms-food is meant not for sport, not for indulgence, not for personal charm, not for beautification; but merely for the support and sustenance of the body, for allaying the pangs of hunger, for furthering the life of celibacy (*brahma-cariyā*), so that one will get rid of former feelings of hunger and not give rise to new feelings, and there will be, for him or her, faultlessnesss and life free of discomfort. One uses the lodging only for warding off the cold, the heat, and the touch of gadfly, mosquito, wind sun and creeping thing; only for dispelling the dangers of the seasons, for the purpose of enjoying seclusion. And, Medicine is used for warding off injurious feelings that have arisen and for the maximum of well-being (*M.* I, 10; *Vism.* 14, 25-29).

Upali Karunarathna.

NISSAYAPACCAYA *See* PACCAYA
NIŚYANDA BUDDHA *See* DHARMATĀ BUDDHA

NĪTATTHA & NEYYATTHA : *Nitattha* and *Neyyattha* are to types of *suttas* shown in a short *sutta* in the *Anguttara Nikāya*. (A. I, p. 60). The division has been indicated by the Buddha himself. The lines under reference found in the *Anguttara nikāya* read as follows :

> "*Dve'me bhikkhave tathāgatham abbhācikkhanti. Katame dve ?*
> *Yo ca neyyattham suttam nitattho suttanto ti dipeti.*
> *Yo ca nitattham neyyattho suttanto ti dipeti.*"

> "Monks, these two misrepresent the Tathāgata. What two.
> He who proclaims as already explained, a discourse which need explanation and he who proclaims as needing explantaion, a discourse already explained. These are the two." (A. I. p. 60)

It is significant that the *sutta* does not specify what *suttas* are recognised as *Neyyattha* and what *suttas* are coming under *Nitattha*. It only proclaims the existence of two categories of *suttas* as *Neyyattha* and *Nitattha*. Another conspicuous feature of this division is that it refers to the *sutta* concerned in its entirely and not to an identified word or phrase in the *suttas*. It is noteworthy that it is the only instance in the entire Pali canon where such a categorization of *suttas* is given.

Further elucidation of this riddle has been left to the commentators by the compilers of the canon. Buddhaghosa in his *Manorathapū rani* the commentary of the *Anguttaranikāya* offers the following explanation of the term *Neyyattha*.

> "*Ekapuggalo bhikkhave, dve'me bhikkhave puggalā, tayo'me bhikkhave puggala cattāro 'me bhikkhave puggalā ti evarupo suttanto neyyattho nāma. Etthāti kincāpi sammā sambuddhena ekapuggalo bhikkhavo ti ādi vuttam. Paramatthato pana puggalo nāma n'atthi ti evamassa attho netabbo va hoti. Ayampana attano bālatāya nitattho ayamsuttanto, paramatthato ti puggalo asati na Tathagato ekapuggalo bhikkhave ti ādinā vadeyya. yasmāpana tena vuttam tasmā paramatthato atthi puggalo ti ganhanto tam neyyattham suttantam nitattho suttanto ti dipeti.*"

> "*Suttas* where (the Buddha has) referred to one person, two persons, three persons, four persons, such *suttas* are called *Neyyattha*. Here though the Buddha has referred to one person etc. in the ultimate sense a person does not exist. Its meaning should be drawn out so. This person due to his foolishness thinks this as a sutta of *Nitattha* categroy (where the meaning has been drawn out). If there is no person in the ultimate sense the Tathāgata would not say one person etc. As the Tathagata has said so, there is a person in ultimate sense, grasping the meaning thus he explains as a *Neyyattha* category."

The commentator, after explaining how one could confuse *Neyyattha* with *Nitattha* proceeds to explain how *Nitattha* is confused with *Neyyattha*. Accordingly when the Buddha says "*anicca* (non-permanence (*dukkha* (suffering) and *anatta* (non self), its meaning is fixed or final. It is not necessary to draw its meaning according to the context. A person taking it as a *Neyyattha* and attempts to explain its meaning might conclude that *anicca, dukkha* and *anatta* are permanent entities which amounts to misrepresent Buddhism and substantialism.

The sub commentary (*Manorathapūrani Tīkā*) offers the shortest possible explanation, yet much more comprehensive. He does not attempt to explain both the terms, but takes up the term *Neyyattha* which needs explanation, the other (*Nitattha*) being self explanatory. Thus the author of the sub commentatory takes up the commentators lines on *Neyyattha* (*Puggalo nāma n'atthi ti evam assa attho netabbo va hoti AA I. 118*) and offers his further explanation on the lines thus" *Netabbo ti aññato āharitvā bodhetabbo ñāpetabbo*' (It has to be explained, made to understand having taken (words) from elsewhere). It is clear, as the sub commentator has very clearly shown *Neyyattha* has to

1. *Manorathapūrani tīkā* (unpublished Manuscript of the National Museum Colombo) Manuscript No. 4, Folio 185v.

be explained having drawn (words examples etc.) from out side. He having left out the term *Nitattha* which need not be explained, has explained the other term *Neyyattha* which need explanation very clearly with the minimum number of words, (where Buddhaghosa devoted a passage).

A post canonical tex *Netthippakarana* too says when investigating a *sutta* it should be looked into whether a *sutta* is *Nitattha* or *Neyyattha*.

> *Kim idaṃ suttam āhaccavacanaṃ anusandhivacanaṃ nitattham neyyattham samkilesabh āgiyam."*. (What is this sutta, it is one that consists of an original statement, one whose meaning is already guided, one whose meaning has yet to be guided *Nettippakarana* p. 21).

The Buddha who realised the Dhamma, deep difficult to see, difficult to understand peaceful, excellent, beyond dialectic, subtle intelligible to the learned," did not proceed to coin new terminology to take his message to the people. He made use of the prevalent terminology which were familiar to the masses, of course with new interpretation. It was one of the strategies the Buddha adopted to take his new philosophy to the people. As time went on, in the environment of the day teeming with numerous philosophies, it became necessary to define and attach specific meanings specially to the terms borrowed from contemporary usage. The interpretation was detrimental and would make the main tenets of the teachings collapse. It is seen that it was the wrong interpretation that lead to dissension in the Buddhist Order which finally culminated in forming different sects. As recorded in the *Anguttaranikāya* the Buddha himself has recognized the existence of two categories of *suttas* meanings of which are finally settled and those that need explanation. The Buddha has taken serious note if one were to confuse *Nitattha suttas* with *Neyattha* and *vice versa*. As the *Anguttaranikāya* says the Buddha has described it as an act of misrepresenting him. The *suta* concerned in the *Anguttara nikāya* testify that from an early period of the Buddhasāsana, the attention has been drawn to the possibility of misrepresenting certain *suttas* on a later date. Unfortunately other than the *Anguttara nikaya* no canonical text provide further details of this vital division of *suttas* as *Nitattha* and Neyyattha.

However it is of vital importance that the Dipavamsa of the 4th century A. C., a chronicle of Sri Lanka, has made a reference to *Nitattha* and *Neyyattha*, in the course of the narration of the story of the Second Buddhist Council. As recorded in the *Dipavamsa* the dissident corrupt Vajjiputtaka monks expelled, formed into another group. They held an assembly of 10,000 and convened a council of their own. The Dipavamsa goes on to describe how they disarranged the canon, says :

> *"Aññattha sangahitam suttam aññattha akarimsu te*
> *attham dhammam bhindimsu ye nikāyesu pancasu*
> *pariyāyadesitancā pi atho nippariyayadesitam*
> *nitatthañ ca neyyattham ajānitvāna bhikkhavo*
> *aññam sandhāya bhanitam aññattham thapayimsu te."*

"They took the *suttas* arranged in one place to another place, blasted the meaning and the *Dhamma* of the five *nikāyas*. Without knowing *pariyāya desanā* or *nippariyāya desanā* as well as *Nitattha* and *Neyyattha*, they kept something preached in connection with a particular issue in a different context. (*Dipavamsa* V, Verse 32f).

It is clear from this if one does not understand *Nitattha* and *Neyyattha* properly he may even confuse the scriptures. It is a prerequisite to understand the scriptures properly. Karunadasa.[2] attempts to trace the origin of the 'double truth' *sammuti* and *paramattha* developed in the *Abhidhamma* to *Nitattha* and *Neyyattha* when he says :

2. Karunadasa Y. *The Buddhist Theory of Double Truths*, Kalyāni Vol. III, 1984, p. 24

"It seems very likely that this distinction between *Nitattha* and *Neyyathha* has provided a basis for the emergence of the double truth. At the same time he reiterates "However on the basis of these subsequent interpretations it should not be concluded that in the original *sutta* passage too, there is an allusion to two kinds of truths. The distinction referred to is not between the two kinds of truth but that between two methods of presenting the Buddhist teachings".

Sumanapala Galmangoda[3] considers *Nitattha* and *Neyyattha* among the various teaching techniques the Buddha adopted according to the different situations, audiences, i. e.

Sappariyāya desanā (Illustrative Discourse)
Nippariyāya desanā (Abstractive Discourse)
Saṅkhitta desanā (Abridged Discourse)
Vitthāradesanā (Detailed Discourse)
Ānupubbikathā (Graduated Discourse)
Sāmukkamsikadesanā (Condensed Discourse)

In the Madhyamika[4] system of Buddhism the *Nitattha* and *Neyyattha* distinction is shown and it is observed that they have considered it as parallel to their version of double truths *samvrti* and *paramartha*. In the Mahayana Buddhist Literature[5] *Nitartha* and *Neyyartha* classification is found recognized. But quite contrary to the Theravada, where *nitattha* and *neyyattha* enjoys equal position, *nitārtha* is recommended as a guide in preference to one that is *neyyartha*.

Bibliography

Anguttara nikāya, Ed. Richard Morris Vol. 1 *PTS* London 1961 p. 60.

Manorathapurani Anguttaranikāya commentary Ed. Max Wallesser Vol. II, PTS London, 1973, p. 118

Gradual Sayings (*Anguttara nikaya* translation by F. L. Woodward) Vol: I, p. 54. *PTS* London 1979

Manorathapūrani ṭikā (*Anguttara nikāya* sub commentary) unpublished Manuscript of the National Museum Colombo, Manuscript No. 4, Folio 185 v.

Kalyani, published by the University of Kelaniya - *Budhist Theory of Double Truths* by Y. Karunadasa Vol. III 1984.

K. Arunasiri.

NĪVARAṆA : literally 'a shroud' or ' a screen'. Derived from the root nis+vr to enshroud, the term *ni-varana* is employed in Buddhist texts as a technical term with reference to passions (*kilesa or klesa*) that hinder the attainment of mental calmness and tranquility and wisdom. They are passions that defile the mind (*cetaso upakkilese*) and weaken wisdom (pannāya dubbalīkarane: *D.* III, 49-50; *M.*I, 276ff, A.163f, 386; *vbh.* 244f.etc.). They obstruct the arising of their opposites, which are good, and wholesome (*Ps.*I, 163), prevent the arising of wisdom in man and destroy whatever wisdom that has arisen in him (*vbh.*256). Asanga uses the term as a synonym of passion (*klesa* : *Abhsy.* 44), and defines it as passions that prevent the realization of good and wholesome mental states (kusala : ibid. 48). Sumangala says that nīvarana is so called because it obstructs the origination in man of wholesome thoughts (kusalacitta) as well as the eye of wisdom (*paññacakkhu: Abhidhammattha - vibhāvinī*, p.123, ed. by Pannānanda, Colombo,1898). Thus ni-varana means a 'Screen' (*āvarana*), a 'strainer' 'covering' (*onaha, pariyonaha: D.*I. 24,63), a hidden danger (*paticchanna* (*cangavāra : M.*I, 144), a hidden danger (*paticchanna parissava: Nd.* I. 13) and a heap of evil mental states (*akusalārāsi* : *S.*V. 145ff). It represents that function of the passions which hinders the mind of sentient beings from developing tranquility, thus making it unable to grasp the true nature of things. Thus, being the hindrance to the arising of mental calmness and of wisdom, nīvarana may be understood as mental hindrance.

3. Sumanapala Galmangoda Adi Bauddha Darsanaya (Sinhala) "Primitive Buddhist Philosophy" Colombo 1994, p. 184 ff.
4. *Bodhicaryāvatāra* Panijika Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1904 - 1914, p. 227.
5. Edgerton F, *Buddhist Hybrid Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p. 310.

Historical development-lists of nīvaraṇa : Originally the term *nīvarana* seems to have been used metaphorically with reference to the darkness of ignorance which beclouds the mind of sentient beings (*avijjā* or *avidyā nīvarana*: *S*.III, 149; V.226,439;*Mdhvr*.218). The idea was that the vision of sentient beings is enveloped by the darkness of ignorance (*avijjā nivuto loko*: *Sn*.v.1033;*Netti*. P.11).

When the teaching (*dhamma*) was systematically recorded, and the things of existence (*dhammā*) classified and categorised, we find five passions enumerated and treated as hindrances in the texts. They are desire for sensepleasures (*adhijjhā kāmacchanda* or *Kāmarāga*), ill-will (*vyāpāda* or *vyāpādāpadosa*), sloth-and-torpor (*thīnamiddha* or *stasānāmiddha*), agitation -and-worry (*uddhaccākukkucca* or *auddhatyā kaukrtya*) and doubt (*vicikicchā* or *vicikitsa*: *D*.I.71, 234, 246, II, 300f, III, 49f; 278; *M*.I.60, 144, 274f, III,2ff; *S*.V.,60, 84, 93f, 145f, 327; *A*.I.3ff, III, 63f, 230f, 386; IV, 457f; V,16,195; *Nd*. I, 13; Nd. II, 189; *Ps*.I.163; *Vbh*. 199; 244f, 252ff,378; *Pug*. 68; *Vism*. 114, 118, 155, 187; 586ff; *abhvt*.96; *Abhk*. V.59; *Abhsy*.48).

To this list of five hindrances is added a sixth, which originally was considered the hindrance, and, that is ignorance (*avijjā* : *Dhs. p.204f, 250; Abhs. p.32; Abhidhammatthāvibhāvini, p.123*).

The Patisambhidāmagga has one more, i.e., aversion to good, (*arati*) and makes a general statement to the effect that all evil and unwholesome states of mind are nīvarana (*Ps*. I. 163).

The *Samyutta Nikāya* gives a list of ten hindrances; but in these ten we do not find anything other than the five hindrances. Three of the five hindrances are considered there as six o the basis of their arising being dependant on internal and external objects; the remaining two are split into four. Thus we have internal sense pleasure (*ajjhattākāmacchanda*), internal ill-will (*ajjhattāvyāpāda*) and external ill-will (*bahiddhāvyāpāda*), doubt about internal things (*ajjhattam dhammesu vicikicchā*). Sloth, agitation and worry are considered as four separate hindrances (S.V.110).

The *Majjhima Nikāya* has a list of eight under nivarana and samyojana. The first four of them are evil actions (*akusalakamma*), namely, killing pānatipāta), theft (*adinnādāna*), falsehood(*musāvāda*), and slanderous speech (*pisunā-vācā*). The other four are evil metal states, namely, covetousness and greed(*giddhilobha*), fault-finding and anger (*nindarosa*) wrathful rage (*kodhūpāyāsa*) and arrogance (*atimāna*: *M*.I. 341ff). Of the latter four, giddhilobha may be identified with *abhijjhā*, the first hindrance, whereas (*kodhūpāyāsa*) and *nindārosa* may be taken as different manifestations of vyāpāda. These eight may have been termed ni-varana on consideration that all evil mental states and actions are *nīvarana*. This constitutes too much of a generalisation, for any evil mental state and action, for that matter, will have to be described as *nīvarana* although that is not incorrect.

Of these different lists of *nīvaranas*, the list of five may be taken as the standard. It is this that is found in all the texts, both Pāli and Sanskrt; only the *Dhammasangani* and the *Abhidhammattha-Sangaha* give *avijjā* as the sixth *nīvarana* (*Dhs*. p. 204f, 250f; *Abhs*. p.32). Both Asanga and Vasubandhu agree on the number as five (*Abhsy*.48;*Abhk*.152).

Although, according to the list, the number of nīvaranas is five, there are, in fact, seven passions. The third *nīvarana* consists of two: *thīna* or *styāna* and *middha*; so does the fourth which consists of *Uddhacca* or *auddhatya* and *kukkucca* or *kaukrtya*; in other categories of passions these four are treated as separate items.

A comparison of different categories of passions may, therefore, be useful in assessing the position of *nīvarana* in relation to other categories of passions.

	NĪVARAṆA	ANUSAYA	SAMYOJANA	KILESA	[illegible]
1.	*Abhijjhā*			*lobha*	*lobha*
	Kamacchanda				
	Kāmarāga	*Kāmarāga*	*Kamarāga*		
		bhavarāga	*rūparāga*		
			arūparāga		
2.	*vyāpāda*	*patigha*	*vyāpāda*	*dosa*	*dosa*
3.	*thīna*			*thīna*	*thīna*
	Middha				*middha*
4.	*uddhacca*		*udhacca*	*uddhacca*	*uddhacca*
	kukkucca				*kukkucca*
5.	*vicikicchā*	*vicikicchā*	*vicikicchā*	*vicikicchā*	*vicikicchā*

It is evident that the first two *nīvaraṇa*, *abhijjhā* and *vyāpāda*, are found in some form or another in all the categories of passions. These two are otherwise known as two of the three evil mental actions. The last one, i.e., *vicikicchā*, is also common to all categories. The remaining two are found as four in the akusala cetasikacategory. The *kilesa* category has dropped *middha* and *kukkucca*; and the samyojana category has dropped *thīna* as well. The *anusaya* category has dropped all of them. It is also evident from this that the same passion is considered a hindance, an evil mental state, a latent tendency, a fetter and difilment. We may, therefore, draw the natural conclusion that the passions act in different capacities in different environments (*Abhsy*.p.44).

Kāmacchanda : The first hindrance in the list is the desire for sense-pleasures, which is termed *abhijjhā*, *kāmarāga* or kamacchanda. It is the desire for the five groups of existence, which form the objects of clinging(*panca-upādānakkhandha: Dhs.* 204f; *Vbh.* 252f; *DA.* I,211). It is the attraction to objects, which are pleasant and desireable. The mind is tempted and confused by these objects because of *Kāmacchanda* (*Vism.* 118). *Abhijjhā*, another term for kāmacchanda, is described also as one of the three evil mental actions (*akusala kamma: M.*III, 49; *A.*V.265etc.) It is synonymous with *rāga* or *lobha*, one of the three roots of evil (*akusalāmūla: Dhs.* 204f, *Vbh.*252f). It is the opposite of renunciation (*nekkhamma:Ps.*I,163).

Vyāpāda : Next comes ill-will which is the hatred towards objects which are unpleasant and disagreeable. The mind is overcome by ill-will, and as a result, the flow of even mental states is interrupted (*Vism.* 118). The mind is distorted and corrupted by it (*DA.*I, 211). It is synonymous with dosa, one of the three roots of evil. (*Dhs.* 204f; *Vbh.*252f.), and is the opposite of amity (*mettā: Ps.* I, 163). It is also given as one of the three evil mental actions(*M.*III, 49;*A*,. V, 265).

Thīnamiddha: The third is sloth-and torpor. Although considered collectively as one hindrance, in fact, there are two passions, namely, sloth (*thīna*) and torpor (*Middha*). The former is the rigidity (*akalyatā*) of mind whereas the later refers to the rigidity of body (*Dhs* 204f;*Vbh.*252f). Buddhaghosa interprets the former as the sickness (*gelanna*) of mind(*citta*) and, the latter as the sickness of mental states (*cetasika: DA.* I, 211). The mind overwhelmed with *thīna - middha* becomes unwieldy and inactive (*akammanna:Vism.* 118). The person who is overcome by it becomes lethargic and heedless as it is the opposite of striving for spiritual progress (*PS.*I, 163;*Abhvt.* 23-214).

Uddhacca-kukkucca: This also consists of two passions, agitation (uddhacca) and worry (kukkucca): the former refers to the confused and agitated state of mind, to the lack of mental calmness, whereas the latter refers to indecision over one's own actions; i.e. indecision as to whether something one has done is right or wrong, or good or bad (Dhs. p.204f., Vbh.252f; Vism.118;Abhvt.19f.).

Vicikicchā: The last hindrance in the list is doubt; about his teaching, i.e. *dhamma*, doubt about the training (*sikkha*) that the teacher has formulated, and so on (*Dhs.* 204f. *Vbh.*256f). This doubt makes the mind of sentient beings incapable of attaining the discriminating knowledge of the things of existence (*dhammā; Ps.*I.163).

The Nature of the hindrances: The five mental hindrances are frequently spoken of as defilements of the mind (*cetaso upakkilese*), which weaken wisdom (*paññaya dubbali-karane*: *D.*II.49;*S.*V.92f,108,115;*A.*II,17:III,16,336,V,195; *Vbh.*256;*DhpA.*162etc.).

The *Anguttara Nikāya* gives a beautiful simile in which the mind of sentient beings is compared to water ands the five hindrances to foreign matter that makes the water dirty and turbid. Thus, sensuous desire is compared with dyes of many colours which change the natural luster of pure water; ill-will is compared with heat of five which boils the water; sloth-torpor is compared with mosses that over the water; agitation and worry with wind which agitates the water; and doubt with mud which makes the water turbid (A.III,230ff). Just as in such water one cannot see one's own reflection, so in the presence of these five hindrances, one cannot clearly discern one's own welfare, nor that of others, nor that of both (*ibid*).

Causes for the arising of hindrances: We find a number of factors given in the texts as causes for the arising of hindrances. One such given in the Samyutta-nik-aya seems to be the primary cause, and that is unwise reflection (*ayoniso manasikāra* : *S.*V.93f.). The unwise reflection is a result of ignorance (*avijjā* or *moha*), which makes sentient beings unable to grasp the true nature of things, such as impermanence

The *Anguttara Nikāya* gives a cause for the arising of every hindrance and takes unwise reflection as the cause of doubt, the fifth hindrance (*A*.I,3ff). The other four causes are: Auspicious sign (*Subha-nimitta*) for sensuous desire: the sign of repugnance (*patigaha nimitta*) for ill-will; laziness of mind (cetaso l-matta) for sloth-and-torpor; and uncalmed state of mind (*cetaso avūpasama*) for agitation-and-worry.

From this we understand that unwise reflection gives rise to doubt. Both unwise reflection and doubt are the results of ignorance. Ignorance is the basic passion in which the origin of all other passions may be traced. This becomes clear when the process of the arising of sensuous desire and ill-will are analysed. It is said that the latter two arise from the pleasant sign and the sign of repugnance, respectively. These are the signs, which are derived from objects of the senses. When a man experiences an external object through one of his sense, he is naturally inclined to develop a liking or a dislike toward it, depending on the attractiveness or repulsiveness of the object. The beautiful objects are attractive and the sign derived from them is pleasant and the ugly objects are repulsive and the sign derived from them is repugnant. The pleasant sign is given as the cause for the arising of sensuous desire, because man desires to acquire or possess things, which are beautiful. The sign of repugnance is the cause for the arising of ill-will because man hates objects which are ugly. Sensuous desire and ill-will may be traced, for their arising, ultimately in ignorance; for, it is because of iganorance that man reflects unwisely making himself incapable of realising the basic truth that all objects, both beautiful and ugly, are impermanent, causes for suffering and unsubstantial. The stages in this process may be roughly given as ignorance, unwise reflection, pleasant sign or the sign of repugnance and sensuous desire or ill-will.

How they are overcome : The overcoming of hindrances takes place when the causes that lead to their arising are negated. Thus it should be the reverse of the process or their origination. The *Anguttara nikāya* outlines this process as the method by which the hindrances are overcome. Thus we have five causes for their disappearance; the development of repugnant sign (*asubha-nimitta*) for the disappearnace of sensuous desire; attainment of the emancipation of heart through development of amity (*mettā-ceto-vimutti*) for the disappearance of ill-will, the element of energy (*ārambha dhātu*) for the disappearance of sloth-and torpor; calmness of mind (*cetaso vūpasama*) for the disappearnce of agitation and worry; and wise reflection (*yoniso manasikāra*) for the disappearance of doubt (*A*.I,3ff).

Numerous references to the overcoming of *nīvarana* are found in the texts and they supplement the *Anguttara explanation*. Numerous passages that outline the Buddhist scheme of emancipation (vimutti) refer to the overcoming of *nīverana* as a necessary step in attaining obsorption of the mind (*jhāna*) which is a pre-requisite for attaining wisdom (*paññā*) which brings about final and prefect liberation (*nibbāna*, *D*.I, 71; III, 49f; *M*.I. 276ff; III, 2ff; *A*.III, 63f; *pug*.68; *Vbh*.244f etc.).

The attainment of mental absorption represents concentration of the mind (*Samādhi*), which is the second step in the three fold spiritual training (*tisikkhā*). According to the *Sāmannaphala sutta* (*D*.I. 71ff), the monk starts his spiritual training with morality (*sīla*), which is its first step. When the prefection in *sīla* is attained, he gets rid of the five mental hindrances and attains mental absorption. The monk whose mind is mow concentrated is in a position to direct his mind for the realization of the true mature of existence. This realization constitutes the third step in which wisdom is attained. This is the wisdom, which eradicates all the passions and brings about emancipation.

According to this scheme, the *nīvarana* are the hindrances to mental calmness; and therefore their removal results in the attainment of mental calmness, concentration and absorption. It does not result in the attainment of wisdom, *sine-qua-non* of emancipation.

Two levels of their overcoming : This brings us to the fact that hindrances are overcome mainly on two different levels; one, on the eve of attainment to mental absorption, and the other, on the eve of attainment to wisdom.

The attainment of mental absorption is not necessarily Buddhistic. The other systems of Indian religion, too, have advocated this attainment. The Buddhists adopted and used this as a means to attaining wisdom. Thus, overcoming of *nīvarana* mentioned as a pre-requisite for the attainment of mental absorption does not refer to their total destruction; it only refers to their tempory suspension. This temporary suspension is referred to in the Pāli commentaries as *vikkhambhana-pahāna* as against *samuccheda-pahāna*, which is their

total destruction (*SnA*.8-9;*DhsA*.351. see also *vism*. pp. 118, 155, 589), which takes place when the monk attains supreme wisdom (*Vism*.589).

Vikkhambhana - pahāna : The words kama and *akusala-dhamma* that occur in the passages descriptive of the attainments of mental absorption refer, according to Buddhaghosa, to the five hindrances: kama refers to kamacchanda, , the first hindrance: and *akusala-dhamma* to the remaining four hindrances (*Vism*.114).

These hindrances are suspended at the moment when the monk reaches a distinct stage in the attainment of mental absorprtion; this stage is called 'the acquiring of the counter-image (*patibhāga-nimitta*: q.v. *Vism* 155). Kamacchanda is suspended owing to a monk's paying no attention externally to sense-objects, Owing to his abandoning the approval of the object, ill-will is abandoned, too; likewise, sloth-and torpor is abandoned through exertion of energy; agitation-and worry is abandoned through devotion to peaceful things that cause no remorse; and doubt is abandond through the actual experience of the distiction attained (*ibid*).

Results : Since the five hindrances are the enemies of the five factors of mental absorption (*jhānanga*), namely, applied thought (*vitakka*), sustained thought (*vicāra*), rapture (*pāti*), happiness (*sukha*) and one-pointedness of mind (*cittekaggatā*, i.e.,*samādhi*). the latter arise when the former are suspended.Thus, when sensuous desire is suspended, one-pointedness of the mind arises; the absence of ill-will results in rapture; abandoning of sloth-and-torpor gives rise to reflection; the absence of agitation-and worry results in happiness, and the abandoning of doubt givens rise to examination (*Vism*.114;*Abhvt*.96). The presence of the five factors of mental absorption constitutes the attainment of mental absorption itself.

Although, at the moment of attaining the mental absorption, the other evil mental states (*akusala - dhammā*), too, are suspended, yet, the five hindrances are essentially suspended, because they are the particular passions that hinder its attainment, In their presence, no mental absorption is attainable (*Vism*. 188; *Abhvt*.96).

Samuccheda-pahāna: The total destruction of hindrances place when the monk attains supreme wisdom. The *Visuddhimagga* gives three successive stages in which hindrances are destroyed gradually: Doubt is destroyed by the first knowledge of the supramundane path (*pathama-magga-nāna*). I.e. the knowledge of the *sotāpanna*; sense-desire, ill-will and worry are destroyed by the third knowledge of the path (*tatiyamaggnana*) i.e., the knowledge of the *anāgāmin*; and, finally, agitation and sloth-and-torpor are destroyed by the fourth and final knowledge of the path (*catuttha-magga-nāna*) i.e., the knowledge of the Arahant(*Vism*.589).

Sekha-Vihāra and Tathāgatha-vihāra : The *Samyutta-nikaya* refers to two different stages in which the hindrences are overcome. One is called the trainee's or the learner's way of life (*sekha-vihara*) and, the other, the Tathagata's way of life (*Tathāgata-vihāra* S.V.327f). In the former, the hindrances are abandoned (*pahīna*) whereas in the latter, they are not only abandond, but are cut down at root (*ucchinna-mūlā*). made like a palm-tree stump, (*talāvatthukatā*), made something that has ceased to be (*anabhāvakatā*) so as not to grow again in the future (*āyatim Anuppadhammā , ibid*).

The former apparently refers to their to their temporary suspension whereas the latter, to their total destruction. But, unlike in the attainment of mental absorption which is not necessarily Buddhistic, in this case, the temporary suspension as well as total destruction are purely Buddhistic. By sekha we understand those who have entered into one or all of the first three stages of the transcendental path. The Tathagata in this context refers to "the trained" of "the learned" (*asekha*), i.e., the Arahant.

Means of overcoming the hindrances: As for the means by which hindrances are overcome we find faith (*saddhā*: *Miln*.34f) Eightfold Noble Path (*ariyaatthangika-magga*; S.V.60) and the four bases of mindfulness (*cattāro satipatthānā*: A.IV, 457f).

The Milindapanha gives traquilising (*sampasā dana*) aspect of faith as a factor, which purifies the mind of hindrances (*Miln*.p.34f). But this purification refers to their temporary suspension (*Vikkhambhana*: *ibid*.), which is essential for the attainment of metal absorption.

The other two, i.e., the Eightfold Noble Path and the four bases of mindfulness, are the means by which hindrances are totally destroyed.

It may be pertinent, in this context, to mention that the five hindrenses form one of the categories of the things of existence (*dhammā*) to be contemplated in the fourth basis of mindfulness (*dhammānupassanā* : D.II, 300f; M.I.60f; *Vbh.* 199). the development of mindfulness as regards the five hindrances consists of the awareness, on the part of the monk, of their presence in, and absence from him, and of contemplation of the ways in which they arise, disappear and are destroyed, never to rise again (*ibid*). Since this is one of the four bases of mindfulness, we may not count this as a separate means by which hindrances are eradicated. See. Kilesa.

Upali Karunaratne

NIYĀMA DHAMMĀ, the five-fold orders or processes operative in the organic and the inorganic physical phenomena as well as in the mental phenomena of the universe.

This is a commentarial concept occurring in the *Atthasālini* (*PTS* p. 272), the commentary to the *Dhammasangani* where these are given as *bijaniyāma*, *utuniyāma*, *kammaniyāma*, *dhammaniyāma* and *cittaniyāma*. These five encapsulate the entire existential process of the mental and physical phenomena of the universe through this concept which is an assemblage of five-fold laws along with their natural operational processes. Hence, they can be conveniently designated as "cosmic orders' as well. These can be explained as follows :

(1) *Bījaniyāma* : This is the germinal order prevalent in the universe according to which seeds of plants, trees, creepers etc. generate issues of fruition similar to their own species. Examples cited in the *Atthasālini* are the sprouting of the gram seed issuing itself in the northern direction, the creeper called *dakkhiṇāvatta* always growing around a tree from the right side, the opening of the sun-flower always facing the sun, the creeper called *māluvā* always growing towards a tree and the presence of three eyes in the head of the coconut.

The origin, growth, figuration, existence, disapperance etc. of human, animal and plant kingdoms are subject to a certain set pattern and the regulated repetition of this process in the continuity of a particular species is the major aspect of *bijaniyāma*. The scientific theories of genes and cells, the birth, growth, decay and death of living beings, the phenomena of twins, triplets etc. are all covered by this *niyāma-dhamma*.

Considered in the light of these facts it is seen how and why the physical build-up of one human being is fundamentally the same in all humans. Species-wise all men are equal as delineated in the *Vāseṭṭha* sutta of the *Suttanipāta* which clarifies (*Sn. HOS.* pp. 146 ff.) how they all are identically subject to the same laws of origin, change and dissolution. These regularities apply with the same validity to the animal kingdom as well. Even in the plant kingdom the germination, growth and death of plant life occur basically in the same pattern. Species of plants continue to maintain their identity without variation from seed to seed in their continuity of existence. All these are part of the *bījaniyāma* process.

(ii) ***Utuniyāma*** : This is the caloric order of the universe as exemplified by the simultaneous blossoming, fructifying, sprouting and such other functions of such and such trees in such and such seasons. The recuring phenomena of seasons with their varying types of climate repeating themselves every year without fail in the sequence of autumn, winter, spring and summer comprise a major aspect of this *niyāmadhamma*. Rains, floods, droughts, tempests and all such other natural occurrences affecting the climatic conditions are all part of this natural law. The revolution of the earth round the sun as well as its rotation on its own axis, which are the main causes of these phenomena, also fall into this category. The rising and the setting of the sun and other stars and planets with day following night and *vice versa*, the phenomena of days, months, years and even aeons (*kalpa*) are all part of this concept. As these regular occurrences continue repeating themselves at fixed intervals *ad infinitum* in a chronological cycle, no first beginning of this world can be located anywhere.

(iii) ***Kammaniyāma*** : This is the fixed law pertaining to the fruition of wholesome (*kusala*) and unwholesome (*akusala*) votitional activities of the

samsāric individual. This is a law of action and reaction that governs the expending or the fruition of the *kammic* energy stored in an individual *sans* any external intervention as god or any such power as a law-giving agency. It is through this operational power of one's *kamma* that a being cotinues his *samsāric* journey till such time as when this energy becomes a spent-force with the attainment of Nibbanic freedom.

In the psychological ethics of Buddhism it is also taught that the operation of this *kammic* law is based on the important tenet that one's actions are always motivated by some volition (*cetanā*) which would fructify in pleasant or unpleasant consequences (*vipāka*) depending on the wholesome or unwholesome nature of the volition. Both good and bad in the world are results of such volitional activities of man, who thus remains the manipulator of his won *kammaniyāma*, the external law of moral causation.

(iv) ***Dhammaniyāma*** : This comprises the laws governing natural happenings like the laws of gravitation, of impermanence, earthquakes, blowing of wind etc. Occasional extraordinary events that defy clear explanation and hence popularly regarded as 'miracles' are also categorized under this concept. While rejecting the 'miracle' idea, Buddhism explains them under *dhammaniyāma* as a part of nature's ways of reacting to certain extra-ordinary situations that occur now and then. For instance, the birth of a Baodhisatta is herelded by miracles such as blossoming of certain varieties of flowers out of season, Bodhisatta's mother giving birth to him in a standing position and also out of doors etc.

Generally speaking, nature can be defined as a collection of causes and their consequences and it is this standard situation that goes under *dhammaniyāma* in the present context. Another relevant instance would be the Buddhist theory of conditioned genesis or dependent arising (*paṭicca-samuppāda*) which is an eternal law operating for all time in time and space whether Buddhas occasionally discover it or not. The theory behind this law may logically stated as :

"When this exists this come to be
When this does not exist this does not come to be".

Hence, everything in the universe exists and ceases to exist on this theory of cause and effect, which has been generalized here as a fixed law, a *niyāmadhamma*.

(v) ***Cittaniyāma*** : This refers to the fixed psychological laws relating to such mental phenomena as processes of consciousnes, (*cittavīthi*), functions of consciousness (*viññānakicca*), various special powers of the mind such as telpathy, retro cognition, premonition, clarivoyance, clair-audience, thought reading, all of which are inexplicable by modern science.

Out of the mental powers just enumerated the supernormal aspects developed through meditation are specially significant in the present context because they are not extraordinary by-products of the mind through meditation but latent powers inherent within the mind itself which reveal themselves when the mind reaches the required heights for their surfacing. As such, they are not gifts from a higher power like God but untapped mental powers awaiting proper development through the correct kind of effort.

However, in the Buddhist context, it is important to highlight the fact that these powers of the mind are of little value in relation to the main mission of Buddhism which is the achievement of complete freedom from *samsāric* existence by realising Nibbāna. Yet, these powers emerge as a part of the higher development of the mind and therefore they should be treated accordingly without attaching any undue importance to them. They are only a part of the natural process of mental purification and development as an aspect of *cittaniyāma*.

What really happens in the course of persevering meditational exercises is a gradual dilution of our *kammic* inheritance from the past (*kaṭattākamma*) in our pilgrimage towards the *kammakkhaya* (freedom from all *kamma*) state of Nibbāna.

Another important observation that needs mention here is that these *niyāma dhammas* cannot and do not

function in watertight compartments but their fields of operation inevitably encroach upon one another on, for instance, *bijaniyama* cannot function without the help of *utuniyama* as the two are closely interconnected, at least remotely.

A. G. S. Kariyawasam.

NIYATIVĀDA *See* **DETERMINISM AND INDETERMINISM**

NOBLE EIGHT-FOLD PATH : The Noble Eight-fold path is acclaimed by both traditions of Buddhism, Theravāda and Mahāyāna, as the onlypath for the purification of beings. The Buddha does not claim that this all-important path to be an invention of his. He calls it a re-discovery by him. In several places in the Pali canon the Buddha calls himself the first man to follow the Path re-discovered by him after the lapse of a period of time. In a very apt simile in the *Nidāna Samyutta* (S. II.p. 105) the Buddha says : 'Just as if, brethren, a man faring through the forest, through the great wood, should see the ruins of an ancient path, an ancient road traversed by men of former days And he were to go along it and going along it he should see an ancient city in ruins, an ancient prince's domain, wherein dwelt men of former days, having gardens groves pools foundations of walls, a goodly spot. And that man, brethren, should bring word to the prince or to the prince's minister : "Pardon lord, know this. I have seen as I fared through the forest, through the great wood, an ancient path, an ancient road traversed by men of former days. I have been along it and going along it I have seen an ancientt city, an ancient prince's domain. Lord, restore that city, and brethren, the prince or his minister should restore that city. That ciry should thereafter become prosperous and flourishing, populous, teeming with prople, grown and thriven. Even so I have, brethren seen an ancient road traversed by the rightly Enlightened ones of former times. And what, brethren, is that ancient path, that ancient road traversed by the rightly Enlightened ones of former times ? It is just this Noble Eight-fold Path, to wit, right vies, right thoughts, right speech, right action right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration of mind. And where does this Path lead to ? It leads to the utter cessation of craving, to pacification, to Nibbāna (*S.*II.p.106).

The Ideal of Nibbāna and the Path that leads to its attainment were already there, but were obliterated by the veils of ignorance, and the Buddha only re-discovered them and tread on the Path and attained the goal himself ; and to that extent he was the pioneer (*ādimapurisa*), the first person to tread the Path re-discovered by himself. Having re-discovered the Path and having tread it and having reached the goal to which that Path leads, the Buddha laid bare all his experience before the world so that anyone who is so inclined may follow that Path and reach that identical goal reached by the Buddha himself (*Thag*. p. III), and hence the epithet *Buddhānu-buddhā arahantā* (Arahants who have become Englightened by following the example of the Buddha).

The Buddha's first declaration of this age-old Path comes in the first discourse preached by the Buddha to the five ascetics at Isipatana, after attaining Sambodhi. It forms the fourth of the four Noble Truths he preached in that discourse, namely, the Noble Truth of suffering, the Noble Truth of the cause of suffering, the Noble Truth of the cessation of suffering and the Noble Truth of the path that leads to the cessation of suffering.

The above description reveals that suffering has a cause, namely, the three - fold thirst ; and when this thirst, which is the cause of suffering, disappears suffering too ceases to be ; and craving is brought about by ignorance of the true nature of things and this ignorance can be repelled by developing wisdom and wisdom could be developed when there is proper control and concentration of the mind and proper control and concentration could be developed only by disciplining the mind by practise of virtue. Thus actually the Path described above is aimed at bringing about the cessation of suffering by destroying its cause, namely craving.

Let us now examine the Path that leads to the utter cessation of suffering. Two planes are recognized in

this Path, namely, the mundane, which is described as tinted with inflows, inclined to merit and producing the substratum of rebirth ; and the supramundane which is exalted and free from inflows. In the first plane, one's ability to differentiate between right views and wrong views constitute right views in this Path. In this Plane 'right' does not essentially mean 'true' and 'wrong' does not always mean 'untrue'. 'Right' in this context seems to have a pragmatic meaning such as 'useful' 'beneficial' and 'conductive to well- being and happiness' whereas its opposite 'wrong' seems to have the idea of 'malevolent', 'conducive to degeneration and defeat'. This is very cleary hinted at in the *Apannaka Sutta* (*M*. I. pp. 400 - 13) and in the *Apannaka Jataka* (J. I. p. 104) where it is said that when there are two views, one opposed to the other, regarding which one actually cannot come to a conclusion as to which of them is true and which of them is false, one should tentatively accept the vice that would inspire action that would result in one's well - being and happiness. So to believe that there are such things as alms, sacrifice and oblations, there is fruit and result of actions good and bad, there is a this world and a world beyond, there are those who are called mothers, and fathers, and beings who are of spontaneous birth and there are recluses and brahamins who live noble life and who are on the correct path who realize the truth of this world and the world beyond and reveal that to others, are recognized as right views in this lover level of the Path, because such beliefs form a good basis for moral life- to encourage people to refrain from doing things that are harmful to the doer as well as to others and to inspire people to do things that are beneficial to the doer as well as to others.

The second step in the Path is right thoughts or right mental attitudes. These are attitudes one develops in one, basing on the right views one has already cultivated. These are thoughts of self- abnegation, which are the opposites of lustful thoughts, thoughts of benevolence, which are the opposites of malevolent thoughts and thoughts of love and sympathy, which are the opposites of thoughts of jealousy and cruelty (*M*.III. p. 73 ; *D*. II. p. 312). These are thoughts that should direct the individual and inspire him in all his verbal and bodily actions. It should be noted here that right thoughts and right mental attitudes in this plane are not completely free from inflows and that they are productive of the substratum of rebirth, beacuse the attitudes one develops in this level are done not through complete understanding of the true nature of things.

The third stage is right speech. It should be noted here that the Path becomes a public one from being a private and an individualist one only from this stage onwards, that is, its effect is felt not only by the individual who treads it, but actually the rightness of it is judged by the effect it has on others as well. So right speech here means avoidance of all speech that would have an adverse effect on others as well as on the speaker himself. Wrong speech is classed under four headings. They are : falsehood, harsh speech, slanderous speech and frivolous speech. Refraining from suchg speech and cultivating the habit of always using their opposites constitutes right speech in this plane (*M*. III. p. 73).

The fourth stage in the Path is right action. Killing or causing injury to life, taking or appropriating what is not given voluntarily, and indiscriminate indulgence in sense pleasures are the three wrong actions that are performed by body. Basically, refraining from such action is considered as right action. The *Brahmajala sutta* (*D*. I. p. 4) describes the behaviour of a person who follows right action thus : he gives up killing and causing bodily injury to living beings, and is quite aloof from such actions and keeps aside all weapons used in causing injury to life, is sympatheic and kind to all living beings. He refrains from appropriating what is not voluntarily given to him and what is not his due and is ready to make sacrifices to help others. Having given up all wrongful gratification of the senses, he never attempts to indulge in unwarranted relationships with women who are in the protection of parents, brothers and sisters, husbands and soforth'.

The fifth stage in the Path is right livelihood. In the fourth stage all bodily action that are consideres as good are included, but the fifth stage is specific in that it does not discuss all action, but action verbal and bodily, that one does to earn a living,a re included inthis stage. Resorting to deceit, fraud, jugglery etc. to earn a living are described as wrong livelihood, and not resorting to such things for one's livelihood is regarded as right livelihood. But this description of livelihood seems to refer to the livelihood of monks and not in

general. But as a general rule, if one engages in any activity by way of living, that causes hardship to any other being, it amounts to wrong living. Thus in the Anguttara Nikāya (*A.* III. p. 208) five trades are named as unsuitable for the lay followers of the Buddha, namely, trade in weapons, animals, flesh, intoxicants and poison. Though trade in other things is not regarded as bad, even there one should not cheat with weight, coins and measures.

The sixth stage is right effort. A four-fold effort is mentioned in this connection, namely, effort to dispel evil things in one, effort to obstruct the entry of evil things into one, effort to develop good things that are not found in one and effort to safeguard the good things that are already in one. Right effort is involved in all other stages the Path, for without this now of them could be developed. To develop right views, one should with effort differentiate between right views and wrong views that are already found in one and should abstruct the entry of further wrong views into one, while at the same time protecting and developing right views one has already formed and then endeavouring to develop more right views. This process applies to the remaining stages of the Path too.

The seventh stage in the Path is right mindfulness. This is nothing but awareness, alertness and minute vigilance of the mind so that one is conscious of everything that comes to one's mind, as to its nature, so that one can choose in time to do or not to do something in accordance with its appropriateness or in appropriableness. As such right mindfulness assists one on the path to select between right views and wrong views, between right thoughts and wrong thoughts, between right speech and wrong speech, between right action and wrong action, between right livelihood and wrong livelihood and between right effort and wrong effort.

The eighth stage is right concentration of mind. Right concentration of mind comes about through correct treading of the preceding seven stages of the Path. The more the strengh of practice of the preceding seven stages of the Path in one, more strong and stable becomes one's concentration of mind. Thus says the Buddha in the *Maha Cattārisaka Sutta* (*M.* III p. 71): 'Right concentration of mind achieved through cultivating the preceding seven stages of the Path, is the one - pointendness of mind.'

It has been mentioned above that are two planes in the Path, the mundane and the supramundane. Whatever the plane is, one thing is clear, namely, that the Path cannot be dissociated from society, the community, for the stages in the Path are directly involved and connected with the lives of all beings. In the lower plane one develops the stages of the Path with an enlightened selfishness, a selfishness, which is neither harmful to the doer nor to others, but conducive to well - being and happiness of the doer or others, both here and now and in the hereafter. In the higher plane one treads the Path without even such selfishness, with no motives whatsoever, with altruistic feelings only, such as friendliness to all beings, compassion or loving kindness, sympathetic joy and equanimity. So a person who has reached the higher plane of the Path, too, lives in society and is quite active. But his activity is not motivated by attachment and expectation of gain. His disposition is one of friendliness to all. Due to such a disposition, he has in him a tendency to work to help those who are in misery to ensure happiness to them. So, to those who are in need of help, he does everything within his means to help them out of that situation and secure for them some sort of comfort and happiness. When he sees that others are relieved of misery or are enjoying some sort of happiness, he too feels a sense of joy and happiness that is free from desire or craving ; and such a person always maintains balance of mind, is not disturbed when his efforts to help others fail. He maintains equipoise.

Though the Path is normally called the Nobel Eight-fold Path, it is shown as consisting of ten stages in the higher plane, with the addition of right knowledge and right liberation after right concentration of mind.

This Path, which is called the unique Path for the liberation of beings., is divided again into three stages, namely, virtue, concentration of mind and wisdom. The basic idea in Buddhism is that, due to lack of knowledge about the true nature of things, beings harbour notions of 'I' and 'mine' and do things motivated by craving and hatred, which produces a Karmic force that makes beings to wander in Samsāra. So the only way to put

an end to Samsāra is by developing wisdom, which would help a man to have insight into the true nature of things. The true nature of things is described as 'Impermanent' or transitory, and hence unsatisfactory and full of suffering, devoid of a permanent substance and having only a relative existence (D II. p. 90). An unblemished wisdom is essential to understand this nature of things and such wisdom could be developed only in a mind, which has reached a high degree of concentration power or one-pointedness of mind. Meditation to attain this concentration power of the mind, on the other hand, could be undertaken only after overcoming the fickle nature of the mind to some extent by practising virtue, and virtue is therefore the starting point in the Buddhisht way to attain release from Samsā ra, and hences the statement : 'The prudent man, having established firmly in virtue, develops concentration of mind to attain wisdom, by which he disentangles the tangle of Samsāra (Vism. p. I.)

When we examine stories about previous lives of the Buddha, from the time of his birth as Sumedha Panditha when he received the prediction of his becoming a Buddha, till his last birth before becoming a Buddha, we see how he practised virtue in order to prepare himself for Buddhahood. He practised to perfection ten virtues, namely, liberality, self discipline, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truthfulness, resoluteness, frindliness and equanimity. Even after becoming a Buddha, until his death at the age of eighty, he engages himself in a unique type of social service, being driven to do so through his boundless compassion and friendliness to all in the world. Buddha by his personal example and through his disciples proved to the world that the way to liberation he advocated actually had to be through social life and that it cannot be dissociated and divorced from social activities. From the day of his attaining Buddhahood he was busily engaged, along with his devoted band of disciples, in roaming the length and breadth of the country on foot, preaching to the people ways and means of ameliorating their suffering, how to manage their daily work intelligently and with courage. During a period of fourty five years he worked among all types of people ranging from down trodden miserable people like Upali and Sunita to treasurers and kings such as Anathapindika and Bimbisara, preaching to them as the occasion demanded. In his teachings he did not preach to them only about the subtleties of his dhamma. Only to the very few who were keen and intelligent enough to understand such doctrines did he preach about them. To the rest he preached according to their capacity of understanding, so that they could develop gradually on the Path to attain final release from samsāra. To some he preached only about merits of generosity, practice of virtue such as refraning from wicked and harmful deeds to others and treating others with kindness and frindship ; to some he spoke about heaven and hell to encourage them to do good and refrain from evil ; to some who were more advanced intellectually and spiritually he spoke about evil consequences of sense pursuit and their defiling nature and how to overcomes such desires. It is only to those who were keen on the subtleties of his doctrine and who had the developed mind, that he spoke about the four truths, that life is full of suffering, that suffering has a cause, that this suffering could be completely repelled and that there is a method to do it (D . I. p. 110).

Though he spoke often about the dangers of sense pursuit he did not encourage his disciples or followers to run from society. He expected his followers to pursue sense gratification with understanding so that they did not become victims to the snares of sensual pleasures and destroy themselves. To the Majority of the people his admonition was to do things that would result in happiness in this world and well-being in the world to come. But that does not for a while mean that the ideal of nibbāna cannot be attainned just here and now. For the intelligent and keen person who has the strength of character to cut himself further away from sense pleasures to undertake a training in mental culture, the ideal is still within reach in this very existence itself. When we turn through the pages of some canonical texts, we see many instances both of men and women who attained Arahantship in this very existnece. The Therigāthā and Theragāthā are full of such episodes. In several places we are reminded that the individual has to develop to full perfection only in relation to society and therefore, he need not cut himself completly away from society, though he may withdraw occasionally to a secluded place undisturbed by various things so that he may meditate to attain one-pointedness of mind. The ideal individual lives in society like a lotus in a pond. A lotus has its origin in

the mud beneath water. Being nourished by the manure in the mud and water the lotus bud grows gradually and coming up piercing through water, it comes above the water and blossoms forth and is now untouched by water, alothough it had its birth in water and grew in water. Even so should a man develop to full perfection in the world and continue to give courage and inspiration to all around him, like the lotus that pleases all who see it. Such a person is decribed as a being who is the world, but who is not of the world. Such is the ideal individual according to Buddhist teachings.

To be such an ideal individual in society, a man has to develop his personality from many angles. First of all he should gradually free his mind of all prejudices that obstruct his clear vision and train his mind to think in an unbiased way. Secondly he should evolve proper criteria to guide all activities in society. Thirdly he should have a clear understanding of the relationships he should develop in society so that there is happiness, harmony and progress in all spheres of activity. Fourthly he should develop his character in such a way that he becomes a source of inspiration and courage and a guide to all around him See also ARIYA AṬṬHANGIKA MAGGA.

W. G. Weeraratne

NON-VIOLENCE *See* **AHIMSĀ**

NORMAN, HARRY CAMPBELL (1878 - 1913) An English Orientalist. Norman ranks among the early European scholars in Pali and his edition of the *Dhammapada Atthakatha* (commentary) for the Pali Text Society, London (hereinafter abbreviated *PTS*) is reckoned as a remarkable contribution to Buddhist scholarship.

Born at Winkleigh, Devonshire, England on December, 19, 1878, as the son of a physician, Norman received his early education at the Edinburgh Institution and in 1896, entered the University, where he studied Greek under Professor S. H. Butcher and Latin under Professor Hardie. There also he acquired an elementary knowledge in Sanskrit by following the lectures of Professor Julius Eggeling.

He obtained his Masters Degree with honours in classics at Edinburgh. In October 1899, he moved on a scholarship to Trinity College at Oxford, where he came into contact with the renowned Orientalist A. A. Macdonell, who became his *guru* who was greatly responsible for modeling his future. This conjuntion proved to be the turning-point of his career, for it was Macdonell who inspired him to study Sanskrit. In March 1900, he won the Boden Sanskrit scholarship and in the following year the Vana Dunlop Sanskrit scholarship, which was open to the members of the University of Edinburgh. In the same year he also secured second class honours in classical moderations. In 1903 he obtained third class honours in the final classical school of *literae Humaniores*.

To devote himself entirely to his Oriental scholarship Norman entered, in his fifth academic year at Oxford, for the Honours School of Oriental Studies, offering Sanskrit for his principal and Pali and History of Indian Religions as his subsidiary subjects. Here, he secured first class honours in June, 1904.

During his Oxford days he also showed a penchant for modern languages and won, in 1900, the Taylorion University scholarship in Spanish and in 190 also the same in French.

When Norman completed his studies in the Oriental school, he set out, on the instructions of his *guru*, to study "Pali as his main line rather than Sanskrit, woing to the fewness of workers in the former subject and to its great and fundamental importance in the field of Buddhist scholarship" (*JRAS*. 1913, p. 1104). Under the guidance of Estlin Carpenter he made remarkable progress in Pali, which impressed Professor Rhys Davids so much that he entrusted Norman to edit for the *PTS* the commentary on the *Dhammapada*. He willingly undertook that laborious task and was

successful in obtaining liberal grants from the Moray research Fund of Edinburgh University and the Max Müller Memorial Fund for the purpose of collecting the necessary Pali manuscripts at Paris and Berlin (*The Commentary on the Dhammapada (PTS)* Vol. I, pt. II. p. xvii). While he was working at Berlin in early 1905, he was offered the Chair of English LIterature at Queen's College, Benares, which he accepted. Taking together all the materials he acquired for constituting the commentary, he left, in Sept. 1905, for Benares, India, where he spent the rest of his life.

In 1906, only one year after his arrival in India, the first volume of his edition was brought out by the *PTS*. It was indeed a remarkable feat bearing testimony to his tireless assiduity as a scholar, when considered the fact that he had to accomplish it during his leisure hours and amidst his official duties. The second volume appeared in 1909, the third in 1912 and the fourth and last, which was practically finished at the time of his death, posthumously in 1914.

Though he devoted most of his time of Pali scholarship, he never neglected the study of Sanskrit. He made for Macdonell a comprehensive collection of grammatical data from the Vāhasaneyi Saṁhita, a greater part of which the latter incorporated in his *Vedic Grammar*.

Norman showed a keen interest in Buddhism and did not want his knowledge on the subject be confined to books. He visited many parts of India and Ceylon with a view to get himself acquainted with Buddhism, as it had been practised by different peoples and also its antiquities.

Macdonell, his *guru*, described him as a scholar of "varied qualifications, combined with innate modesty and amiability" (*JRAS*, Op. cit. p. 1106).

He died, at Benares in 1913, at the age of thirty five.

C. S. Ranasinghe.

NYĀYABINDU

NYĀYABINDU is a Sanskrit Treatise on Buddhist Logic and Epistemology by Acārya Dharmakīrthi, circa 7th century A. C., a follower of Dinnāga (Digṅāga) the founder of Buddhist Logic. Unlike many other Buddhist Sanskrit works, which are not preserved in the original Sanskrit but preserved only as Chinese and Tibetan translations, *Nyāyabindu* is extant in its original Sanskrit. The Sanskirt original has been discovered among the palm leaf manuscripts of the Jain Temple *Sāntanātha*, Cambay. Dharmakiirti as well as Dinnāga hail from South India. Dharmakiirti is said to have been born in a village named *Tirumalai* in the *Cola* country to a Brahmin family. Endowed with a keen intellect from birth, he mastered the *Vedas* and *Vedangas*, when he was sixteen or eighteen years of age. Later he was converted to Buddhism and proceeded to Nālanda and became a pupil of Dharmapāla, the Chancellor of Nālanda at the time. Being interested in Buddhist Logic, he studied logic under Isvarasena, a direct pupil of Dinnāga. He is said to have surpassed even his teacher Isvarasena in understanding the logic of Dinnāga. Isvarasena is reported to have admitted that Dharmakirti understood Dinnāga better than him. Dharmakirti is the next prominent Buddhist Logician after Dinnāga and he appeared nearly 700 years after the latter1 Stcherbatsky calls Dharmakirti "Kant of India".

A brief survey of the contents of *Nyāyabindu* would suffice to explain the corner stones of Buddhist Logic promulgated first by Dinnāga and further developed by Dharmakirthi. Dharmakirti pays homage to the "Omniscient One" the Buddha and commences his Treatis *Nyāyabindu* "Drop of Logic" with the statement that "All fulfillment of human desires are preceded by right or valid knowledge (*Samyajnānapurvikā Sarvapurusārthasiddhi*). Here Dharmakirti defines the scope and the aim of his work. Human aims are either positive or negative, either something desirable or something undesirable. Purposive action consists in attaining the desirable and avoiding the undesirable. Right cognition is successful cognition that is to say, it is cognition followed by a resolve or judgement, which

is, in its turn followed by a successful action. Cognition, which leads stray, which deceives the sentient beings in their expectations and desires, is error or wrong cognition. Error and doubt are the opposite of right knowledge. Doubt is again of a double kind. It is either complete doubt, which is no knowledge at all, because it included no resolve and no judgement. Such doubt is not fllowed by any purposive action. But when it contains an expectation of some success, or an apprehension of some failure, then it is followed by a judgement an action just as the right knowledge.[1] Dharmakirti has divided his treatis *Nyābindu* into three main chapters (*Paricchedas*) :

(i) Perception (*Pratyaksa*)

(ii) Inference for one's own self (*Svārthānumāna*)

(iii) Inference for the sake of others (*Pararthānumāna*)

and proceeds to examine the validity of each source of knowledge separately. Valid knowledge is of two kinds : (1) Perception (SKK : *Pratyaksa*) and (2) Inference (*Anumāna*). Perception, which is knowledge, otained through the senses etc. is described as that which is free from illusory experience (*Kalpanā*) and free from confusion (*Abhrānta*). Illusory experiences are the experiences of false images, which appear real as if they were capable of being addressed and touched-the shadow of a tree may appear as the tree iteself or a rope, may appear as a snake. Confusion is engendered by such causes as darkness, quick motion, journey by boat shaking etc., for a man jouring by boat, trees on both banks apepr to move.

Perception is of four kinds (1) perception by the five senses (2) perception by the mind (3) self-consciousness and (4) knowledge of a contemplative saint. An object of perception is like itself (*Svalaksana*), while an object of inference is like any one of its class (*Sāmanaya-Laksana*). e. g. a cow which I see is a peculiar one possessing an infinite member of qualities which distinguish it from all cows, whereas a cow which I infer is a general one possessing certain qualities in common with other cows. This is a general one possessing certain qualities in common with other cows. This perception is individual whereas inference is general knowledge. According to the proximity or remoteness of an object, perception of it varies. Thus is the peculiar characteristic of an object of perception and this characteristic proves the object to be absolutely real (*Paramrāthasat*), as it shows that it possesses some practical efficiency and this characteristic also shows that perception is a source of valid knowledge for it exactly corresponds to the object perceived.

Inference for one's own self (Svarthānumāna). The second chapter deals with inference for one's own self. It is defined as the knowledge of the invariable derived through the reason or "middle term" with its three forms of characteristics. In the instance "this hill has fire because it has smoke", the knowledge of the hill as having fire is derived through smoke, which is the reason or "middle term".

The "middle term" must be connected with the minor term e. g.

(1)(a) The hill has fire

(b) Because it has smoke (smoke always accompany fire)

(c) Like a kitchen (where there is fire and smoke) unlike a lake (where smoke and fire never exist).

(2) The middle term must abide only in cases which are homogeneous with the major term e. g. in the above reasoning "smoke" abides in a kitchen which is homogeneous with the thing that contain fire.

(3) The "middle term" must never abide in cases which are heterogeneous from the major term e. g. in the above reasoning "smoke" does not abide in a lake which is heterogeneous from things that contain fire. The middle term is of three kinds according tothe relation which it bears to the major term.

(a) Identity (*Svabhāva*) - This is a tree because it is Simsapa

(b) Effec (*Kārya*) - Here there is fire because there is smoke.

(c) Non perception (*Anupalabdhi*).

There are eleven kinds of non perception (*Anupalabdhi*) :

1. Non perception of identity (*Svabhavānupalabdhi*) e. g. Here is no smoke, because it is not perceived, because it is not perceived (smoke is of a nature as to be perceived if existent)

2. Non perception of effect (*Karyānupalabdhi*) e. g. Here there are no causes of smoke of unobstructed capacity, because there is no smoke here.

3. Non perception of pervader of container (*Vyāpakānupalabdhi*) e. g. Here there is no "Simsapa", because there is not tree at all.

4. Perception contrary to identity (*Svabhāva - Virudhopalabdhi*) e. g. There is no cold sensation here because there is fire.

5. Perception of the opposite effect (*Virudha-kāryopalabdhi)* e. g. Here there is no cold sensation because there is smoke.

6. Perception contrary connection (*Virudha-Vyaptopalabdhi*) Even the destruction of the past entity is not certain, because it is dependent on other causes.

7. Perception contrary to effect (*kārya-viruddhopalabdhi*) - e. g. Here there are no causes of cold of unobstructed capacity, because there is fire.

8. Perception contrary to the container (*vyāpaka viruddhopalabhi*) - e. g. Here is no icy sensation, because there is fire.

9. Non perception of the cause (*kāranānupalabdhi*) - e. g. There is no smoke, because there is no fire.

10. Perception contrary to the cause (*kārana viruddhopalabdh*) - e. g. Hair on his body does not stand erect, because he sits near fire.

11. Perception of effect contrary to its cause (*kārana-viruddha-kāryopaladhi*) - e. g. This place does not contain any person on whose body hair stands erect, because there is smoke here.

Inference for the sake of others (*Parārthānumāna*) Dharmakirti devotes the third chapter to discuss the inference for the sake of the others. It is defined as the declaration of the three formed middle term in words, that is, when the reasons set forth in words with a view to producing a conviction in others, it is said to be an inference for the sake of others. Inference is a kind of knowledge; and words are here called by attributing effect to cause for, though they are not themselves knowledge, they produce it. The inference for the sake of others is of two kinds.

(i) Direct or homogeneous (sadharmyavat)

(ii) Indirect or heterogeneous (vaidharmyavat).

The reader is referred to Vidyabhusan S. C. *History of the mediaeval shcool of Indian Logic* Calcutta 1909 p. 109-116 for a detailed exposition of contents of logic contained in (*Nyāyabindu*).

The Buddhist Logic system founded by Dinnāga and further developed by Dharmakirti is a land mark in the history of the development of Buddhist philosophy. Evidently Dharmakirti thought that the study of Logic and Epistemology has to be replaced by the ancient philosophy of early Buddhism. Dharmakirti's writings mark the highest summit reached in epistemological speculation by later Buddhism. In additon they also hava a place in the general developments of *Nyāya Sāstra* in India. The

scholars think that Logic appeared as a reaction against a system of whole scale skepticism, which condemned all human knowledge in general as involved in hopeless contradiction.

Dharmakirti has composed seven treatises on Buddhist Logic, which have become the fundamental works (*Mula*) for the study of Logic by the Buddhist in Tibet and have superseded the works of Dignāga, although they originally were devised as a detail commentary on the latter. Out of seven works of Dharmakirti *Pramāna - Vārtikā* is the chief containing the body of the system ; the remaining isx are subsidiary, its "six feet". According to another interpretation the three first works (*Pramāna-vārtikā, Pramāna-viniscaya and Nyāyabindu*) are the body the remaining four the feet. It is also observed that the second *Pramāna-viniscaya* is an Abridgment of the first Pramana-vartika and the *Nyāyabindu* is a further abridgment of the same subject. Another peculiarity in the works of Dharmakirti has been noted. Namely *Pramāna- viniscaya* and the *Nyāyabindu* has followed a natural sequence perception inference and syllogism in the arrangement of the materials, while *Pramāna-vārtikā* has followed the inverted order beginning with the inference validity of knowledge, sense perception and syllogism.

Dharmakirti's[3] logical works became the starting point of an enormous amount of commenting literature, which are preserved as Tibetan translations. The commentarial literature on Dharmakirti's works are divided into three groups, according to the leading principles by which the works of interpretation wag guided. Devendrabuddhi initiated the school which can be termed the school of direct meaning. It aimed at exactly rendering the direct meaning of the commented text. To this school belong to Sākyabuddhi and also probably prabhābuddhi, whose works are lost (but they commented on *Pramānavārtikā* leaving *Pramānaviniscaya* and *Nyāyabindu* unnoticed). The second school of commentators is called "Cashmerian" school according to the country of its main activity. The aim of this school was to disclose the deep philosophic contents of the system of Dinnāga and Dharmakirti, regarding it as a critical system of Logic and Epistemology. The founder of this school was Dharmottara, its seat of activity Kashmir and the active members were often Brahmins. Dharmottara did not comment upon *Pramānavartika* of Dharmakirti, he wrote detailed commentaries on *Pramānaviniscaya* and *Nyāyabindu*, the first being called "Great comment" and the second "small comment". He vehemently attacks Vinitadeva, his predecessor in the work of commenting upon *Nyāyabindu* and follower of the first school of literal interpretation. Although he not was a pupil of Dharmakirti, he was the sort of pupil the "Great Master" was wanting for not only to accompany his comments by weighty considerations of his own, but also had independent views and successful new formulations on important topics.

The third school of commentators is identified as the "Religious school of Commentators". Like the former school too this school attempted to disclose the profound meaning of Dharmakirti's works and to reveal their concealed ultimate tendency. It also treated the representatives of the first school, the school of "Direct Meaning" with great contempt. The founder of this school was Prajnāakaragupta apparently a native of Bengal.

It is said that during the period of Dharmakirti, Buddhism in India was on the waning path. The time of Kumarila and Sankaracarya, the great champions of Brahmanism was approaching and Dharmakirti could only retard, but not stop, the approaching decay. Dharmakirti seem to have had the foreboding of the ill fate of his religion in India and he laments the absence of pupils who could fully understand his system and to when the continuation of his work could be entrusted. Just as Dinnāga had no capable pupil to continue his system till Dharmakirti appeared nearly two centuries later, Dharmakirti too had no proper successor till Dharmottara who emerged a generation later. Dhrmakirti's personal character is reported to be that of proud and self reliant, full of contempt for the

ordinary persons. His works did not receive the appreciation of the learned of the day. In fact they were of full contempt. According to Taranatha when he finalized the works and persented to the Pandits of the day, he met with no appreciation and no good will. He bitterly complained of their slow wits and their envy. It is said that his enemies tied up the leaves of his work to a tail of a dog and let it run through the streets, where the leaves became scattered. But Dharmakirti is said to have replied just as the dog runs through all streets, so will my work be spread in all the world.

Nyāyabindu has been edited by Prof. Peterson and published in the Bibilotheca Indica series of Calcutta, 1909. (According to Amarsing, Peterson who discovered *Nyāyabindu* and edited and published it in 1889 did not know that its author was Dharmakirti (Amarsing - *The Heart of Buddhist philosphy - Dinnāga and Dharmakirti*, Munshiram Manohar, New Delhi, 1984 Appendisx VI note 3.), Nyayabindu with Dharmottaratika has been edited by T. Sterhatsky, St. Petersburg 1918. Vinitadeva's *Nyayabidnu Tika*, the Sanskrit Original reconstructed from the extant Tibetan version and translated into English by M. Gangopadhaya was published under 'Indian studies Past and Present', Calcutta 1971.

Bibliography

1. Vidyabhushan S. C. - *Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1909.
2. Sicherbatsky T. *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I Indo/ Iranian Reprint Netherlands Hague 1958.
3. Amarsing - *The Heart of Buddhist Philosophy Dinnāga and Dharmakirti*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi 1984.
4. Bapath P. V. (General Editor) *2500 years of Buddhism*, Ministry of Broad Casting Information, Govt. of India, Delhi 1987 (Fifth Reprint).

K. Arunasiri.

NYĀYAPRAVEŚA is a treatise on Buddhist Logic originally written in Sanskrit, attributed to Dinnāga, the founder of Buddhist Logic. According to Vidyabhushana[1] its full name is *Nyāyapraveso nāma pramāna prakarana* and its Sanskrit original is lots, but a Tibetan translation is extant which extends over *folios 183 - 188 of Tangyur, section Mdo volume ce.* The translation was prepared by the great Kasmirian *Pandit, Sarvjña Sri Raksita* and the Sakya monk *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzan* in the great Sākya monastery of Western Tibet. The work in Tibetan is called *Tshad-ma-rigs-parhjugpahi-sgo* signifying the "Door of Entrance to Logic".

But Winternitz[2] identifies it as th eonly single one of Dinnaga's work that has come down in its original Sanskrit. He further says that the Tibetan text of Nyayapravesa is edited by Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya in *GOS* No xxxix and the Sanskrit text is to be edited by A. B. Dharuva. Although it is generally accepted that *Nyāyapravesa* as a work of Dinnāga, there is difference of opinion as regards its author. According to the Chinese *Tripitaka* Sankaraswami was the author of a treatise called *Nyāyapravesa Tarkasastra* which was translated into Chinese by Hwen-Thang in 647 A. C. Vidyabhushan does not agree that it is the same as Nyayapravesa and identifies the correct title of the latter as *Nyāyapravesonāma Pramana prakarana*. Nanjio- (A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka, oxfort 1883) entry No. 1224 gives the Sanskrit title as *Nyāyadvāra Tarkasāstra* and attributes its authorship to Nāgarijuna. Vidyābhūshan identifies Nanjio entries No. 1223 and 1224 both as *Nyāyapravesa* of Dinnāga. Bhattaccharya has stated tha *Nyāyadvāra Tarkasāstra* as a different work from *Nyāyapravesa* in *GOS* 39 p. xii in which volume the Tibetan text of *Nyāyapravesa* is ublished. Kariyawasam (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. IV p. 617 - 23) thinks that there are three separate works *Nyāyamukha*, *Nyāyapravesa*, *Nyāyadvāra Tarkasastra* or *Nyāyadvara*.

The author of *Nyāyapravesa* commences the discussion stating : "Demonstration and refutation together with their fallacies are usefull in aruguing with others ; perception and inference together with their fallacies are useful for self understanding ; seeing these I compile this *Sāstra*".

1. Vidyabhushan S. C., *Mediaeval school of Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1909 p 89.
2. Winternitz, *History of India Literature*, Vol. II. p. 350.

Some of the subjects discussed in the *Nyāyapravesa* are as follows :

According to the *Nyāyapravesa* reasoning is carried on by means of a *minor term, major term, middle term* and *two examples*. The *minor term* is also called the subject (Sanskrit *paksa* or *dharmin*). The major term is otherwise called the predicate (*Sādhya* or *dharma*). The *middle term* is also called the reason or mark (Sanskrit *hetu, linga* or *sādhana*). The example (*drstānta*) is of two kinds (1) homogeneous (*sādharmaya*) (11) heterogeneous (*vaidharmya*).

Syllogism, the form of reasoning

(i) This hill is fiery
(ii) Because it has smoke
(iii) All that has smoke is fiery like a kitchen and what ever is not fiery has no smoke like a lake. Here 'hill' is the *minor term* 'fiery the *major term*, 'smoke' the *middle term*, a kitchen a homogeneous example and lake a heterogeneous example.

Thesis – A *minor term* and a *major term* linked together constitute a proposition, e. g. The hill (*minor term*) is fiery (*major term*). A proposition which is offered for proof is a thesis. There are certain types of thesis which cannot stand the test of proof and are therefore fallacious. The following theses are fallacious :

(i) A thesis incompatible with perception wuch as 'sound is inaudible'.

(ii) A thesis incompatible with inference such as 'a pot is eternal (really 'a pot is non-eternal, because it is a product).

(iii) A thesis incompatible with public opinion such as : 'man's head is pure, because it is the limb of an animate being.

(iv) A thesis incompatible with one's own belief or doctrine, e. g. A Vaisesika philosopher saying 'sound is eternal'.

(v) A thesis ;incompatible with one's own statement such as 'my mother is barren'.

(vi) A thesis with an unfamiliar minor term such as The Buddhist speaking to the *Samkhya* '*sound is perishable*' (Sound is a subject well known to *Mimāmsaas* but not to *Samkhya*).

(vii) A thesis with an unfamiliar such as the Vaisesika speaking to the Buddhists 'the *Samkhya* speaking to the Buddhists 'the soul is animate'.

(viii) A thesis with both the terms unfamiliar such as the *Vaisesika* speaking to the Buddhists such as 'the soul has feelings as pleasurable etc. (Buddhist neither deal with the soult nor with its feelings).

(ix) A thesis universally accepted such as 'fire is warm' (This thesis cannot be offered for proof as it is accepted by all).

Characteristics of the middle : The *middle term* (*hetu*) must possess three characteristics such as

(i) The whole of the *minor term* (*paksa*) must be connected with the *middle term* e. g. Sound is non-eternal because it is a product like a pot but unlike ether. In this reasoning "Product" which is the *middle term* includes the whole of "Sound" which is the *minor term*.

(ii) All things denoted by the *middle term* must be homogeneous with the things denoted by the *major term*.

e. g. All things produced are non eternal as a pot.

(iii) None of the things heterogeneous from the major term must be a thing denoted by the *middle term*.

e. g. No non eternal (that is no eternal) thing is a product, as other (for further details of the conents of *Nyāyapravesa* the readers may refer to Vidyabhushan S. C. *History of the Mediaeval school of Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1909 p. 82 - 99).

Bibliography

1. Vidyabhushan, S. C., *History of the Mediaeval school of Indian Logic* – Calcutta, 1909.

2. Stcherbatsky, T., *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. 1. (Indo Iranian Reprints) Netherlands, *HAGE* 1958.

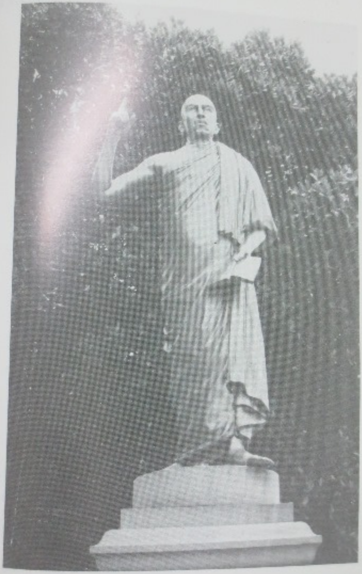
3. Amarasinghe, *The Heart of Buddhist Philosophy*, Delhi, 1884.

4. Winternitz, M., *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1993.

5. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. IV p. 617 - 625 (Article on Dinnāga).

K. Arunasiri.

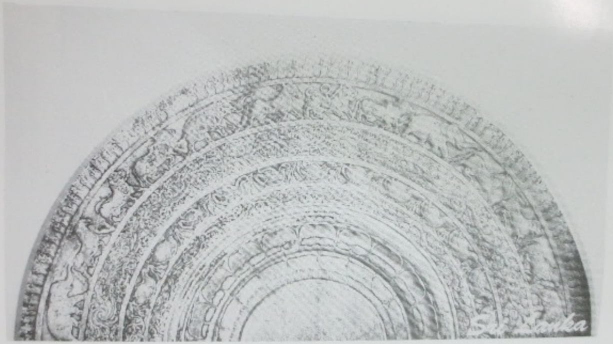
PLATE I



Vādibasimha Mohottiwatte Gunānanda Thero, who played the leading role in the public religious debates between the Buddhists and the Christians in Sri Lanka during the latter part of the 19th century A. C.

Courtesy : Anura Perera

PLATE II



The semi-circular moon stone (sandakada Pahana) carved on *Stone*, which is placed at the base of granite flights of steps leading to Ancient Image houses.

Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

PLATE III



The Mutiyangana stūpa in Badulla, supposed to have been erected on the spot sanctified by the Buddha in his third visit to Sri Lanka.

Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

PLATE IV



The Bodhisattva in the Tusita Heaven-depicted on a slab of stone at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

***Courtesy** : The Way of the Buddha*, Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India. 1956, p. 30

PLATE V



Visit of Asita to see the new-born bodhisattva-depicted on a slab of stone at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Courtesy : *The Way of the Buddha*, Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India 1956, p. 43



The Great Renunciation of the Bodhisattva depicted on a slab of stone at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Courtesy : *The Way of the Buddha*, Published by the Pulbications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India. 1956, p. 56

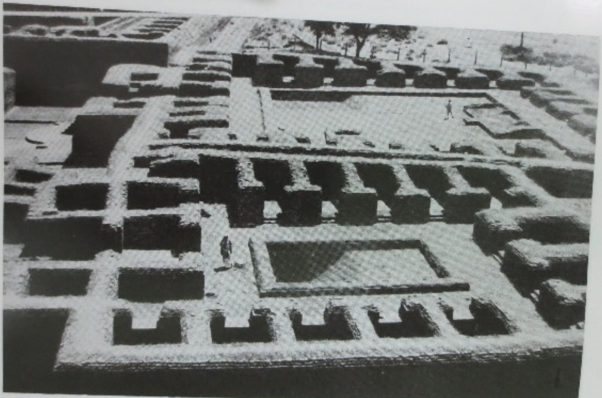
PLATE VII



The Stūpa site III at Nalanda.

Courtesy : *The Way of the Buddha*, Published by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1956, p. 171

PLATE VIII



Monastery I A.-Nālanda

Courtesy : *The Way of the Buddha*, Published by the Publications division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1956, p. 170

PLATE IX



The Monastery I B – Nālanda

Courtesy : *The Way of the Buddha.* Published by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1956, p. 170



The Nālanda Copper plate inscription of Devapala - deva.

Courtesy : The way of the Buddha, Published by the Publications Divison of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1950, p. 173



Monastic Seals of Nālanda

Courtesy : *The Way of the Buddha*. Published by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India. 1956, p. 173

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

Volume VII , Fascicle 2

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

Founder Editor-in Chief

G. P. MALALASEKERA, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Professor Emeritus

Editor-in Chief

W. G. WEERARATNE, M. A., Ph. D.

VOLUME VII

FASCICLE 2 : Odantapuri - Petavatthu, Vimānavatthu

2004

PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA

Published by the Department of Buddhist Affairs,
Ministry of Buddhasasana,
Sri Lanka.

CM 3576-(2004/01) Printed at The Govt. Printing Dept. Sri Lanka.

ODANTAPURI (var. Uddaṇḍapuri), a monastery complex known as Odantapuri vihāra located in the ancient kingdom of Magadha (modern Bihar Shariff, India). According to tradition, a lay devotee named Dharmapāla is credited to have founded it around 770-810 A.C. (Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*, trans. by E. Obermillar, Vol.2, Tokyo, 1962, p. 156). However some attribute it to king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty (N. K. Dash, *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Indian Culture*, Delhi, 1992 p. 282) and yet others maintain that it existed even before the Pāla dynasty (ed P. V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddhism*, India 1987, p. 169). According to a Tibetan legend, the monastery was built on a lake that had been miraculously dried up (ed. Nagendra Kr. Singh, *International Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, New Delhi 1997 p. 3489).

This monastery, which enjoyed royal patronage of the Pāla kings, was on par with other contemporary Buddhist educational institutions such as Nālanda, Vikramasilā, Jagaddala and Somapura. It is recorded that there were 1000 monks residing in it. During its latter part it came to be known as a centre of Tāntric Buddhism (*Bustons History of Buddhism, op.cit.* p. 157). The architectural magnificence of this *Vihāra* is evinced from the fact that the first monastery in Tibet named *b sam yas* was built in 749 A.C. on its model (Lalmani Joshi, *Studies in the Buddhist Culture of India*, Delhi, 1987, p. 139).

Odantapuri was a renowned centre of Buddhist teachings till the Muslim invasions in the late 11th century A.C. It was finally destroyed by a garrison sent by Iktiya Khiliji in 1198 A.C. The excavations done on the site by the British in 1874 unearthed the ruins of a monastery which consisted "a large temple, four large colleges and several other buildings enclosed by a lofty circular wall about a mile and a half in circumference ..." (ed. Nagendra Kr. Singh, *op cit.* p. 3489).

C. S. Ranasinghe.

OGHA, literally means flood (*S.* iv, 175 *Abhidhammatthavibhavini* of Sumangala, p. 122, ed. by Paññananda, Colombo, 1898; *Abhsy.* p. 47). The term is used metaphorically with reference to passions (*kilesa, klesa*: *Vism.* 586, *Netti*, 114 ff ; *Abhsy.* 44) that have to be overcome if one were to attain emancipation. Buddhaghosa says that the passions are called a flood because people drown in this flood (*DA. IV.* 1023), because it is extremely difficult to cross it, to overcome it (*Vism.* 58), and it carries people adrift with it (*SnA.* 567). Sumangala says that the flood is so called because it kills the creatures who have fallen into it by drowning them (*Abhidhammatthavibhavini*, p. 122).

In the early texts of the Pali Canon, the term is used in the singular number without reference to any items which later become identified with it (*samāhito so udatāri ogham* ' with mind concentrated he crossed the flood': *Sn.* v. 471; *Vitareyya ogham amamā caranti* 'free from ego they fare having crossed the flood': *ibid.* 495; see also *Sn.* vv. 1059, 1064, 1070; *S.*I, 214 etc.). It has sometimes been identified with greed (*gedha*) which is called the great flood (*mahogha*: *Sn.* v. 945).

The *Samyutta Nikāya* refers to a group of five floods (*pañcogha*) and says that one who has crossed them would also cross the sixth flood (*S.* I, 126). What these six floods are, it is not stated there. Buddhaghosa, in commenting on this *Sutta*, gives two interpretations: In the first he identifies the sixfold flood with the passions that arise through the six senses, and, in the second, the five floods are identified with the five lower fetters (*pañca orambhagiya samyojana*) and the sixth with the five higher fetters (*pañca uddambhagiya samyojana*, *SA* I, 187-88).

A verse that occurs in both the *Samyutta- Nikāya* (*S.* I, 3) and the *Dhammapada* (v. 370) explains the term *oghatinna*, literally, one who has crossed the flood, as one who has cut away five things (*pañca chinde*) has abandoned five things (*pañca jahe*) and has transcended five bonds (*pañca-sangha-atiga*). It refers to fifteen things which, according to the commentary, are the five lower fetters, the five higher fetters and a group of five passions, namely, lust (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*), conceit (*māna*) and speculative views (*diṭṭhi*: *SA.* I. 24). The commentary further says that one who has put an end to these fifteen passions crosses the fourfold flood (*ibid*).

The reference to the four fold flood which is mentioned very frequently in the commentaries, is first found in *sutta* passages which may belong to a later period when the things of existence (*dhamma*, q.v.) underwent analysis and classification. The fourfold flood mentioned in them are desire for sense-pleasures (*kāma-ogha*), desire for continued existence (*bhava-ogha*), specullative views (*diṭṭhi-ogha*) and ignorance (*avijjā-ogha*: *D.* III, 230, 276; *S.* IV, 175, 257, V.59, 136, 292, 309; *Nd*[1] p. 57, 159; *Md*[2], p. 117; *Netti*. 114 ff; *Vism*. 586, 587, 588; *Abhsy*. 47; *Abhs*. 32).

An examination of the fifteen items given in the commentary to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*SA*. I, 24) which include the ten items of the same work (*SA*. I, 187-88) and also of this four fold flood would reveal that all of them are the same passions, treated from different angles; the latter may be considered as a summary of the former.

We also find the same four kinds of floods appear under different names, as cankers (*āsava*, q..v.) and yokes (*yogā*, q.v.). Buddhaghosa says that *ogha* as well as *yoga* are different names for *āsava* (*Vism*. 587).

The *Nettippakaraṇa* traces the origin of *Ogha* in what is called perversions (*vipallāsa* , q.v.) namely, the perverted views that take foul things (*asubha*) as beautuful (*subha*), suffering (*dukkha*) as happiness (*sukha*), impermaent things (*anicca*) as permanent (*nicca*) and things unsubstantial (*anatta*) as substantial (*atta*: *Netti*: 114).

For passions to take the form of floods they have to pass through a series of five stages. The process is as follows: perversions give rise to clinging (*upādāna*), clinging to yokes (*yoga*); yokes to ties (*gantha*); ties to cankers (*āsava*) and cankers to floods (*ogha*: *ibid*). The cankers are streams and the overflow of the streams is called flood (*Netti*. 116).

The means of crossing the flood are faith (*saddhā*: *S.* I. 214; *Sn*.v. 184), the fourfold establishment of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna* S.V. 168, 186, *Netti*. 31) and the eight fold noble path (*ariya aṭṭhangika maaga*: *S.* IV. 257; V. 59).

The flood of speculative views (*diṭṭhi-ogha*) is crossed by insight into the first stage of the transcendental path (*paṭhama magga ñaṇa*), ie, *sotāpattimagga*' the flood of sense-pleasures (*kāma-ogha*) is crossed by insight into the third stage of the transcendental path (*anāgāmi-magga*) and the remaining two floods, i.e., desire for continued existence and ignorance, are crossed by insight into the fourth stage of the path (*arahatta-magga —ñāṇa*: *Vism*. 588).

Those who have crossed these floods are Arahants, and they are, therefore, called *oghatiṇṇa* (*S.*I, 3; *Dhp*. v. 370, Sn. vv. 174, 178, 823, 1082, 1101, 1145 etc., and *Oghātiga* (*Sn*.v. 1096) 'gone beyond the floods'. See KILESA and ĀSAVA.

Upali Karunaratne.

OLCOTT, COLONEL HENRY STEEL: Colonel Henry Steel Olcott was born on 2[nd] August 1832 and died on 17 February 1907. He was the founder-President of the Theosophical Society. In Sri Lanka he is remembered by Buddhists for the enthusiastic assistance he gave the Buddhist Revival Movement, particularly Buddhist Education.

Early Biography: Born in Orange, New Jersey, U.S.A., he was a son of Henry Wyckoff and Emily (Steel) Olcott. He obtained his early education in several schools in New York City and attended the University of the city of New York from 1848-1853. Thereafter he was engaged in farming in Northern Ohio with his characteristic zeal and energy. Returning to New York, he took a course in agricultural chemistry and at the age of twenty three gained international recognition for his work on the Model Farm of Scientific Agriculture at Newark. He also co-founded the Westchester Farm School at Mt. Vernon, New York. This is said to have been the first American scientific school of agriculture. His first book, *Sorghum and Imphee*, became a school text book and brought him many offers of jobs at the age of twenty five such as the Directorship of the Agriculture Bureau at Washington. He declined all the offers he received and instead toured Europe to study the state of agriculture and agricultural methods there. He became the American correspondent of Mark Lane Express (London) and Associate Agricultural Editor of New York Tribune from 1858-60. Two more books on agriculture were published during these years. On 26[th]

April 1860, he married Mary E. Morgan of New Rochelle, New York, but was later divorced from her.

In 1861 during the American Civil war, he served in the Federal Army as Signal Officer in North Carolina but was invalided home to New York from 1862-5. He was given the title of Colonel and appointed by the government as special Commissioner to investigate certain malpractices taking place in the army arsenals and navy yards. This work required exceptional integrity and courage. After the investigations, he was rewarded with a high commendation from the government. Apparently he was also responsible for the investigation into President Abraham Lincoln's assassination (Stephen Prothero, 1996).

After the conclusion of the war, Colonel Olcott threw himself into the study of law and was called to the Bar in New York in 1868. He became a prominent lawyer, specializing in customs revenue and insurance cases. He published a valuable report on insurance while being Secretary and Managing Director of the National Insurance Convention, a conference of state officials to codify and simplify insurance laws. He also authored a statute which was passed in ten state legislatures.

Olcott's lucrative law practice included a very respectable clientele such as New York City, New York Stock Exchange, Mutual Equitable and Continental Life Insurance companies, Gold Exchange Bank, Panama Railways, the Untied Steel Manufactures of Sheffield, England, etc.

Olcott's Interest in Religion and Spiritualism: In 1874, Olcott reported on the psychic phenomena at Eddy Farm for the New York Graphic. Spiritualism was a subject that had interested him from an early age. This interest which developed into the study of religions, particularly Buddhism, was to absorb his total attention and interest in the coming years. His report on the psychic phenomena at Eddy Farm was later published as a book titled *People From The Otherworld*. It was one of the earliest books on psychical research and took many people by surprise for they expected his scientifically trained mind to take a more rational view of such phenomena. At Eddy Farm, he met Madame Helena Petrona Blavatsky, a savant of occultism and spiritualism. This meeting became a turning point in Olcott's life. Hence forth, his chief interest centred round spiritualism and the study of religions. It was an age which saw many intellectuals turning to the study of oriental religions. In 1875, Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky together founded the Theosophical Society in New York. In 1875, they moved the headquarters to Bombay and later to Adyar (Madras). Before departure, he received on the authority of the President of the United States a special diplomatic passport from the Department of State with a letter of recommendation to all ministers and consuls of the United States. He also received a commission to report to government on the practicability of extending the commercial interests of the United States in Asia. From this point onwards his administrative genius was channeled into the organization of the Theosophical Society and its spread over several countries. Through its work, he stimulated the revival of Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam and other faiths. He also founded several free schools for the children of scheduled castes in India.

The objectives of the Theosophical society, as spelt out by its co-founder, may be seen in a letter he wrote to Ven. Piyaratanatissa Thera of Dodanduva, Sri Lanka, in 1878: "......Our society is on the basis of a Brotherhood of Humanity.....we see in every human faith an investigation of the Truth and that it is the spirit from which the light must spread to all...... It is a common platform on which men of all creeds can meet......." In other words, the aims and objects of the Theosophical society were to establish a common basis for the brotherhood of all mankind, irrespective of differences in race, religion, caste, sex, colour of skin, etc., the dissemination of the Teachings of all world religions for the comparative study of religions and also to investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man. As long as the inter faith dialogue agenda of the Theosophical Society upheld the integrity of all religions without misrepresentation and misinterpretation, the society should not have met with opposition and would have drawn into its membership those who were genuinely interested in knowing about "oriental" religions.

From Adyar, where the headquarters of the society was established finally, the enormous growth of the Theosophical Society has been ascribed to Olcott's exceptional organizational ability. At the time of his death in 1907, there were six hundred odd branches in

forty two countries. To achieve this growth in numbers, Olcott undertook a ceaseless activity of lecture tours. He also edited the official organ of the society – *Theosophist* – and wrote two books, *Theosophy, Religion and Occult Languages* (1885), and *Old Diary Leaves*. The latter was an intimate history of the movement which ran into several volumes (1895,1900,1904). The influence of the Theosophical Society may be gauged by the fact that his successor, the Britisher ,Annie Besant, became also the first President of the Congress Party of India, which was spearheading the Indian struggle for independence.

Olcott's Connection with Sri Lanka Begins: Olcott's letter of 29 August 1878 to Ven. Piyaratanatissa Thera of Dodanduva, Sri Lanka, states: "..........I am an American by birth and now 46 years old. My family have been here since 1633, have twice fought against the British in the wars of 1778 and 1812. Until I assisted in laying the foundation of this society (i.e. the Theosophical Society) of ours as a true Brotherhood of humanity, I was an intense patriot but now I am striving earnestly to make myself feel that all nations are but one family and people and all men but one kindred...." (quoted from Guruge 1984). And in his letter of 3rd February 1880, he wrote to the same Buddhist prelate that he was "............a very ignorant student of the occult sciences in which I include mesmerism or animal magnetism.........." Very soon, however his interest in Buddhism and Theosophy seems to have overshadowed his other interests.

The Buddhist Revival Movement in Sri Lanka: Olcott's impact on the Buddhist Revival Movement in Sri Lanka was considerable. When he arrived on the shores of the island, it was still a crown colony of Great Britain. The ship that brought Olcott and Madame Blavatsky to Sri Lanka berthed in Galle on the 19th of May 1880. There was a tumultuous welcome for them as their work in the Theosophical Society and interest in Buddhism had preceded them. In Galle, on the following day, they formally adopted Buddhism as their faith. The Theosophical society formed its first branch in Galle in May 1880 and the Buddhist Theosophical Society in June 1880 in Colombo.

Olcott's arrival coincided with the Buddhist revival which was gathering momentum. From then on Olcott's timely assistance, his unflagging enthusiasm for the Buddhist cause and exceptional organizational skill did much for the success of the revival movement. Some background information is necessary to make a proper assessment of Olcott's impact on the revival of Buddhism and Buddhist education in Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka's Buddhist civilization reached a high water mark during the time of the Anuradhapura kings from the 3rd century B.C. for thousand five hundred years and thereafter for a few more centuries during the kings of Polonnaruwa. Some time afterwards, this civilization began to decline due to invasions from South India, internecine warfare and five hundred years of colonial rule by three Western powers. The field of education became dominated by the Christian church and Buddhists suffered many disabilities if they did not convert to Christianity.

The beginning of the Buddhist Revival Movement can be traced to a single man, who in the latter half of the 18th had taken upon himself the vows of a *sāmaṇera* or Buddhist novice monk. This was because the devastation caused by colonial rule on the morale of the people was such that the Buddhist order of monks had died out. The young *sāmaṇera*, having collected as many old Buddhist texts as he could, began to study them deeply. He was none other than the famous Velivita Saranankara. During the reign of king Sri Vijayarajasinghe, the *sāmaṇera* had made known his wish to the king for a royal mission to be sent to Siam for the purpose of re-introducing the Higher Ordination to Sri Lanka. This was done successfully after two missions had failed to reach their destination. In 1746, the Siamese Sangha contingent arrived in the island headed by Bhikkhu Upāli, and *sāmaṇera* Velivita Saranankara received his Higher Ordination. He became the first Mahanayaka of the newly established Syāmopāli Mahānikāya and was given the title of *Sangharāja*.

After his Higher Ordination, Velivita Saranankara Thera busied himself training suitable novice monks from all over the island so that they could become erudite Buddhist scholars capable of resuscitating the abandoned *Pirivena* education of Buddhist novice monks. By the time Colonel Olcott arrived in the island, a number of *Pirivenas* had started to function such as the Paramadhammacetiya Pirivena at Ratmalana under the eminent bhikkhu scholar, Ven. Walāne Sri Siddhartha Maha Thera, Vidyodaya Pirivena under Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Maha

Thera and Vidyalankara Pirivena in Kelaniya under the stewardship of Ven. Ratmalāne Sri Dhammāloka Maha Thera. There were a number of other scholar monks in the island as well, at the time, such as Ven. Waskaduwe Sri Subhuti whose temple had become a centre of Budddhist learning for those in and outside Sri Lanka and Ven. Dodanduve Piyaratanatissa Nayaka Thera who was also a renowned scholar and educationist.

It must be mentioned here that Ven.Dodanduve Piyaratana Tissa Thero was the pioneer of the Buddhist School Movement in Sri Lanka. In 1869, he started the first Buddhist school in Dodanduva. The school was named Jinalabdhi Pāsala. Several other schools were also started by him such as Dodanduwe Piyaratana Tissa Pāsala, Yasodharā Bālika Pāsala, the Buddhist school in Weligama and the Upadhyāya school in Panadura. As there were no text books on Buddhism to be used in these schools, Ven. Piyaratana Tissa Nāyaka Thero compiled two text books on Buddhism.

Under the leadership of the brilliant orator-monk, Ven. Migettuwatte Gunānanda of the Dipaduttamarā maya, Kotahena, the aforementioned erudite monks challenged the Christian church missionaries to a public debate. The result was a series of public debates which drew an immense crowd of people. The first was at Baddegama in 1863, then at Warāgoda in 1865, at Liyanagemulla in 1866, Gampola in 1871 and the last at Pānadura in 1873. It became clear to everyone that Mohottiwatte Gunanada had won the day for the Buddhists. The entire debate was published and circulated. An English translation was published by John Copper of the Ceylon Times (later Times of Ceylon) and J.M.Peebles published the debate in a book form. This pamphlet had an unprecedented circulation and popularity abroad. A copy fell into the hands of Colonel Olcott whose interest was immediately roused by the events taking place in Sri Lanka.

In the letter written by Olcott to Ven. Piyaratana Tissa Thero on 15 June 1878 quoted earlier, Olcott says: " You should be pleased to have the pamphlet by Dr. J.M. Peebles under the title *"Buddhism and Christianity Face to Face"* the same being the report of the debate between Rev. Mohottiwatte and de Silva. Its second edition has been getting handsome compliments by the press."

This same letter which was a reply to a letter from Piyaratana Tissa Thera continues: "..............May we hope that you will interest yourself to bring into our body, the present Theosophical Society, I mean, as many excellent Buddhist priests and laymen as possible. We will organize a special Buddhist section or be glad to take you on and have you work with us as fellow like ourselves."

Further on in the letter, Olcott touches on an important subject.

"One of the most important works to be accomplished as speedily as possible, is the translation by competent Buddhist scholars of the most important Buddhist literature and the simultaneous publication of the work in London and Ceylon or India. We need clear and un-mutilated rendering in English of the true doctrine preached by Gautama Buddha and subsequent teachers......... I want to make our Theosophical society a real medium for bringing the ....(many).........works in oriental religious philosophy within the reach of the Western people. We must have a proper publication fund and this......(is).......among the things I will accordingly discuss with you when we meet."

Such a project had, of course already begun with Western scholars of the caliber of Professor Rhys Davids, Mrs. C.F.Rhys Davids, Max Muller, Oldenberg, Fausboll, Childers, Geiger, Ross, Minayeff, Hardy, Warren, Lanman, Sir Edwin Arnold, etc. Prof. and Mrs. Rhys Davids founded the Pali Texts Society in London in 1881 and published the Buddhist Pali Texts in Roman characters and their translations into English. They had been very much in close contact with a body of erudite Buddhist monks in Ceylon who were helpful to these Western scholars in their study of Pali and interpretation of Buddhist texts. It was Max Muller, when writing to one, Ven. Waskaduwe Sri Subhuti Thera, who called these learned Buddhist monks "The living fountains of Buddhism." Such letters from Western scholars to Buddhist scholar-monks acknowledging their great assistance, have been collected from various temples in the island and placed in the archives by a former archivist and they have been quoted by Ananda W.P. Guruge in his book *The living Fountains of Buddhism: Sri Lankan Support to Pioneering Western Orientalists*, Colombo, 1984.

When Olcott arrived in Sri Lanka with Madame Blavatsky, this was the scenario he encountered.

The Theosophical Society and Buddhist Education in (Ceylon) Sri Lanka: Olcott's letter of 10 February 1880 to Ven. Weligama Sri Sumangala Thero conveys a good idea of his attitude towards helping Buddhists in Sri Lanka: "………Joyful will be the day when the Asian people shall properly reverence their own ancient religions. All we Western people can do is to start the idea, encourage them to effort, defend them from Western influence and leave them to work out the problems themselves. The regeneration of Asia must be effected by Asiatic men………"

Olcott helped the Buddhist cause in many ways. The Buddhist Theosophical Society was founded with about forty Buddhist leaders in June 1880 in Colombo. Its object was the promotion of Buddhism by guarding it from attack from other religions, by strengthening Buddhists in their faith, by encouraging the correct practice of the Vinaya rules by Buddhist monks and by the dissemination and study of the Buddhist scriptures. Olcott with his sharp practical legalistic brain and administrative genius, as well as his genuine interest in Buddhism, became an useful ally for the Buddhist revival campaign.

It must be mentioned here that Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott had a profound influence on a young man, Don David Hewavitarane, who later became a national hero, Anagārika Dharmapāla. Their influence on him from his early teens was so great that at the age of twenty he gave up his job as a clerk in a government department and joined the pair in their work with the Theosophical Society and particularly the Buddhist Revival Movement.

As mentioned earlier, Buddhists suffered many disabilities under colonial rule. The traditional use of tom-toms and customary music in their religious festivals was banned. In connection with this ban, a riot broke out in 1893 and many Buddhists were manhandled and one person was murdered. The colonial government chose to ignore the incidents instead of appointing an investigation into the crime. The incident made the Buddhists painfully aware of their helpless situation and they formed a Buddhist Defense Committee to protect their own interest and to secure redress from the glaring injustices under which they laboured. One of these grievances was that Buddhists had to solemnize and register their marriages in church. There were spokesmen among Buddhist leaders who had written unceasingly to the papers and various journals regarding these grievances, creating a climate of opinion which made the colonial government increasingly uncomfortable.

Olcott was given the signal honour by Buddhist leaders to go to London and make representations on their behalf to the Secretary of State for Colonies. This he did successfully and the outcome was that civil registrars of marriages were appointed and Buddhist did not have to solemnize their marriages in church. Olcott had also argued in London for another demand. This was the freedom for Buddhists to celebrate their religious holidays such as Vesak. This request also was granted and as a result the Hindus and Muslims were benefited as well in that they were permitted to observe and celebrate their religious holidays without being penalized for non-attendance in schools or work places.

Buddhist Flag: The designing of the Buddhist flag has been ascribed to Colonel Olcott but this is not entirely correct. The flag was an outcome of the work of the Colombo Committee which organized the Vesak celebrations in 1885. The purpose of designing a Buddhist flag was to symbolize the unity of all Buddhists. It was meant to be a universal symbol of Buddhism.

Although the flag was featured in the *Sarasavi Sandaresa* of the 17th August 1885, no mention was made of the designer. In 1980, however, the centenary volume of the Buddhist Theosophical Society attributed the design of the flag to Carolis Pujita Gunawardena. According to Olcott's remarks in *Old Diary leaves*, the Colombo Committee's original sketch was of an inconvenient size and shape, it being long and narrow like a ship's pennant and he had made the suggestion that it should be of the normal shape and size of a national flag. Therefore, the existing flag has been designed according to the alteration and re-arrangement of the original design suggested by Colonel Olcott.

The flag was introduced to Japan in 1889 by Olcott and Anagarika Dharmapala. Subsquently, it was introduced to Burma (now Myanmar). It was Professor G.P. Malalasekera who requested that the flag be officially adopted by the World Fellowship of Buddhists when they met in Colombo in 1950. (*vide* K.D.G. Wimalaratna's article on the Buddhist Flag in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. V. fascicle 2)

The Establishment of Buddhist Schools: The establishment of Buddhist schools throughout the island was an essential item in the agenda of the Buddhist Educational Revival. Colonel Olcott lent his full support to this endeavour. A Buddhist Sunday School was established on the society's premises in Maliban street in Colombo with C.W. Leadbeater in charge. In 1886, the same school was converted into the Pettah Buddhist English School and it later became Ananda College. C.W. Leadbeater was its first principal.

Olcott set up several other schools through the *BTS*. In order to raise the funds for the school project, he went round the country addressing audiences and young Don David Hewavitharana (later known as Anagârika Dharmapâla) joined him in this work.

In 1884, Madame Blavatsky founded a society called Nārisiksādāna Samitiya with Colonel Olcott's guidance for the purpose of starting several schools for Buddhist girls. Madame Blavatsky inspired an educated Australian lady, Ms. K. F. Pichette, who agreed to be the Principal of a newly founded school in Maradana for girls called the Sangamittâ Bâlikâ Vidyâlaya. Unfortunately soon after assuming duties, Ms. Pichette met with a fatal accident and her place was taken by Marie Museus Higgins, a German educationalist, who came down to the island to head the school. Later, having put Sangamittâ Bâlikâ Vidyâlaya on a vibrant course, she started another girls school in Colombo under the direction of the Nârisiksâdâna Samitiya. This school is known as Museus College today.

The *BTS*. was instrumental in starting many other schools in Sri Lanka. They include Mahinda College and Vidyâloka Vidyâlaya in Galle, Dharmâsoka College and Devânanda College in Ambalangoda, Sri Sumangala Boys' School and Sri Sumangala Girls' School in Panadura, Dharmarâja College in Kandy, Vijaya College in Matale and Dharmapâla College in Pannipitiya. Within about 3 decades of setting up the *BTS*. with a very efficient Board of Management, more than forty Buddhist schools were started.

Soon, Olcott's name became a household word in Sri Lanka. F.L. Woodward, one of the early Principals of Mahinda College, Galle, writing in a college magazine, recalled that "it was due to him that so many helpers were sent from time to time to give a much needed push to the wheel of progress." The helpers included many Principals of newly founded Buddhist schools such as C.W. Leadbeater of Ananda College, Colombo, J.W. Bowles- Daly of Mahinda College, Marie Museus Higgins of Museus College, Colombo, and F.L. Woodward, himself a legend at Mahinda College.

Olcott had been given an unique document in 1883 signed by Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala and Ven. Waskaduwe Sri Subhuti. It permitted him to administer *Pancaseela* and *Tisarana* to those who wished to become Buddhists. The document has been deposited in the archives of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, Madras (Agarwal, 2001, p. 71).

In a letter dated 2 December 1896, Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Mahanayaka Thero expressed his gratitude to Colonel Olcott for: " inaugurating and encouraging the spread of education, secular and religious among the Buddhist boys and girls in Ceylon and for securing for the Buddhists that toleration and freedom from persecution which they did not enjoy before your first arrival in 1880."

The work of establishing new Buddhist schools took off the ground so fast that by 1899 there were 194 Buddhist schools with over 15,000 Buddhist children attending them. Olcott also inaugurated a Buddhist National Fund for the "general promotion of religious and secular education of Buddhist children and the dissemination of Buddhist Literature."

Another aspect which Olcott stressed on was the importance of propaganda for the campaign. The idea of establishing a Newspaper was promoted and the outcome was *"Sarasavi Sandarasa"*. Later *The Buddhist* was started as an English supplement. It was taken over by the YMBA. in 1918. Olcott was also

responsible for publishing a Buddhist Catechism which became very popular. It had been prepared in consultation with Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Thero, but not without a debate over a certain doctrinal point. However, Olcott managed to negotiate with Ven. Sri Sumangala for a new edition of the Catechism free of inaccurate interpretations.

In **Old Diary Leaves**, Olcott reveals for us a glimpse of the whole impasse: "The impasse was created by the definition of Nirvāna or rather, of the survival of some sort of "subjective entity" in that state of existence. Knowing perfectly well the strong views entertained by the school of Southern Buddhists of which Sumangala is the type, I had drafted the reply to the question: "What is Nirvāna?" in such a way as to just note that there was a difference of opinion among Buddhist metaphysicians as to the survival of an abstract human entity, without leaning either towards the views of the Northern or Southern school. But the two erudite critics caught me up at the first glance at the paragraph and the High Priest denied that there was any such difference of opinion among Buddhist metaphysicians. "........This closed our discussion by saying that if I did not alter the text, he should cancel his promise to give me a certificate that the Catechism was suited to the teaching of children in Buddhist schools and should publish his reasons thereafter. As this could virtually destroy the usefulness of my educational monograph and cause such a breach between him and myself as to make it tenfold more difficult to push on the schools project, I yielded to *force majeure*, and made the paragraph read as it has ever since stood in the many editions through which the catechism has since passed....."

Moreover, in the fortieth edition of the Catechism, Olcott again, in 1901, introduced his new interpretations in the answers given to seventeen questions. This unilateral revision of the Catechism angered Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala who resigned from the Theosophical Society and Olcott retracted. Dharmapala had warned Olcott to recant the pan-religious stand of Theosophy and as he was unwilling to do so, Dharmapala also left the Theosophical Society. (Guruge, 2001)

In the preface to the fourteenth edition in 1903, Olcott states the following:

"The popularity of this little work seems undiminished, edition after edition being called for. While the present one was in the press, a second German edition re-translated by the learned Dr. Erich Bischoff was published at Leipsig by the Griebens Co., and a third translation into French by my old friend and colleague, Commandant D.A. Courmes was being got ready at Paris. A fresh version in Sinhalese is also preparing at Colombo. It is very gratifying to a declared Buddhist like myself to read what so ripe a scholar as Mr.G.R.S. Mead, author of *Fragments of a faith forgotten*, *Pistis Sophia* and many other works on Christian origins, thinks of the value of the compilation". He writes in the Theosophical Review: "It has been translated into no less than twenty different languages, and may be said without the faintest risk of contradiction, to have been the busiest instrument of Buddhist propaganda for many a day in the annals of that long somnolent dharma......" (*vide* Henry S. Olcott, *The Buddhist Catechism*, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Colombo.)

With regard to the major difference of opinion which clouded the relationship between Olcott and Anagarika Dharmapala in these later years, it could be said that it reflected the ideological tension between Buddhism and Theosophy. (*Vide* Prothero, 1996, p. 158, quoted by Susantha Goonatilake in *Anthropologizing Sri Lanka*. Indiana University Press, 2001, p. 72.)

This seems very true, nevertheless one cannot say that Olcott's Theosophical Movement in India hindered Dharmapala's single minded drive to develop the places of Buddhist worship in the land of the Buddha. When, for instance, the Panchamas (the scheduled castes) applied to the Theosophical Society for assistance, Olcott started several free schools for them in South India. This was before Ambedkar was born. When they wished to become Buddhists, Olcott took a delegation of them to Colombo in July 1898 and presented them to the High Priest Ven. Sri Sumangala and *Pancaseela* was administered to them. (Agarwal, 2001, p. 71).

Apart from the afore mentioned disagreement on points of the Buddhist doctrine, the record of the moral and material support Olcott lent the cause of the Buddhist Revival Movement in Sri Lanka leaves no doubt in anyone's mind as to his sincerity. He seems

to have done everything within his power to protect Buddhism, having seen that in Sri Lanka Buddhism was being threatened with destruction by the British Colonial regime and the Christian missionary activity it supported.

A talk given by Olcott at the Buddhist conference in Japan reveals his concern for the preservation of Buddhism and the remedial action that should be taken to re-established Buddhism in its former position of strength. Included in his action plan was the eradication of wrong concepts that had crept into the Buddhist belief system, and also to undertake in earnest the Teaching of Buddhism to youngsters and adults through suitable books, exposing misrepresentation of Buddhism by other religionists and protecting Buddhist children from being converted and alienated from their traditional cultural heritage, while at the same time making very clear the facts regarding other religions.

In *Old Diary Leaves*, (p.143) he states that the "Children of Buddhists should be taught their religion regularly on special days at a special hour at every temple in the island……" This statement anticipates, by several decades, concepts of Fundamental Human Rights which are articulated so much in the present post modern era.

Olcott's Vision of Unity Among Buddhists In The world: The Buddhist Educational Movement was not the only programme which received Olcott's support. His lecturing tours extended to include Japan also, and he began a series of steps in the direction of bringing the Mahāyāna and Theravāda Buddhist sects to a better understanding of each others views . He visited Japan with Anagarika Dharmapala in 1889.

Addressing the chief priests of the 12 sects in Japan, Olcott said: "We have these two things to do. In Buddhist countries to revive our religion purify it of its corruptions; prepare elementary and advanced books for the education of the young and the information of adults, and expose the falsehood circulated against it by its opponents………" (Agarwal,2001.)

Subsequently in 1891 he formulated fourteen fundamental Buddhist beliefs which were acceptable to both the Northern and Southern schools of Buddhism (please see appendix). The document he drew up was signed on behalf of Sri Lankan Buddhists by Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, Ven. Waskaduwe Sri Subhuti, Ven. Suriyagoda Sonuttara and several representatives of other Buddhist countries, both Theravāda and Mahāyāna. It was a beginning in the direction of founding a world fellowship of Buddhists which became a reality in the twentieth century.

Conclusion: Olcott was stimulated by a diversity of interests. The dedication with which he pursued them reveals a dynamic personality. He was variously an agricultural scientist, journalist, civil war veteran, employee of the Federal Government as an investigator into malpractices in the navy yards and army arsenals, investigator into the assassination of president Abraham Lincoln, Lawyer, mesmeric healer spiritualist, Theosophist and Buddhist activist for the revival of Buddhist education in Sri Lanka.

Some writers and scholars seem to think that Olcott's American Protestant roots made him rebel against the authority of Christian dogma and that his deference to the authority of science was characteristic of the post war era. But the fact that he declared himself a "mesmeric healer" and a spiritualist, which fields may not be wholly acceptable to scientific inquiry, makes him a man of curious contradictions. Certain other scholars view him as a "culture broker" and make him responsible for the "creolization " of Buddhism. But in actual fact, there has been no "creolization" of Theravada Buddhism. Nor has the attitude of Buddhists in their approach to Buddhist philosophy become more rational due to Olcott's "Protestant" influence, for, rationality, experiential knowledge and empirical verification have always been at the core of Theravāda Buddhist thought. It is very correct to say, however, that Olcott propagated religious tolerance and religious pluralism through the Theosophical Society's agenda, which religious tolerance is also at the heart of Buddhist philosophy. It could also be said that Olcott presaged the post modern "New Age Religionists" of the West. His contribution towards the revival of Buddhism and particularly Buddhist education in Sri Lanka is very considerable.

In recognition of his invaluable contribution towards the Buddhist cause, education and the Theosophical Society in Sri Lanka, on the 60th anniversary of his passing away (1967) the Sri Lankan parliament decided to confer on him a signal honour. It listed him among its national heroes. A life size

statue was erected in Colombo on Norris Canal Road, now re-named Olcott Mawatha. Also in Galle, a statue was erected by the Cultural Department.

Olcott was certainly a man of vision who had the determination, commitment and organizational ability to make his vision a reality. If he did not quite achieve the goal of making the world a more tolerant place, with regard to religion, at least, he did create waves which spread far and wide and into the future. He has earned a secure place in the hearts of all Buddhists in Sri Lanka in coming to their aid at one of the bleakest moments in their history.

Bibliography

B.P. Kirthisinghe, *Colonel Henry Steel Olcott, the Great American Buddhist*, The Wheel Publication, *B* PS, Kandy, 1981.

M.P. Amarasinghe, *Colonel Olcott and the Buddhist Revival in Sri Lanka*. The Wheel Publication, No. 281, BPS, Kandy, 1981.

Henry Steel Olcott, 1832-1907, Dictionary of American Biography, American Council of Learned Societies, 1928-1936.

Henry Steel Olcott, The Theosophical Society, International Headquarters, Adyar, India. By courtesy of the American Information Resource Centre (AIRC), Colombo.

W.G. Weeraratne, *Buddhist Renaissance in Sri Lanka in the 19h century, Daham Amâ*- Annual Sinhala Magazine published by the Department of Buddhist Affairs, Ministry of Buddhasasana, 2002.

Ananda W.P. Guruge *Free, at last in Paradise*, 2001

Ananda W.P. Guruge, *From the living Fountains of Buddhism: Sri Lankan support to pioneering western orientalists*, Colombo, 1994.

Ven. Nakiyadeniye Ñanuttara Thero, "සිදුවීම් ඇසුරෙන් ඕල්කට්තුමා හඳුනාගනිමු" *(let us recognize Olcott through events")* in the following publication, "ඕල්කට්තුමා සහ දහම් පාසල්" (Olcott and the Dhamma school, Department of Buddhist Affairs, Minsitry of Buddhasasana, Colombo, August 2002.

Stephen Prothero, *The White Buddhist: The Asian odyssey of Henry Steel Olcott*, Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1966.

Kitsiri Malalgoda, *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society 1750-1900. A study of Religious Revival and change*, Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.

C.V. Agarwal, *The Buddhist and Theosophical Movements*, Sarnath, Varanasi, (1998) 2001.

Susantha Goonatilake, *Anthropologizing Sri Lanka*, Indiana University Press, 2001.

Appendix

The following fourteen Buddhist beliefs were drafted as a common platform on which all Buddhists could agree in 1891. It was published in 1892 and translated into Burmese, Sinhalese and Japanese:

(i) Buddhists are taught to show the same tolerance, forbearance and brotherly love to all men, without distinction and an unswerving kindness towards the members of the animal kingdom.

(ii) The universe was evolved, not created; and it functions according to law, not according to the caprice of any God.

(iii) The truths upon which Buddhism is founded are natural. They have, we believe, been taught in successive *kalpas*, or world-periods, by certain illuminated beings called *Buddhas*, the name *Buddha* meaning "Enlightened."

(iv) The fourth teacher in the present *kalpa* was *sâkyamuni*, or Gautama Buddha, who was born in a royal family in India about 2,500 years ago. He is an historical personage and his name was Siddhartha Gautama.

(v) *Sakya Muni* taught that ignorance produces desire; unsatisfied desire is the cause of rebirth, and rebirth, the cause of sorrow. To get rid of sorrow therefore, it is necessary to escape rebirth; to escape reb'rth, it is necessary to extinguish desire; and to extinguish desire, it is necessary to destroy ignorance.

(vi) Ignorance fosters the belief that rebirth is a necessary thing. When ignorance is destroyed the worthlessness of every such rebirth, considered as an end in itself is perceived, as well as the paramount need of adopting a course of life by which the necessity for such repeated rebirths can be abolished. Ignorance also, begets the illusive and illogical idea that there is only one existence for man, and the other illusion that this one life is followed by states of unchangeable pleasure and torment.

(vii) The dispersion of all this ignorance can be attained by the persevering practice of an all embracing altruism in conduct, development of intelligence, wisdom in thought, and destruction of desire for the lower personal pleasures.

(viii) The desire to live being the cause of rebirth, when that is extinguished rebirths cease and the perfected individual attains by meditation the highest state of peace called *Nirvāna*.

(ix) *Sakya Muni* taught that ignorance can be dispelled and sorrow removed by the knowledge of the four Noble Truths, viz. :

1. The miseries of existence
2. The cause productive of misery, which is the desire ever renewed of satisfying oneself without being able ever to secure that end.
3. The destruction of that desire, or the estranging of oneself from it:
4. The means of obtaining this destruction of desire. The means which he pointed out is called the Noble Eightfold Path, viz.: Right Belief, Right Thought, Right Speech, Right Action, Right means of Livelihood' Right Exertion. Right Rememberance (mindfulness), Right Meditation.

(x) Right Meditation leads to spiritual enlightenment or the development of that Buddha-like faculty which is latent in every man.

(xi) The essence of Buddhism, as summed up by the Tathāgata (Buddha) himself :

To cease from all sin
To get virtue
To purify the heart

(xii) The universe is subject to a natural causation known as *karma*. The merits and demerits of a being in past existences determine his condition in the present one. Each man, therefore, has prepared the causes of the effects which he now experiences.

(xiii) The obstacles to the attainment of good karma may be removed by the observance of the following precepts, which are embraced in the moral code of Buddhism, viz: (1) kill not; (2) steal not; (3) indulge in no forbidden sexual pleasure; (4) Lie not; (5) Take no intoxication or stupefying drug or liquor. Five other precepts which need not be here enumerated should be observed by those who would attain, more quickly than the average layman the release from misery and rebirth.

(xiv) Buddhism discourages superstitious credulity. Gautama Buddha taught it to be the duty of a parent to have his child educated in science and literature. He also taught that no one should believe what is spoken by any sage, written in any book, or affirmed by tradition, unless it accord with reason.

These fourteen fundamental beliefs were respectfully submitted for the approval of the High Priests of the nations which were severally represented at the Buddhist conference at Adyar, Madras, on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, of January 1891. (2434). Japan 1891 Kozen Gunaratana Chiezo Tokuzawa Burmah 1891 U. Hmoay Tha Aung Ceylon 1891 Dhammapāla Hevavitārana The Maghs of Chitagang.. Krshna Chandra Chowdry by his appointed Proxy, Maung Thwe Dwe

Burma: Approved on behalf of the Buddhists of Burma, this 3rd day of February, 1891 (A.B. 2434):

Tha-tha-na-baing 'saydawji; Aung Myi Shwebon Sayadaw;

Ma-ga-waddy Sayadaw; Hmat-khaya Sayadaw;

Hti-Lin Sayadaw; Myadaung Sayadaw; Hla-Hvwe Sayadaw; and sixteen others.

Ceylon: Approved on behalf of the Buddhists of Ceylon this 25th day of February, 1891 (A.B. 2434, Mahanuwara Upawasatha Pusparama Viharadhipati Hippola Dhamma Rakkhita Sobhitabhidhana Maha Nayaka Sthavirayan Wahanse Wamha. (Hippola Dhamma Rakkhita Sobhitabhidhana, High Priest of the Malwatte Vihāra Kandy.)

(sd.) Hippola

Mahanuwara Asgiri Vihārādhipati Yatawatte Chandajotyabhidhāna Maha Nāyaka Sthavirayan Wahanse Wamha. (Yatawatte Chandajottyabhidhāna High Priest of Asgiri Vihāra at Kandy.)

(sd.)Yatawatte

Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Sripādasthāne saha kolomba palāte pradhāna Nāyaka Sthavirayo (Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, High Priest of Adam's Peak and the District of Colombo).

(sd.) H. Sumangala

Meligawe Prachina Pustakelayadhyakshaka Suriyagoda Sonuttara Sthavirayo (Suriyagoda Sonuttara, Librarian of the Oriental Library at the Temple of the Tooth Relic at Kandy.)

(sd.) S. Sonuttara

Sugata Sāsanadhaja Vinayāchariya Dhammālankārābhidhāna Nāyaka Sthavira

(sd.) W.Dhammalankara

Pawara neruttikāchariya Maha Vibhāvi Subhuti

(sd.) W. Subhuti

Japan: Accepted as included within the body of Northern Buddhism.

Shaku Genyu	(Shingon Shu)
Fukuda Nichiyo	(Nichiren Shu)
Sanada Seyko	(Zen Shu)
Ho Quan Shyu	(Zen Shu)
Takehana Hakuyo	(Jodo Shu)
Kono Rioshin	(Ji-Shu Shu)
Kiro ki-ko	(Jodo Seizan Shu)
Harutani Shinsho	(Tendhi Shu)
Manabe Shun-myo	(Shingon Shu)

Chitagong: Accepted for the Buddhists of Chitagong, Nagawa Parvata Vihāradhipati Guna Megu Wini-lankara, Harbing, Chitagong, Bengal.

Suvimalee Karunaratne.

OMNISCIENCE: During the Buddha's time there were many philosophers propounding various theories. Sixty two are described in the *Brahmajāla sutta* (*D.*I.). These theories would have confused many people who would have wondered what their epistemological basis was. The Buddha criticized all those theories on well argued out grounds. However, it cannot be said, nor was it claimed, that when the Buddha criticized the sixty two theories, or for that matter, whenever he enunciated his *aññā* (knowledge) he did so on the grounds of omniscience (*sabbaññu*).

In any case, it appears that omniscience (*sabbaññu*) in early Buddhism, refers to the kind of knowledge claimed by two of the heretical teachers, Niganta Nāthaputta, the Jain leader, and Pûrana Kassapa. By *sabbaññu* what was meant then was all-knowing knowledge that is possessed at all times in an omniscient person. The Buddha ridiculed this claim, stating that "there is no recluse or Brahmin who would know or see everything all at once……for such a thing is impossible." (*M.*II.127). That is, no teacher can claim to have infinite knowledge all the time continually, whether awake, asleep, standing or sitting. The Buddha denied this kind of knowledge of himself or anyone else.

In the *Tevijja-Vacchagotta sutta* (*M.* I. 495) the Buddha is asked by the wanderer, Vacchagotta, whether he possesses omniscience (*sabbaññu*) in the sense accepted at the time, to which the Buddha replied in the negative:

"Vaccha, those who speak thus "the recluse Gotama is all-knowing, all-seeing, he claims all-embracing knowledge and vision, saying: "whether I am walking or standing still or asleep or awake, knowledge and vision is permanently and continually before me" – these are not speaking of me in accordance with what has been said but they are misrepresenting me with what is untrue."

When asked what kind of knowledge the Buddha did possess, he replied that he was a " Threefold knowledge man" and explaining the term, he said: "For I, Vaccha , whenever I please, recollect a variety of former habitations, that is to say, one birth, two births…

thus do I recollect divers former habitations in all their modes and details. And I, Vaccha, whenever I please, with the purified deva-vision surpassing that of men (*dibbena cakkhunâ visuddhena atikantamânusakena...*) see beings as they pass hence and come to be; I comprehend that beings are mean, excellent, comely, ugly, well-going, ill-going according to the consequences of deeds. And I, Vaccha, by the destruction of the cankers, having realized here and now by own super-knowledge the freedom of mind and the freedom through wisdom that are cankerless, entering thereon, abide there in ..."

"Ahaṃhi Vaccha âsavānaṃ khayâ anâsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññâvimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññâ sacchikatvâ upasampajja viharâmi."

These statements do seem to refer to a super-normal knowledge (*abhiññâ*) arrived at by the destruction of the cankers which bring about freedom of mind and freedom through wisdom. But it cannot be assumed that the super-normal knowledge (*abhiññâ*) referred to is synonymous with omniscience for *abhiññâ* has a very specific meaning.

The *Samyutta Nikâya* (V. p. 179) referring to the Four foundations of Mindfulness, Satipatthâna, states:

"These four foundations of mindfulness, monks, if cultivated and developed, conduce to utter disenchantment (with worldly life) to dispassion, to cessation, to calm, to super-normal powers of apperception, to full enlightenment, to Nibbana."

"Cattâro me bhikkhave Satipaṭṭhânâ bhâvitâ bahulikatâ ekantanibbidâya virâgâya nirodhâya upasamâya abhiññâya Sambodhâya nibbânâya Saṃvattanti..."

This same phrase is found in *S.* II. 223. *Abhiññâ* is always placed at the end of the formula before *sambodhâya* (enlightenment, the fully awakened state of understanding the four Noble Truths) and Nibbâna (liberation from *samsâra* or freedom from desire or the extinction of the life affirming will manifested as greed, hate, delusion.) Thus it is seen that *abhiññâ* which is reached through the practice of the Four *satipaṭṭhâna* has a very specific purpose.

Abhiññâ, it is said (vide article in the Encylopaedia of Buddhism vol. I by H.G.A. Van Zeyst) "is a kind of direct knowledge which has left behind the physical world of space and time, of perception, of ideation, of logical reasoning and is therefore psychic in the full sense of the word. It is not knowledge of composites but their nature. This kind of complete knowledge can bring about a total transformation in the relationship between the subject and object of the knowledge. It consists of ultimately seeing things as they have come to be - *yathâbhûtañâṇa* and that is *abhisamaya*, realization."

From this exposition of what *abhiñña* implies it is clear that its pre-occupation is with understanding phenomena, the phenomenal nature of the world and the way to this understanding is based on a system of training which purifies the mind of defilements that distort clear vision.

At various points in the Buddhist canon, special cognitive powers have been attributed to the Buddha. Sometimes three (*Tevijjâ*), at other times six (*Calabhiññā*) and at times even ten (*Dasa Balâni*). But *sabbaññu* has not been included in these categories in the early stratum of the Buddhist canon.

Tevijjā consist of *Pubbenivā sānussatiñâṇa*, (knowledge of previous lives), *Cutûpapâtañâṇa*, (the coming into being and passing away of beings according to their deeds) and *āsavakkhayañâṇa*, (The knowledge of the elimination of one's cankers). *Calabhiññā* (*A.*III pp.17-18 and *D.* I. 77ff) attribute three more cognitive powers to the Buddha, viz. *Iddhi vidhâ* or psycho kinesis. It consists of various manifestations of the power of will -*adhiṭṭhāna iddhi*- in *Jhânas* (*Visuddhimagga*, 405), *Cetopariyañâṇa*, the ability to read others' minds and *dibba sota* (clairaudience).

The above six cognitive powers differ from those mentioned at A.III p. 147. Here, the three additional items to the *Tevijjâ* are: 1. "......the Tathâgatha knows as fact base from base, non-base from non-base......" 2. "The Tathâgata knows as fact the result with its base, and cause of action's moulding in respect of the past, present and future......" 3. "He knows the stain purity and emergence in musing, deliverance and concentration attainments....."

The additions are not, however, a radical departure from the Tevijjâ but an elaboration of their scope in general terms.

Anguttara Nikaya (A.V.33) states the ten powers of the Wayfarer (Tathâgata).

1. "Herein monks, the wayfarer knows, as it really is, causal occasion (of a thing) as such, and what is not causal occasion as such......
2. Then again, monks, the wayfarer knows, as it really is, the fruit of actions past, future and present, both in their causal occasion and in their conditions.
3. Then again monks, the wayfarer knows every bourn-going faring-on, as it really is......
4. Then again, monks, the wayfarer knows the world as it really is, in its diverse shapes and forms......
5. Again monks, the wayfarer knows, as they really are, the diverse characters of beings.....
6. Again, the wayfarer knows, as they really are, the state of the faculties of other beings, of other persons.........
7. Again the wayfarer knows, as they really are the fault, the purification, and the emergence of attainments in musing, liberation and concentration.........."

Then follows the *Tevijjâ*

This list also does not depart from the compass of the original *Tevijjâ* and *Calabhiññâ*. They do not amount to omniscience. The position is altered in certain later canonical texts such as the *Paṭisambhidâmagga* belonging to the later stratum of the *Khuddaka Nikâya* and the *Kathâvatthu* which is the fifth of the seven texts of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. This evidence clearly indicates that omniscience is a later development in Buddhist thought.

In the chapter called *ñâṇakathâ* in the *Paṭisambhidâmagga* (pp. 131-133) there is a comprehensive account of the Buddha's omniscience which is not found in the earlier texts. For example, the account begins by explaining the extent of the Buddha's omniscience:

"The Tathâgata's omniscience consists of knowing everything conditioned and unconditioned without remainder, without obstruction." *Sabbaṃ saṅkhataṃ asaṅkhataṃ anavasesaṃ jânâti sabbaññutañaṇaṃ tattha â varaṇaṃ n'atthiti anâvaraṇañâṇaṃ*

The passage goes on to elaborate that this omniscience of the Buddha encompasses the past, future and the present in their entirety.

Furthermore, the passage states that the Buddha knows everything that can be known through the six senses and his omniscience comprehends all phenomena that are impermanent, unsatisfactory and which are without an abiding essence.

If however, *sabbaññu* is interpreted to mean everything that can be cognized through the six senses, that is to say their underlying nature or reality, then *sabbaññu* could be attributed to the Buddha without departing from the early Buddhist sense but to say that the Buddha knows everything in the past, present and future without qualification is too sweeping a statement as knowing everything in the future would admit of a doctrine that is pre-determinist in nature.

Having listed many more attributes of the Buddha's *sabbaññu*, the account in the *Paṭisambhidâmagga* ends with the words "He knows everything that has been seen, heard, sensed , thought, attained, sought and searched by minds of those who inhabit the entire world of gods and men." *Yâvatâ sadevakassa lokassa samârakassa sabrahmakassa Sassamanabrahmaniyâ pajâya sadevamanussâya anuvicaritaṃ manasâ sabbaṃ jânâtiti......*

Though this statement sounds very much like total omniscience yet in the *paramattha* sense we could attribute this kind of knowledge to the Buddha but the fact of the matter is that he has denied categorically that he is *sabbaññu* though he does not deny that it is not impossible for someone to be *sabbaññu*. In the *Majjima Nikâya* (*M*. II. 127) he states:

".........those who assert that the Recluse Gotama denies that there is any recluse or Brahmin who was omniscient or all-seeing, are not stating the truth and are falsely accusing me of saying what is not true."

The *Kathâvatthu* (pp. 228-9) gives a list of epithets of the Buddha as follows:

"*Tathâgata* (Thus-gone-one), *Jina* (Conqueror), *Satthâ* (Teacher), *Sammâsambuddha* (Fully Enlightened One), *Sabbaññu* (All knowing),

Sabbadassâvi (All-seeing), *Dhammasâmi* (Lord of the Doctrine) *Dhammapaṭisaraṇa* (Refuge with regard to *Dhamma* guidance)."

These epithets should be understood in relation to the goal which is expressed in the statements that follow soon after, but not immediately after them:

"The Tathâgata brings into being the way where no Way was, produces a Way that had not been called into being, proclaims a Way unproclaimed, is knower and seer and adept of the Way." "*Tathâgato anuppannassa maggassa uppâdetâ asañjâtassa maggassa sañjânetâ anakkhâtassa maggassa akkhâtâ maggaññu maggavidû maggakovido ti.*")

The connection between the epithets and the Way makes clear the concern of the Buddha's knowledge. It has an immediate bearing on the Path which he discovered and made known to the world. That is, the knowledge which comprehended the Four Noble Truths, i.e. Reality. This appears to be what the Buddha meant when he told Vaccha-gotta that he was a "Threefold knowledge Man". Therefore, if *sabbaññu* and *sabbadassâvi* are to be taken as epithets of the Buddha, then those epithets cannot be taken in a loose sense devoid of the *Paramattha* and *Yathâbhûta* meaning of the underlying reality in all phenomena.

The simile of the Sinsapā forest which the Buddha likened to the knowledge he possessed and the Simsapâ leaves he had in his fist likened to what he had imparted, may be a pointer to the fact that conjectures as to the extent of his knowledge was useless exercise. What was sufficient for liberation was what he had taught. The focus is very clear.

The simile which occurs in the *Jacchandhavagga* of the *Udâna* makes a statement regarding the totality of knowledge. But here again this statement has to be understood in relation to the doctrine. The other heretical *samaṇa* teachers who were likened to blind people who could cognize the elephant only in parts by touching certain areas are contrasted to the Buddha who could cognize the whole elephant, i.e. Reality.

The various knowledges that lead up to the Buddha's Bodhi (enlightenment) and Nibbâna (liberation from *samsâra*) such as *abhiññâ* (insight), *pariññâ* (realization) *yatâbhûtañâṇa* (knowledge of those things that have come to be) all seem to arrive at the goal of *nibbâna* by means of a system of mind culture that has as its main objective the understanding of reality. It is not concerned with omniscience for its own sake. The path to this knowledge is based on ethics, for a purified state of mind bereft of defilements is stressed as an essential condition for the attainment of insight and the penetration of reality. This is implied in the Noble Eightfold Path or more correctly the Path of *Sīla, Samâdhi, Paññā.*

A look at the implications of *Abhiññā* in *Anguttara* II pp 246-7 makes this point clear:

"Monks, there are these four states (*cattāro dhammâ*). What four?

" There are states to be comprehended by higher knowledge (*abiññā pariññeyya*) states to be abandoned by higher knowledge (*abhiññā pahâtabbâ*) states to be made more of by higher knowledge (*abhiñña bhâvetabbâ*) and states to be realized by higher knowledge (*abhiññâ sacchikâtabbâ*).

States to be comprehended by higher knowledge are the Four Factors of grasping (*pañcupâdāna kkhandâ*).

States to be abandoned by higher knowledge are Ignorance and Craving (*Avijjā* and *Bhavataṇhâ*.

States to be made more of by higher knowledge are Calm and Insight (*Samatha* and *Vipassanâ*).

States to be realized by higher knowledge are Wisdom and Release (*vijjâ* and *vimutti*).

The ethical implications in this passage are very clear.

The seven *Bojjhaṅgas* which are sometimes taken as the quintessence of the thirty seven factors that make up the *Bodhipakkhiya dhammâ* (factors or qualities contributing to *bodhi*) point to the ethical aspect implied in liberative knowledge. There is no mention made in such passage (see *S.* V. 227) to *sabbaññu* even as a by-product of *Bodhi*. *Calabhiññā* also do not include *sabbaññu*, not even in the category of *Iddhi vidhâ* (psychokinesis which consists of the various manifestations of the power of will – *adhiṭṭhâna iddhi* – in *jhānas*. See *Visuddhimagga* 405). *Iddhi vidhâ*

speak of miraculous supernormal attributes which are not essential for the attainment of *Bodhi* and *Nibbâna* (See *Sâmaññaphala sutta* D.I. and *Kevaḍḍha sutta* D. I.)

Iddhi Vidhâ consist of eight mystic powers:

(a) The power to project mind made images of oneself
(b) to become invisible
(c) to pass through solid things
(d) to penetrate solid ground
(e) to fly through the air
(f) to touch the sun and moon
(g) to ascend into the highest heavens

In the *Kevaḍḍhasutta*, the Buddha said he saw danger in the practice of these miracles and he commended only the "miracle" of instruction (*anusâsani-pâṭihâriyaṃ*) which brings about a transformation in perception.

The practice of mystic wonders, having reached the *jhânas*, had to do with worldly aims which are bracketed with the intoxicants.

On the other hand, the *Ariyan Iddhi* is the attainment of perfect *upekkhâ* whether conditions are pleasant or unpleasant. In fact, the individual who is *ariyan* does not differentiate between what is pleasant to his senses and what is unpleasant to his senses.

"*paṭikûlañ ca appaṭikûlancâ tad ubhayaṃ abhinivajjetvâ upekkho vihareyyaṃsato sampajâno ti.*" (D.III 112)

And the passage continues: "These things the Exalted One understands from beginning to end, and beyond what he understands, nothing is there left to understand, nor is there any other, whether, he be recluses or Brahmin, who is greater or wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as to modes of supernormal power."

One hundred epithets of the Buddha are given in ten verses in *Majjhima Nikâya* (*M*.I. 386.). Over seventy of these contain ethical connotations which focus on the Path, with no mention of *sabbaññu*. A few examples will give the meaning of the philosophical content in the epithets:

"*Vigatamoha* (delusion gone), *anîghassa* (devoid of rage). *Susamacittassa* (even mindedness), *Vuddhasîlassa* (matured in morality), *Sâdhupaññassa* (of good wisdom), *Vimalassa* (of defilements freed), *Vantalokâmisassa* (expunged of mundane matters), *Muditassa* (of sympathetic joy), *Virajassa* (dustlessness), *Mânacchidassa* (of pride cut off), *Samvutassa* (self controlled), *Sangâtigassa* (unattached), *muttassa* (emancipated), *Khî ṇasamyojanassa* (freed from the fetters), *Vîtaragassa* (passion abandoned), *dantassa* (tamed), *nippapañca* (perceiving without obstructions) *Passaddhassa* (tranquil), *bhâvitassa* (developed, i.e. in ethical qualities), *Satîmato* (mindful), *Vipassisa* (having insight), *Anabhiratassa* (not delighting in sense pleasures), *Pavivitassa* (aloof, i.e., living in seclusion the life of a recluse), *Santassa* (calmed), *Vîtalobhassa* (without greed), *Tanhacchidassa* (craving destroyed), *Vîtadhûmassa* (obscurity gone), *Anupalitassa* (unsullied), *Târayantassa* (helping others to cross over i.e. to the other shore of *nibbâna*), *Bhûripaññassa*(of extensive knowledge), *Mahâpaññassa* (of great wisdom).

This list does not contain *sabbaññu* or *sabbadassâvi* or even *sabbavidu*. The terms that come closest to them are *Bhûripañña* and *Mahâpañña*. There is no connotation of omniscience in them.

The remaining epithets are also significant. The following epithets underscore the humaneness of the Buddha and the humanistic nature of the philosophy:

Manujassa antimasarîrassa (human being in his last human frame) *Narassa* (man), *Uttama puggalassa* (best of persons).

Certain other epithets in the list describe the Buddha's greatness but do not ascribe divinity to him or omnipotence or omniscience:

Yakkhassa (Noble spirit), *Buddhassa* (Awakened), *Tathâgatassa* (Thus-gone One), *Visâradassa* (confident), *Sugatassa* (Well-gone One), *Sammaggatassa* (gone to the summit of the path), *Anejassa (impassible) Vasippattassa* (attained to mastery), *Appameyyassa* (immeasurable) *Gambhîrassa*

(deep knowledge), *Anuttarassa* (matchless), *Anopamassa* (peerless), *Brahmapattassa* (brahma attained) and *Purindadassa* (breaker of citadels), *Sakkassa* (Sakka). The last three must be interpreted in the light of all the afore mentioned epithets as mere honorific titles. Brahma attained is attained to the highest in the Buddhist sense. *Purindadassa* breaker of citadels which is a reference to Sakka and must be interpreted again as an honorific epithet.

The list shows very clearly that the concept of omniscience (*sabbaññu*) was assigned to the Buddha at a later date. However, if omniscience is interpreted as all that may be known through the 6 sense organs in their *paramattha* meaning of underlying reality, whether they be known through the 6 sense organs or analyzed into 12 *dhātu* (elements) or even the 81 phenomena into which the Abhidhamma texts have analyzed them, then we are on firm ground to ascribe omniscience to the Buddha. For what the Buddha perceived as "all" is stated in the *Sabba sutta* (*S.*IV. 15 *PTS*):

"Brethren, I will teach you the all. Do you listen to it. And what, brethren, is the all? It is eye and object, ear and sound, nose and scent, tongue and savour, body and things tangible, mind and mind-states. That brethren is called "the all."

"Whoso, brethren, should say: "Rejecting this all, I will proclaim another all, it would be mere talk on his part, and when questioned he could not make good his boast, and further would come to an ill pass. Why so? Because, brethren, it would be beyond his scope to do so."

"..........It is in this fathom-long carcase, friend, with its impressions and its ideas that, I declare, lies the world, and the cause of the world, and the course of action that leads to the cessation of the world"

api khvâhaṃ âvuso imasmiññeva vyâmamatte kalevare saññimhi samânake lokaṃ ca paññâpemi lokasmudayaṃ ca lokanirodhaṃ ca lokanirodhagâ minim ca patipadan-ti (*S.* I. 62)

Suvimalee Karunaratna

OPAPÂTIKA, (Skt. *aupapâduka* and sometimes *apupâduka*: *BHS.*), from *upapatati* (*BD.*) or *upapatti* from *pad* (*PED.*) apparitional or spontaneous birth; one of the four modes of birth (*D.* III, 230), and also the best among them (*S.* III, 241) shown in Buddhist literature. According to the *Papañcasudanî* (*MA.* II, 38) a being spontaneously born springs up as it were without the aid of any of the visible causes that support other modes of birth, viz. Oviparous (*aṇḍaja*), viviparous (*jalâbuja*) and moisture-born (*saṃsedaja*).

All the inhabitants of the Câtummahârâjika and the worlds above it, of the various hells and the Nijjhāmataṇhika Petâ are invariably born in this manner (*M.* I, 73; *MA.*II, 36; *Vism.* 471). Among others, including the earth dwelling, gods, human beings and animals, all the four modes of birth do occur (*ibid*). According to the *Mahāvastu* (I, 145) all the bodhisattvas in their last birth, and the universal monarchs (*ibid.*153f.) are born in this manner. However, the Pâli sources do not contribute to this view. The inhabitants of various Buddha-kṣetras (Buddha-spheres) are also often described as coming into existence in this manner (*Sdmp.* 178, 228). Sometimes the beings of the Buddha-kṣetras are said to be born from spontaneously born lotuses. But the *Papañcasûdanî* (*MA.* II, 36) cites the brahman Pokkarasâdî and Padumâvatîdevi, who are said to have been born from lotuses, as examples of moisture-born persons among humans. A person dying as a Non-Returner (s.v. *anâgâmî*) is assured of a spontaneous birth (*D.* I, 156; *Divy.* 533).

The birth of a god is sometimes compared in Pâli sources to the waking of a sleeping man. Regarding the birth of the god Maṭṭakuṇḍali the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathâ* says "Dying here with a believing heart, and as if waking from sleep, he was reborn in the world of gods" (*DhpA*). The indication is that he was born as a fully grown person and independent of parents. An old Sinhalese translation of the *Visuddhimagga* too confirms this. Showing the difference between the spontaneously born and the moisture-born it says that the former are born as fully grown beings and do not depend upon anything (*Visuddhimagga Sannaya*,pt.6,p.294 b. Ed. Gâlle Srî Sumanasâra, 1926). Being constantly oppressed by suffering the Nijjhâmataṇhikâ Petâ cannot indulge in sexual intercourse. Hence oviparous births cannot occur among them. As at birth they are enveloped in flames, birth in wet places or in flowers is also impossible for

them. Thus only spontaneous birth is possible in their case (*ibid.*).

Certain Chinese works give rather a different version about the birth of gods. Accordingly, although parents do not take any active part in their birth, the birth of gods at least in the sense sphere is not completely independent of parents. At the time of birth a god of the sense sphere very often appears on the knees of his mother in the form of a child of five years. After partaking of the divine food, which too appears spontaneously, it grows to the size of other gods. Seven days before the birth a flower appears in the mother's hand from which sign she knows that a child will be born to her. The new born gets his clothes from a *kalpa-vṛkṣa* (q.v. wish-fulfilling tree). The inhabitants of the *rūpa* (material) and *arūpa* (immaterial) worlds, however, are born fully grown without the aid of any sort of parents and, in the former they are born fully clothed (McGovern: *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 79).

C. Witanachchi

ORAMBHĀGIYA SAṂYOJANA, or *avarabhāgiyo*, the fetters that yoke sentient beings to the lower spheres (*oram* or *avarabhāga*) of existence.

The three spheres of existence are, for this purpose, divided into two sections, namely, (1) the lower section consisting of *kāma dhātu* (*kāma-bhava* or *kāmaloka*) and (2) the higher section (*uddhaṃ* or *urdhvabhāga*) which consists of *rūpa-dhātu* and *arūpa-dhātu* (*DA*. I, 313; *MA*. I, 163; III, 143, 144; *ThigA*. 155f; *AbhK*. 145, 147; *Abhidharma-dīpa*, p. 302; *AbhKVy*. 491).

The *Saṃyojanas* that obtain in the lower sphere i.e., those that bind sentient beings to the lower forms of existence, are termed *orambhāgiya* or *avarabhagiya saṃyojana*. And there are five of them mentioned in the texts, namely, *sakkāya-diṭṭhi* or *satkāya-dṛṣṭi* (heresy of individuality), *vicikicchā* or *vicikitsā* (doubt), *silabbata-parāmāsa* or *silavrata-parāmarsa* (perverse adherence to holy vows and ascetic practices), *kamacchanda*, or *kāmarāga* (yearning for sense pleasures) and *vyāpāda* (malevolence) (*S*.V, 61, 241, 251; *A*. V, 17; *Thig*. v. 165; *Vbh*.377; *Vism*. 586; *DA*. *I*, 313; *MA*. I, 163; III, 143; *ThigA* 155f; *Abhvt*. 129; AbhK. 145; *Abhidharmadipa* 301-304).

This does not mean that the *uddhambhāgiya saṃyojana* do not obtain in the lower spheres of the universe; it only means that the *orambhāgiya saṃyojana* do not exist in the higher spheres of the universe, because it is on the successful elimination of the *orambhāgiya saṃyojana* that a person reaches the higher forms of existence. Thus, all ten *saṃyojana* exist in the *kāmadhātu* while only five of them obtain in the *rūpa* and *arūpadhātu*. See SAṂYOJANA

Upali Karunaratne

ORDINATION See PABBAJJĀ

ORIGINATION AND CESSATION: Meaning of the concepts of Origination and Cessation: The principal Buddhist terms used to express the concept of origination are *utpāda* (*uppāda*) and *jāti*. It is *skye-ba* in Tibetan. Besides the above, there is *samudaya* (Tibetan *kun-ḥbyuṅ-ba*) which connotes either a cause or arising. Further more, there is *prabhava* (Tibetan *rab-tu-skye-ba*) which also conveys the meaning of origination.

As regards the concept of Cessation, the principal Buddhist terms are *nirodha* (Tibetan *ḥgog-pa*.) and *vyaya* or *vaya* (Tibetan *zad-pa, zod-pa, ḥjig-pa*, etc.) There are also *anityatā* or *anicca*, (Tibetan *mi-rtag-pa*) and *bhaṅga* (Tibetan *ḥjig-pa*,). Furthermore, there is *maraṇa* (death) that must be given equal consideration.

The Concepts and their relationship to other Buddhist doctrines: The concepts have become central themes of discussion since early Buddhism, because both birth (*jāti*) and death (*maraṇa*) are very important questions to the individual. He cannot escape their occurrence. Parents are responsible for the conception of a child, but the child to be born has no selective choices of its own for it is bound to be born by external forces. Yet when it is born, it must inevitably face death some day. Thus man cannot escape the two phenomena and at the same time, he has strong desires or attachment for life together with a deep fear for death. A contradiction clearly exists between man's quest for immortality and the inevitability of life and death. In resolving it, there is a need for a close examination of the characteristic of

the concepts of origination and cessation, and to see how they bear upon the life of individuals. As it is said that the Buddha left his home to overcome the sufferings of birth, old age, sickness and death, Buddhism has always related the concepts with personal birth and death and never with natural phenomena. In other words, the questions are centered around the powers which give rise to the individual's birth, old age and death. As for origination and cessation in the natural world, they are endless processes which go on whether man is cognizant of them or not. In contrast, the concepts relative to his desires and fear, i.e. birth and death, have psychological content and thus he feels that he is able to overcome or to escape them. For example, the *Mahāparinibbāna - suttanta* (*D.* II, 157) says: All existences are impermanent and they are characterized by origination and cessation. They arise and they cease to exist. Their cessation is bliss (*aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppāda vaya dhammino- uppajjitvā nirujjhanti , tesaṃ vūpa samo sukho*). The passage clearly indicates that the phenomena (*saṅkhārā*) arise (*uppāda*) and pass away (*vaya*), that they interminably repeat the process. However, the cessation (*vūpasama*) of the process leads to eternal bliss. This means that man is enabled to overcome such a process and attain the state of an ideal state which is Nirvāna. Thus it is manifestly clear that the Buddhist is not so much concerned with the concepts of origination and cessation *per se* as they are in intimate relationship with his own life.

The following doctrines have direct bearing on and aid in the understanding of the concepts. First of all, there is the theory of Dependent Origination (*pratītya-samutpāda, paticca samuppāda*) which in its twelve causal division (*dvādaśāṅga-pratītyasamutpāda*) specifically takes up the two divisions (*aṅga*) of birth (*jāti*) and old age-death (*jarā-maraṇa*). The theory of five *skandhas* (*pañcakkhandha*) examines the concepts of origination and cessation in their relation to suffering (*duhkha*) in which they are spoken as impermanent (*anicca, anitya*). Next there are the Four Noble Truths (*cattāri-ariya saccāni*) which consider the concepts in the realm of suffering and explain their arising (*samudaya*) and cessation (*nirodha*). Besides the above teachings which treat the concepts in connection with personal birth and death, there is a law which abstractly considers them as mere powers or forces within birth and death. This is the concept of the Three-fold characteristics (*trilakṣaṇa*) i.e. rise (*uppāda*), change of what exists (*Ṭhitassa aññatthatta*) and destruction (*vaya*), found in the *Āgamas*. This was later systematized by the *Abhidharma* into the theory of the Four–fold characteristics i.e. birth (*jāti*), persisting state (*sthiti*), change or difference in state (*anyathātva*), and cessation (*anityatā*). The *Prasannapadā*, however, uses the terms *utpāda, sthiti* and *bhaṅga*.[1] The Four-fold characteristics are discussed either in terms of moments (*kṣaṇika*) or in terms of the whole life span of an individual. All the theories stress the fact that by discerning the true nature of origination and cessation, man may overcome and dissociate himself from them and thus enter the world of non-origination and non-cessation. This fact is described from the respective standpoint of each theory. On the other hand, however, there are theories which directly deny the notions of origination and cessation. Such are the cases in the theory of non-origination and non-cessation (*anutpāda* and *anirodha*) discussed in the *Prajñāpāramitā–sūtra* and the *Mādhyamika śastra* and in the theory of simultaneous origination-extinction and non-origination–extinction discussed in the *Mahāyana śraddhotpada- śāstra*. The above theories and doctrines have been briefly introduced and it remains to go into the development of the concepts in question.

Development of the concepts of origination and cessation:

The doctrine of Dependent Origination: The fact that the doctrine of Dependent Origination (*pratītya samutpāda*) treats origination and cessation as its central theme can be readily seen from the term, *sam-utpāda*, which includes the meaning of arising or origination but this comes to light even more so in the simple and neatly organized formula expressing the doctrine. The formula is as follows: This being present that becomes; from the arising of this, that arises; this not being present that does not become; from the ceasing of this that ceases (*imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti, imass'uppādā idaṃ uppajjati; imasmiṃ asati idaṃ na hoti, imassa nirodhā idaṃ nirujjhati*)[2]. The doctrine is here expressed in terms of the relationship of being and not being (*sat* and *asat*), with arising and ceasing (*utpāda* and *nirodhā*). The former, being and not being indicates that the existent (*bhāva, dharma*) is constituted by a state of mutual relationship. Namely, B exists because of A and at the same time A exists because of B. This means that within the given conditions (in which neither A nor B exists as yet), A and B mutually aid in each other's being and that each

is so because of the other's existence. Thus the existence is not a fixed entity existing all by itself. A fixed entity is a self-existing entity (*svabhāva*) which persists because it does not exist with the aid of other entities. In this manner, worldly existences are all characterized by impermanence and necessarily extinguish themselves and in consequence, they are not enduring entities. According to the doctrine of Dependent Origination, entities extinguish themselves because they exist by virtue of other entities. Expressed in other terms, all existences by virtue of dependent origination are impermanent. Nāgārjuna from the Mādhyamika standpoint, says: "I declare that that which exists by dependent origination is *Sunyatā* (devoid of substantiality" (*Yah pratītyasamutpādaḥ Śū nyatām tām pracakṣmahe*).[3] Thus in a sense, it can be seen that both *sūnyatā* and impermanence convey the same meaning. Since the existent being's real nature is *sūnyatā*, it is possible for it to arise or originate. To arise means that something new is acquired. The *Abhidharmakosa-śāstra* states: "origination means that what has not existed before now exists" (*abhūtvā bhā va utpādaḥ*).[4] Origination (*utpāda*) is not transformation (*pariṇāma*) in any sense. If A is changed to B such that the characteristics of A are passed on to B, then B cannot be said to have arisen or originated from A. That would only be a change in A itself. Buddhism interprets existence in terms of origination and not by transformation. Human births do not mean that a substantial spirit or *ātman* passes from one body to another but that each birth is a separate existence and that birth means a newly acquired existence in which the past existence has been extinguished in the past. In this manner, past and present existences are separated by the act of origination. The originated self is not self-originated but owes its existence to the combined forces of its surroundings. Thus there is an intimate union and continuity between it and its accompanying, surrounding forces and, accordingly, origination can be related to the previous existences of a self.

The doctrine of Dependent Origination treats the relationship of continuity and discontinuity by analyzing the meaning of the Sanskrit term into *prati-iti-sam-ut-pad*.[5] An originated thing means what had not existed before has come to be, while cessation means: what returns to naught. The *Abhidharma* says that extinction is the return to the nature of non-being at the exhaustion of being. Since personal birth and death have the same constitution as the above, man does not have a self-identity at the time of birth. He acquires that identity after the act of birth has been completed and thus he cannot know the origin (inception) of his self. When he recalls his past self, he is deluded into thinking of that existence in an eternal past for he errs in conceiving the nature of self as a substantial thing. In terms of the aforementioned formula, B arises because of the arising of A, and B ceases itself because of the ceasing of A. This means that there is a give and take of forces in the arising and ceasing processes. In other words, existence comes to be (*uppajjati*) by virtue of the aid received from other forces and when such aid ceases, it ceases to be (*nirujjhati*). Although the formula expresses a dual relationship, in actuality, there is interplay of many forces for the rise of a thing. In consequence the loss of a single force does not constitute the cessation of the thing but it may change the makeup somewhat. The formula then has described the multiple play of forces into a dual relationship with the mutual relationship of an existent (*bhāva*) as the basic pattern of dependent origination.

The theory of twelve - fold Dependent Origination: The theory of Twelve-fold Dependent Origination (*dvā dasāṅga pratītya-samutpāda*) has applied the formula of dependent origination to the actual suffering of man, i.e. it has inquired into the basis for the rise of birth and death, the attendant suffering, and the escape of subjection of the cycle of birth and death. Man's greatest suffering, according to Buddhism, consists of old age and death. Out of the countless conditions for the occurrence of old age and death, the most basic is the fact that one is born, i.e. without birth, there can be no old age and death. Thus it is said that they occur by virtue of birth. It has already been stated that man cannot be born into this world without external forces and so he who has come to this world out of a certain lineage, parentage, hereditary traits, etc., cannot be said to be without causes. His life is one he cannot exchange for another. Buddhism says that the principal cause of birth is *karman* (past actions). A new birth occurs by virtue of the accumulation of karmic powers at the time of the extinction of a past existence. The twelve-fold causal genesis or dependent origination treats being (*bhāva*) as the most fundamental condition for the occurrence of birth. This is further analyzed and it is finally arrived at as the end condition which is

perceptual ignorance (*avidyā*). However, since *Avidyā* itself is an illusion, it can be extinguished. This fact is carried over as a condition for the extinction of existence and thus, in turn, being, birth, old age and death are subsequently extinguished. The old age and death spoken here are not to be treated as biological entities which can be extinguished but as objects of one's psychological attachments brought to their most fundamental states, i.e. suffering. Such suffering can be extinguished and thus the twelve-fold Dependent Origination implies two types of origination and extinction i.e. the first is origination and extinction (birth and death) within the illusory existence itself (illusion and the enlightenment that such an illusion can be extinguished). This relationship is brought out clearly in the Four Noble Truths (*cattāri-ariya- saccā ni*) of Suffering (*dukkha*), cause (*samudaya*), cessation (*nirodha*) and the way (*magga*). The Truths of suffering and cause express the illusory existence and their causes. Suffering also extends to the very fact of originating and extinguishing in the illusory existences. In another sense, this means that suffering can be avoided if one escapes the illusory life. The Truth of Cause indicates that it is one's desires or attachment (*tanhā, tṛṣṇā*), which is the reason for the continued process of origination and cessation within the illusory life. The first two truths express the view in the natural order (*anuloma*) of dependent origination. The truth of cessation expresses the cessation of the illusory life, namely, the attainment of the ideal world (*nirvāna*). The truth of the Path expresses the method of realizing such an ideal state i.e. the Noble Eight –fold path *ariya-aṭṭhangika- magga*. The last two truths express the view in reverse order (*paṭiloma*), of dependent origination. In sum, Buddhism treats the process of origination and cessation in terms of the rise of suffering in human life and in turn, the basis for the suffering in terms of human desires and delusions.

The concepts analysed on the basis of the five Skandhas;.

The theory of five *skandhas* (*panca skandha*) treats the concepts of origination and cessation in the realm of impermanence (*anicca*) and the impermanent existence as having a temporary nature (*prajñapti-sat*). It analyzes the elements which constitute man and his objective world. The *skandhas* are form (*rūpa*), physical feeling (*vedanā*) perception (*saññā*), dispositions of later life processes (*sankhāra*), and consciousness (*viññāna*). Rūpa consists of what is seen, i.e. the external world including one's physical self. The state of unification (self and its world) is called the *rūpakkhandha*. The theory of five *skandhas* expounds that each *skandha* is characterized by impermanence, suffering and non-self (*anattā*).[6] This expresses the truth that one's life is also characterized by impermanence, suffering and non-self. The *Mahaprajñāpāramita sastra*[7] says: "There are two types of impermanence. One is due to momentary extinction (*kṣaṇa –bhanga*). All elements of the created world exist only for a moment (*ksaṇa*). The other is that no element continues on to the next moment. It is like the human life which expires, the flame which burns grass and wood, and the water which evaporates." This passage implies that the existent (*bhāva, dharma*) constantly originates and ceases itself in order to continue on to the next moment.

The theory of five *skandhas* then ties up impermanence with suffering. This means that impermanence is not a mere origination and cessation process but points to such a process involved in the objects of human attachment. The death of an unrelated person is not considered to be suffering but that of a loved one is. All this indicates that the individual attempts to still or stop the process of impermanence or change and desire something eternal or unchanging. The theory finally states that what undergoes suffering is non-self. The concept of an *ātman* refers to an entity which is eternal and unchanging and therefore, it cannot be a recipient of any suffering or be subject to illness. Conversely, the suffering, sick entity cannot be the *ā tman*. In this meaning, the self which suffers is not an *ātman* but an *anātman* or non-self which changes its states in the interaction with the surrounding world. And in any sense, the suffering self cannot be said to be a persisting individual self or individual *ātman*. All things of the world are in the state of non-entity or non-self and therefore, the I (*ahaṃ*) and the you (*tvaṃ*) are not real selves but only temporary, conventional (*prajñapti*) selves. In consequence, the conventional being (*prajñapti sat*) in Buddhism indicates the conditional existence of the existent being in the world or origination and cessation.

Karman as the cause of Origination and Cessation: The force of impermanence is so great that no one is

able to overcome it. It is what gives substance to time (*kāla*) which absorbs everything. However, in Buddhism, the concept of absolute time is not recognized, i.e. time, in itself, does not exist. Since time is based on the changes in phenomena, it must rely on the force of such changes for its being. This is the force of impermanence which is the basis of all changes including the process of origination and cessation. Buddhism says that all life processes are indeed impermanent (*aniccā vata saṃkhārā*). That life processes (*saṃkhārā*) are impermanent (*aniccā*) means that they are within the composite realm (*saṅkhata, saṃskṛta*) but it is the force of impermanence which gives rise to the individuality of elements (*bhāva, dharma*). These elements are not enduring and they partake in the process of origination and cessation. Life or existence is then said to be both *saṃkhāra* and *saṃkhata*. In the Doctrine of Dependent Origination, *saṃkhāra* refers to the process involved in dependent origination and *saṃkhata* to what has been come into existence by virtue of such a process. As such, a phenomenon is constituted by the dual creating and created characteristics. One's life also consists of these dual characteristics because of the mediating function of his *karman* (past act or deed). In terms of doing a good or bad deed, he is a creating agent (*kartu*) and in obtaining individuality by virtue of that deed, he is a created agent (*kṛta*). The power of *karman* is so great that he cannot escape it and thus the *Dhammapada* (v. 127) says: "Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where man might be freed from an evil deed." One's fate invariably evolves out of one's karmic forces and thus the *Suttanipāta* (v. 654) says: "Worldly life exists by the workings of karman and man, too, continues to live by the same forces. As the wheel turns by being soldered to the axis, just so the sentient beings live on by being bound by karmic forces". Again, the *Majjhima Nikāya* (III, p. 203) says "Karman differentiates sentient beings, and prescribes to them comparative qualities".

Buddhism as a whole acknowledges the fact that *saṅkhata* is formed by the acting force of *karman* but it was not until the time of the *Abhidharma*, however, that the principles involved in the karmic cause and effect were minutely prescribed. In other words, *karman* consists of the principle of necessary consequence (*niyanda*), i.e. good cause results in good effect and bad cause results in bad effect, and the principle of consequent maturity (*vipāka*), i.e. good cause materializes into happiness or bliss and bad cause materializes into suffering. In addition, careful examination was made with respect to such doctrines as the drawing karman (*ākṣipti-karman*) and the maturing *karman* (*paripūraka-karman*) which prescribe the station into which the individual will be born, and with respect to the order or sequence which karmic forces take. *Karman*, so far, has been treated in its importance in giving rise to origination and cessation but there are diverse theories with regard to it as the sole cause or agent in the process of origination and cessation. During the Abhidharma period, there were two outstanding opposing views, i.e. one theory held that *karman* alone is sufficient for explaining the process of origination and cessation, while another held that other supplementary causes are necessary. The latter view was held by the Sarvāstivādin, Sammitiya, and Vātsiputriya schools etc. and Sarvāstivādins, in particular, maintaining that the four-fold characteristics (*jāti, sthiti, anyathatva, anityatā*) are the direct causes of the process involved. On the other hand, Vasubandhu, taking the standpoint of the Sautrāntika, criticized the above view saying, "The function of originating in a thing can only be thought of in the concurrent cause (*hetu-pratyaya*). The various elements (*dharma*) arise in the presence of this cause and if absent, they do not arise. Why then is there a need for the consideration of a character of origination."[3]

The concept of the Four - fold characteristics: *Karman* is what gives movement to the fleeting existences but it is the theory of the four-fold characteristics which minutely analyzes the process of such existences. It must be borne in mind that the theory is a new idea in the Abhidharma period and it has been subjected to various interpretations. There is another theory similar to the above found in the *Āgamas*, i.e. the theory of Three-fold characteristics. There are three marks or characteristics (*trilakṣaṇa*) in *saṅkhata*. These are known as origination (*utpāda*), destruction (*vyaya*) and change of states (*sthita-anyatātva*).[4] This theory expounds that whatever conforms to the process of the three characteristics is within the realm of created elements (*saṃskṛta-dharma*) and that which does not conform to the process is within the realm of uncreated elements (*asaṃskṛta-dharma*). However, the theory is not explicit whether the three characteristics express the state of the created elements or whether the three

characteristics as realities fashion the created elements into their likeness. This has been a source of conflict in the interpretation of the Anguttara-nikāya during the Abhidharma period.

The Sarvāstivādin theory of the Four – fold characteristics goes further than the *Āgamas*. "The characteristics are birth, persisting state, change or difference in state, and extinction (*lakṣaṇāni punar jā tir jarā sthitir anityatā*). They represent the characteristics of the created realm. If the element (*dharma*) be created, it truly belongs to the created realms; if it is otherwise, then it belongs to the uncreated realm."[10] The Sarvāstivādin does not interpret the four-fold characteristics as states of the created elements but only as essential natures which give rise to origination and cessation of the elements. In other words, the four-fold characteristics are taken as substantial entities (*dravya*) and thus: "With respect to the elements in the world, *Jāti* is what enables origination, *sthiti* is what enables rest, *anyathātva* is what enables change, and *anityatā* is what enables destruction.[11] Since origination and extinction occur within a single moment (*kṣaṇa*), the four-fold characteristics can be considered as manifesting within that moment. But since the characteristics are also within the created realm, they, too, are subject to the process of origination and extinction. Although the created elements come to be by virtue of the characteristic of birth (*jāti*), birth itself requires another charateristic for its rise and so a still further characteristic of birth (*jāti-jāti*) is postulated. In like analysis, the Sarvāstivādin postulates *sthiti- sthiti*, *anyathātva-anyathātva*, and *anityatā-anityatā* which together with *jāti-jāti* are known as the four-fold accompanying subordinate characteristics (*anulakṣaṇa*) Now there is a mutual affinity among these two sets of characteristics, for example, the *jāti-jāti* comes to be by virtue of the original *jāti* and thus there is no need for a still further third character of *jāti*. In sum, then there are nine elements involved in a single moment, i.e. the basic *dharma*, the four-fold characteristics and the four-fold accompanying subordinate characteristics.

In contrast, the Sammitīya speaks of fifteen elements involved in the process including the four-fold characteristics, such as completion (*samanvāgama*), emancipation (*vimukti*), and release (*nairyānikatā*).[12] These theories all take the standpoint that the powers of transforming phenomena reside in the moments of existence, namely, that *karman* gives rise to the elements but such a rise is highly selective. In other words, it is *karman* which decides whether happiness or suffering is to result but once an element has arisen, it would have to take on the four-fold characteristics. As a consequence, it was thought that a different or separate cause was necessary for an element's existence in which the characteristics are viewed as realities with motive forces. Vasubandhu naturally criticized this point of view as he maintains that an element inherently has the character of its own destruction. Since other forces than its own work to give rise to an element there is no need for a cause called the birth-characteristic and moreover, the element extinguishes itself by its inherent nature. Thus it is said that the destruction of an element does not necessitate a cause (*ākasmiko hi bhāvānām vināso*).[13] In this respect, it can be asserted that since there is no reality of a character of destruction or of birth, likewise, there are no characteristics of persistence and change. Although the Sautrāntika maintains the view of momentary cessation (*kṣaṇa-bhaṅga*), it denies the process of the four-fold characteristics; manifesting within the moments. Rather, it maintains that the four-fold characteristic hold true for the individual's life span, i.e. *jāti* refers to the original birth, *sthiti* to the whole span of life, *anyatātva* to the change or aging phenomenon and *anityatā* to the death of the individual. This standpoint views the four-fold characteristics as mere states of the elements (*dharma* or *bhāva*).

The *Mahāvibhāsā śāstra* reveals the different theories prevalent concerning the four-fold characteristics. In it, the Dārṣṭantika is said to accept the characteristics as created elements within the single moment but they are all conventional (*prajñapti*) and not real substances (*dravya*). The Vaibhājyavādin maintains that the four-fold characteristics though in the created realm, must be in themselves uncreated (*asaṃskṛta*). The Dharmaguptaka claims that only the characteristics of extinction is uncreated. The Samsamtati –śramana claims that the four-fold characteristics of the physical world are material (*rūpa*) and the characteristic of the conscious or mental world are consciousness (vijñāna) or immaterial.[14] On the other hand, the Vijñānavādin recognizes the view that the four-fold characteristics exists within a single moment but that they are merely conventional existences (*prajnapti-sat*). The individual's life span

is also considered in this light and as a consequence, the *Vijñānavādin* maintains both the Darstantika and Sautrāntika viewpoints.[15]

The concepts and the Three Temporal Moments (*try-adhvan*): Since Buddhism does not treat time as real; it is conventionally set up (*prajñapti*) as a consequence of the phenomenal changes man normally experiences. Thus the concept of time differs with respect to whether or not the process of origination and cessation is taken as real. In the case of the Sarvā stivādin who views the process as real, the divisions of past (*atita-adhvan*), present (*pratyutpanna-adhvan*), and future (*anāgata-adhvan*) are also real viz. the future consists of the period before the rise of the element (*dharma, bhāva*), the present consists in its single moment and the past consists of the period after its cessation. The act of originating seems that the element of the future is made to be realized in the present by the characteristic of birth (*jāti*). In a similar fashion, the act of cessation means that the characteristic of destruction (*anityatā*) moves the element on to a past and not that the element returns, as it were, to a voidness. Since an element is viewed as real within the three temporal moments, it is only natural to conceive it as changing states in the process. Yet, since it is spoken of as appearing and disappearing, the strict meaning of origination and cessation is denied. In contrast with this viewpoint, the Sautrāntika and Vijñā navādin take the view that an element originates from the void and returns to it upon cessation, thus the past and future are treated in the realm of void or *śunya*. In this respect, only the present is real but it can be regarded as a point of departure in which the three temporal moments may be treated and whereby the past and future are only shadows of the present.

There are other schools of thought which even deny the reality of the present. For example, there is the Ekavyavahārika who says that there may be expressions of past, present and future but there is no existence which can be described by such expressions. The Lokottaravādin takes the view that only the transcendent world (*lokottara*) is real. The Mahā saṅghika, Gokulika, Mahisāsaka, etc. all claim that the past and future are of the void.[18]

An examination of Origination and cessation: Although the Buddhist ideal is to rid oneself of the process of origination and cessation and thereby enter the world of non-process, the reality of the latter changes with the differing interpretation of the former. For example, the *Āgamas* say that the world of non-process evolves out of the reverse or *paṭiloma* view of the Twelve-fold Dependent Origination, i.e. with the extinction of ignorance (*avidyā*), the world of non-birth and non-old age and death is realized. Moreover, according to the Four Noble Truths, the Truth of Cessation expresses the world of non-process and the Truth of the Way expresses the means of realizing that state. The *Āgamas*, however, do not explain lucidly what the Truth of cessation constitutes nor how it can be attained. For this reason, there later appeared various theories regarding the interpretation of this point. The Sarvāstivādin interprets the Truth of cessation as extinction through intellectual power (*pratisamkhyā nirodha*). This is the state of extinguishing all defilements (*kleśa*) by attaining a superior intellect (*ā ryajñāna*) in meditating on the sixteen acts (*ākāra*) with respect to the Four Noble Truths. Since it maintains that the process of origination and cessation derives out of *karman* and *karman*, in turn, out of *kleśa*, the world of non-process is attainable by the subjection of the latter. It further analyzes the realm of the uncreated elements (*asaṃskṛta-dharma*), distinguished from the created (*saṃskṛta-dharma*), as consisting of space (*ākāśa*), extinction through intellectual power (*pratisaṃkhyā nirodha*), and extinction through non-intellectual power (*apratisaṃkhyā nirodha*).[17] The distinction between the created and uncreated realms means basically the distinction between the world of process and non-process. It must be considered that the attainment of a non-process world ultimately means the denial of an individual's existence because he cannot live apart from the world of process. The Sarvā stivādin conceives of substance (*dravya*) as the basic construct (*dharma*) of the world and thus the world of process is viewed as being and the world of non-process as non-being (void). In this analysis, the non-being exists but has no relation to the real self, such as in the question of the emancipation of self. In other words, if the reality of the non-process world is at the same time the emancipation of the self, then the two realms of process and non-process must not be alienated.

In contrast to the Sarvāstivādin's view, Nāgarjuna of the Mādhyamika expounds that the realm of non-process is within the realm of process. He states that in no way is there a distinction of *saṃsāra* from *nirvā ṇa*, and conversely, in no way is there a distinction of

nirvāṇa from *saṃsāra* (*na saṃsārasya nirvāṇāt kim cid asti viśeṣanaṃ, na nirvāṇasya saṃsārāt kim cid asti viśesanam*).[18] He goes on to explain non-origination and non-extinction basing on the celebrated Eight Noes. The common being (*pṛthagjana*) is conceived as one who understands things in terms of origination and extinction, past and future, unity and diversity, permanence and impermanence, etc., but these conceptions are due to the mind's differentiating process (*vikalpa*) or mere play of words (*prapañca*). The riddance of these conceptualizing process leads to the real nature of things (*dharmatā, tattvasyala kṣaṇam*). "When objectification of the mind ceases, there is no need for linguistic expressions. Truly, the real nature of things is like *nirvāṇa*, without origination and without extinction."[19] Thus the world of non-process is the world of quietude realized when one rids oneself of defilements and attachments. The essence of this world is *śūnya* (empty or devoid of defilements) and in another sense, *śūnya* is the very manifestation of the world of process. And as all existences (*sarva-bhāva*) are manifestations of *śūnya*, illusions may arise and extinguish themselves. If, on the other hand, existence is taken to be permanent or lasting, there could not possibly be cessation and if it belongs to the void, there hardly could be an origination. But as the real nature of a thing consists of *śūnya*, it may take on the forms of origination and cessation or it may change to non-origination and non-cessation. Thus the *śūnya* spoken of by the Mādhyamika expresses a nature which is neither being nor non-being.

The term characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*), expresses the state of a thing and not its existence as such. The Yogā cāra is a later Buddhist philosophical school which strives for a clearer expression of what existence actually means. It expounds the theory that all existences are without self-hood (*niḥsvabhāva*) and that the state of non-origination and non-cessation is thusness (*tathatā*).[20] *Niḥsvabhāva* connotes the same meaning as *śūnya* and it constitutes the real nature of phenomena or the thusness of things. This means that all existences are in the world of process insofar as they are illusory, but in their real natures they are in the state of thusness, in the realm of non-origination and non-cessation. In other words, this is a positive expression of the world of *śūnya* in terms of thusness and an exposition that the world of non-origination and non-cessation is also conceived of as a world of being. However, there still lacks clarity as to the relationship between the world of process and the world of thusness. The *Mahāyānasraddhotpāda sutra* is clearer on this point. It states that the world of process is illusory and the world of non-process is thusness. The term *Alayavijñāna* denotes the state in which the realm of non-origination and non-cessation merges with the realm of origination and cessation but that state is neither unity nor divergence.[21] In this manner, both process and non-process are neither the same nor distinct and though they are different conceptions they reside together within the *ālaya-vijñāna*. In a sense they can be said to be of similar existence and function within the same boundaries. Fa- tsang (643-712) of China has inquired even further into the above analysis by asserting that the world of non-process is the so-called primordial state of the world from which evolves the world of process. The evolution is labelled the emergence of characteristics. In dependent origination, the method is to arrive at the world of non-process from the world of process, but in Fa-tsang's doctrine, the reverse is expounded, i.e. movement from the world of non-process to the world of process. Accordingly, process evolves out of non-process and is at once the truth of being. As such, the affirmation rather than the denial of process itself is the true assertion of non-process. His doctrine can be viewed as the final ultimate stand in the examination of the process involved in origination and cessation. Buddhism of China and Japan has subsequently developed doctrines revolving around this standpoint.

Akira Hirakawa
(Tr. By K.K. Inada)

References

1 *Prasannapadā*, p. 145.
2 *M.* II, 32 etc
3 *Prasannapadā* 503; *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 30, p. 33 b.
4 *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 29, p. 27c.
5 *Prasannapadā*, p. 5; *Abhidharmakosa Sastra*, Vol. 9, *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 29, p. 50b; Yasomitra's *Abhidharma kosavyakhya*, p. 294
6 *Vin.* I, p. 13 f
7 *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 25, p. 372 b
8 *Abhidharmakosa sāstra*, Vol. 5., *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 29, p. 28 c; Yasomitra's *Abhidharmakosavyākhyā*, p. 179.

9 A. I, p. 152; Yasomitra's *Abhidharmakoṣavyākhyā*. p. 171.
10 *Abhidharmakosa-sāstra*, Vol. 5; *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 29, p.27 a; *Yasomitra's Abhidharamakoṣavyākhyā*. P. 171.
11 *Ibid.*
12 Prasannapadā, p. 148.
13 *Abhidharmakosasāstra*, Vol. 13; *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 29, p. 60c; Yasomitra's *Abhidharmakosavyākhyā* , p. 345).
14. *Mahāvibhāsāsāstra*, Vol. 38; *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 27, p. 198 ab
15. *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, Vol. 2; *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 31, p. 6 a.
16. *Samayabhedoparacanacakra –sāstra, Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 49 p. 16a.
17. *Abhidharmakoṣasāstra, Vol. 1, Taisho Shunshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 29, p. 1c ; *Abhaidharmakoṣavyākhyā*, p. 15
18 *Prasannapadā*, p. 535; *Mādhyamaka sāstra, Vol. 4, Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, Vol. 30 p. 36 a.
19 *Prasannapadā* , p. 364.
20 *Vijñaptimatratā-siddhi, Triṃsikā*, p. 41.
21 *Taihso Shinshu Daizokyo* , Vol. 33, p. 576 b.

ORISSĀ: A state in modern India, where Buddhism flourished with fluctuating fortune until the 16th century A.C. A major part of Orissa came under the country known as Kālinga in early Buddhist literature. In Tibetan and Chinese sources, this region is mentioned as *U-ti-vi-Ha* and *Wu-t'u* (or *Wu-cha*) respectively. Orissa "played a significant part in the development of Buddhism and nourished the faith long after the Muslim conquest of India" (Debla Mudra, *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1980, p.223).

Buddha is said to have visited Orissa (then Kālinga) and converted Trapusa and Bhallika, the two merchants, who later became Buddha's first-lay disciples. Tradition says that the Buddha offered them a lock of his hair, which they had subsequently enshrined in a Stūpa built in their medium town in Orissā (B.N. Chaudhury, *Buddhist Centers in Ancient India*, Culcutta, 1969, p.245). However, at the outset Buddhism could not make much headway in that region, as Jainism was the predominant faith which received the royal patronage of the powerful *Mahameghavāhānas* who reigned between the 1st Century B.C. and 1st Century A.C.

Two Asoka rock edicts found in Dhuli (in puri district) and Jaugada (in Ganjan district) corroborate the fact that Buddhism really took roots in Orissā (then Kālinga, which formed a part of the Magadha empire and subsequently had asserted its independence) after its conquest by Asoka. The fore-part of an elephant carved above the edict at Dhauli is believed to be a *theriomorphical* representation of the Buddha. Fourteen rock edicts set up by Asoka have been discovered from Orissa. It is also recorded that the emperor had erected stūpas at all places visited by the Buddha in that region (B.N. Chauduhury, op cit, p. 195). Although Buddhism made some progress under the Sātavāhanas, it preferred a setback during the region of Sailodhavas (6th 7th Century A.C.) due to lack of royal patronage (N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, Cuttock, 1958, p. ix).

Prevalence of Hīnayāna in early Buddhism in Orissā is evinced from the fact that the monks of that country had ridiculed the emperor Harsha for patronizing Nālanda, the foremost centre of Mahāyāna teaching at that time. It is said that at Harsha's request, the chief incumbent of Nālanda had sent three monks along with Hsuan-tsang of Orissā to refute those monks who opposed Mahāyānism (Lalmani Joshi, *Studies in the Buddhist Cultures in India*, Delhi, 1987, p. 171). Nevertheless, Mahāyāna, alongside Hīnayāna had apparently become tolerated in Orissā at a later stage and when the Rathnagiri monastery was built during the reign of Buddhapaksa, 3 copies of each of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts were deposited in it. However, by the 6th Century A.C. Mahāyānism seemed to have superseded Hīnayāna and several centers propagating Mahāyānism had come up. It is evinced from several instances of granting of land for the maintenance of the Mahāyāna monasteries. For instance, a copper plate charter discovered near Jayarampur (in the district of Balosore) records that during Gopālachandra's time, (*circa* first half of the 6th Century A.C.), a village had been bestowed for the sustenance of a monastery at Bodhipaddrake dedicated to god Arya- Aavalokikesvara. Besides Mahāyānism, Vajrayāne too infiltrated into Orissā, and it had exerted a great influence over its people at a later date.

In his soujourn, Hiuen-Tsang metions that Buddhism in Wu-t'u (Orissā) was in a flourishing state with more than 100 monasteries, where multidude of monks resided (T. Watteve, *on Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, II*, London, 1905, P. 193). He goes on to describe that Nāgarjuna visited Orissa and was instrumental in constructing some stūpas and monasteries. Another exponent of Buddhism, Dignā ga had spent a good part of his life time in an excavated cave in Orissa. While residing there, he had written the *Pramānasamucchaya* and had inspired the king's treasurer, Bhadrapāhitha to construct 16 monasteries (A.k. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, 1970,p.515).

The golden era of Buddhism in Orissa however, dawned with the advent of the *Bhaumaka* dynasty, who ruled the region from 7th century up to the 10th century A.C. having Virāja (modern Jaipur) as their capital. An epigraphical evidence reveals that in 795 A.C., A Buddhist king of Wu-che (Orissa) presented an autographed .manuscript of *Gandavyūha* to the Chinas emperor Te-tsang (*Epigraphia Indica*, XV. (1919-20), pp. 363-64). Bhaumaka rulers extended their support to Buddhism by constructing a large number of monasteries and granting villages for their upkeep. Two charters of Śivaṃkaradeva III discovered at *Talcher* record granting of two villages to meet the requisites of the Jayāsrame vihāra (Binayak Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, Calcutta, 1934, p. 40 ff).

Discovery of a great number of Buddhist images and monuments from Virāja itself, affirms the intense patronage the Bhaumaka kings extended to Buddhism. During their reign, Orissā was frequented by many Buddhist scholars belonging to diverse Mahāyāna and Tantric sects. Tāranātha mentions Orissā (Odirisa) as the earliest centre of Mahāyāna and states that a Brahmin named *Saraha*, who is said to be the preceptor of Nāgarjuna, hailed from that region. Further he records that Mañjuśri visited the king of Orissā called Chandragupta to preach a Mahāyāna Sūtra. It was also in this land that the earliest Prajñāpāramitā, the *Aṣṭasā hasrikā* was composed giving rise to a full-fledged system of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the course of the Christian centuries, a large number of Mahāyāna monasteries developed in various parts of Orissā (N.K.Sahu,op.cit, p.17).

At the turn of the 10th century A.C. Bhaumakas were succeeded by the Somavāsis as the ruling dynasty. Though they were not Buddhists, they tolerated Buddhism. However, at the hands of the Lunar (Chandra) dynasty, who ruled Orissā during the 10th and 11th century, Buddhism suffered a setback as its kings were ardent followers of Brahmanism.

Thence onwards Buddhism in Orissā marked a decadence. Lack of royal patronage coupled with subsequent Muslim invasions jeopardized the existence of Buddhism. Nevertheless, when Turks made Inroads into northern and eastern parts of India, Orissā remained independent till the 16th century, and provided a haven for the fleeing monks. Mukundadeva (1559-68 A.C.) was the last king of Orissā to provide royal patronage to Buddhism. He attempted to resuscitate Buddhism by constructing a few monasteries. When he was vanquished by Akbar, Buddhism fell into oblivion in Orissā (A.K. warder, op cit. p.515). However, it still survives there in a somewhat changed form (W.N. Bhattacharya, op cit.p. 176).

Archaeological remains

It was mainly Debla Mitra's excavations at Rathnagiri and discovery of other Buddhist sites in Orissā that kindled a new interest in the study of Buddhism prevalent in that country. Mitra points out that " the entire land is dotted with the images of Buddha and divinities of the Buddhist pantheon" (Debla mitra, op.cit.p.224). Amongst most note worthy sites are Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Vajragiri, Kandeswar and Bhandeshwarnam-all located in the Jaipur hills in the Cuttack district.

Excavations at the Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra brought to light a hoard of archeological remains that testify the existence of a trasure of glorious Buddhist art and architecture till the 12th century A.C. A number of sealings excavated at the site were inscribed with the legend " *sri-ratnagiri-mahāvihārī ya- āryabhikṣu sangasya*.... (to the noble monks of the Ratnagiri Mahā vihāra...). Establishment of this vihāra is attributed to Buddhapaksa, who is identified with the Gupta emperor Narasiṅgha gupta Bāleditya. It was the centre of Mahā yānism in Orissā, frequented by scholar monks, till it was destroyed by the Muslim invaders towards the end of the 13th century. Tibetan sources indicate that

this monastery was renowned for the spiritual inspiration and lively pursuit of the *Kālachakra-tantra* in the latter part of the 10th century. The excavations at the site unearthed include, among other things, the remains of an imposing stūpa, two magnificent quadrangular monasteries, a single winged monastery and a large number of sculptures. See further RATNAGIRI VIHĀRA.

Located on the same Jaipur mountain range were two other famous monasteries flourishing at that time, namely the Lalitagiri and the Udayagiri, where a hoard of sculptures and images belonging to the Gupta era was discovered. It is presumed that the Pushpagiri monastery (Pu-sie-po-ki-li) mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang may be identified with one of there monasteries (*Epigraphia India, op cit*, pp. 1-6), which was known to be a stronghold of Vajrayāna (Debla Mitra, loc.cit). Hiuen-Tsang had observed more than ten Asokan Stū pas in the vicinity of Cuttack.

The ruins of the ancient *Solanpur* mahāvihāra mentioned in the Ratnagiri copper plate of king Karṇa is believed to be buried in the mounds of *Solanpur* located in the north of Jaipur. Several Tantric Buddhist images belonging to the 8th and 9th century have been discovered there. At *Achutrajapur* in the district of *Pur too*, a hoard of bronze images including those of the Buddha and the two armed Tārā have been unearthed (Lalmani Joshi, op.cit. p. 71). However, the most significant discovery at the site was the three earthen-ware pots, containing the figurines of deities like Vajrasattva and Heruka, which testifies to the prevalence of Vajrayāna Buddhism in that monastery. The sites at *Sālihuṇḍam* and *Sankaram* dating back to the 6th century A.C. too have yielded several images of Mahāyāna and Tantric deities. Some finest-specimens of icons have been discovered from the temple dedicated to Tārā at *Bankad Baud* and those are reckoned to be gems of art in Orissā (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research society*, 1929, pp. 65-69). Several Tantric images belonging to the 8th and 9th century have been unearthed from Solanpur located to the north of Jaipur. Chanduar located in Cuttack district too has yielded some masterpieces of Buddhist sculpture which are presently exhibited in the museum of Culcutta, Patna and Bhubaneswar.

A copper plate inscription indicating a grant of land to Jayāsrama-Vihāra located at Tosah reveals that both monks and nuns were residing in the same monastery (Lalmani Joshi, op.cit, p. 71), most probably an establishment belonging to Vajrayāna. From 7th and 8th century onwards, Vajrayāna with its offshoot Kālachakra yāna seems to be the predominant form of Buddhism that had gained grounds in Orissa. Also see KALINGA.

C.S. Ranasinghe.

OTTAPPA See HIRIOTTAPPA

PABBĀJANĪYA-KAMMA. In Buddhist ecclesiastical law, *Pabbājanīya-kamma* is an Act of Punishment, which removes the offending monk (or monks) from the area of his residence (*Vin*. II.pp.9-15). In the *Cullavagga Pāli* referred to here, we are told of the story of the Assaji-punabbasukā monks who were living in Kīṭāgiri who, by their over-familiarity and over-intimacy with the females of the community were bringing them into disrepute. However, it is clear that the people too were conniving with the miscreant monks. They spoke very highly of the over-friendly behaviour of their monks (*Amhākaṃ pana ayyā Assajipunabbasukā saṇhā sakhilā sukha-sambhāsā mihitapubbangamā... tesaṃkho nāma piṇḍo dātabbo'ti. Ibid*. p. 11 = Our venerable monks of the Assajipunabbasu group are gentle and friendly in speech, and take the lead in greeting us. They are pleasant in countenance. They should indeed be given offerings of food.) A monk who arrived there on his way to see the Buddha found himself out of harmony with the residents of the area, almost to a point of not receiving any food from them.

A traditionalist conservative resident of the region who encountered the monk, took pity on him and took him home. He provided him with food and pleaded with him to report to the Buddha the state of affairs in that region. It is on hearing of this that the Buddha ordered Sariputta and Moggallana to go to Kiṭāgiri and have those miscreant monks removed from that area, i.e. carry out the Act of *Pabbājanīya-kamma* on them. Sariputta thereupon observed that those monks were known to be violent and rebellious (*caṇḍā te bhikkhū pharusā' ti. Ibid*. 12).

The Buddha is supposed to have then promptly suggested that they, in that case, go with a large number

of monks to meet force with force, if necessary (*Tena hi tumhe Sâriputtâ bahukehi bhikkhûhi saddhim gacchathâ' ti. loc. cit*). If and when the monks have behaved themselves properly under that punishment the Sangha is authorized to withdraw it. This Act of Punishment is one among many which endeavour to safeguard the interests of the lay community against the inroads of the monks into their midst.

Dhammavihâri

PABBAJJĀ (Sk.*Pravrajyā*: from *pra*+ √*vraj*: to go forth from household life). This 'going forth' in Buddhism implies the renouncing of the household life and taking upon a life of homelessness of a *bhikkhu*. It is the adoption of the ascetic life as a Buddhist monk after going from home to homelessness (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ*) wherein one severs all family and social ties in order to lead the life of chastity and related other restraints, the *brahma-cariya*, with the aim of realizing final deliverance from conditioned mundane existence in the state of *Nirvānic* freedom.

Accordingly, this term has come to represent both the act of "leaving the household life" in the negative sense, as well as the resulting "admission into *bhikkhus* order as a novice" (*sâmaṇera*) in the positive sense. This latter sense has become established as an extended nuance of the former original implication.

This "going forth" in Buddhism involves a deep philosophy. In the first place it is not a way of "running away" from the problems of life as a kind of escapism, but rather the opposite of it, as it involves tackling the problem of life as needing a final comprehensive solution, a sort of "taking the bull by the horns." It is renouncing the mundane life of sensual pleasures and working one's. way towards a supra-mundane condition of permanent peace and freedom from impermanent conditioned existence as the ultimate solution to the problem of human suffering. This state of final freedom envisaged is the *sumum bonum* of Buddhist religious practice and is according free from the problems of birth, decay, death etc. as a state beyond time and space, for the sake of which even "young people, in prime of their youth" go forth. It is the transcendental state of Nirvânic freedom.

If search for sensual pleasures be the general nature of the common run by men and women, the world-renouncing ascetic follows a different course because he has intellectually understood that genuine freedom from *samsâric* existence is available as an attainable objective. With this voluntarily assured self-confidence the worldly man converts himself into a spiritual man resulting in *pabbajjâ* which becomes a highly welcome alternative to him.

In the intellectual development of India from the times of Vedic thought followed by Upanisadic reflections, one can clearly see that the prevalent unsatisfactories with worldly life and the resultant search for an acceptable alternative was there as a live undercurrent gathering momentum with the passage of time. Accordingly *pabbajjā* had become a major theme in the intellectual *milieu* of contemporary India and many were the ascetics who took to lives of renunciation in their attempts at uncovering the secrets surrounding the achievement of ultimate freedom from the trammels of existential life.

These spiritual efforts had gradually led to the build up of a community of such sages in the forms of worldly men metamorphosed into spiritual men, who had discovered different stages of this path to freedom and were very often under the impression that their attainments like the spheres of boundless space (*âkâsânañcâyatana*), boundless consciousness (*viññā nañcāyatana* etc.) marked their much sought-after final attainments. The stories of Alārakālāma, Bhaggava, Uddakarâmaputta are the better known instances of this phenomenon.

Even the long standing traditional Brahmanic practice of dividing a person's life into four periods under *âsrama dharma* system had by this time ceased to exert its influence on life in general, when even young men began to seek self-imposed *pabbajjâ* for the sake of this great search. Thus it is seen how Indian youth "in the prime of their life with coal-black hair" (*paṭhama-vaya:susukâla-kesa*) renouncing home life for the sake of this ideal. When the urge for ascetic life asserts itself owing to the impelling drive as a sign of the times, all mundane bonds begin to snap asunder as they gradually lose their grips on family and society. Thus this *pabbajjā* movement was a sign in the times in post-upanisadhic India.

Search for sensual pleasures in the general nature of the world, yet the idea of *pabbajjā* came to some of those men who came to be really stirred by the vicissitudes of life which, in reality, should make any intelligent man stir from the generally slumbering attitude to life. It was those rare people who resorted to this arduous path by giving up the hollow pleasures of mundane living, as they properly sensed the true misery involved in the laws of nature. If attachment to worldly life is the root cause of suffering as they came to realize, then its opposite of non-attachment to same should lead to the freedom from world's wretchedness, and *pabajjā* would be the natural outcome.

It is such withdrawal from attachment and changing that leads to true renunciation and to genuine turning away that could vanquish human woes for all time, along with their causes and conditions. Unless and until this type of *pabbajjā* propels man to leave home and society, he continues to hasten from birth to death and *vice versa* in this ocean of existence called *samsāra*, beginingless and remaining endless as well, unless this *pabbajjā* comes to his rescue from the subtle lures of Māra that keeps on intoxicating and trying him to life. Thus, his highest duty would be to seek *pabbajjā* with understanding, which is the truly meaningful step he has to take. Amidst household duties this ideal can never be realized. The jump of hurdles life can lead to the highest happiness (*parama-sukha*) a Nirvanic freedom.

This sprit of *pabbajjā* is very well expressed in the beautiful poem in the *sutta-nipāta*, the *khaggavisāna sutta*, wherein one is advised to "lead the life lone-like the rhino-horn" on this world is full of entanglements leading to a vicious circle of problems within problems.

It is also seen that when the *pabbajjā* mentality sets in a person he begins to develop a wider love than before because to them the usual dear ones like wife and mother become sisters, father and son become brothers, all fellow beings become fellow sufferers and accordingly he develops a super-individual universal love covering all living beings. Thus the act of *pabbajjā*, which to narrow thinking might appear as a selfish move as it involves only the particular individuals' welfare, in the ultimate sense is the most unselfish step motivated by an all-embracing universal love. Buddhahood, as the ultimate aim of *pabajjā*, is the greatest achievement possible for man in the face of which all other welfare measures pale into insignificance.

A phycho-ethical justification for *pabbajjā* may be highlighted here when isolation or separation from the "maddening crowd" becomes a *sine quo non*-for following the path to enlightenment. A person's inner potentialities cannot develop unless they are isolated from the crowd's impact as an initial step. Many people live below their potentialities because they have surrendered their capabilities to others and thereby become spilt-personalities. Thus, in ordinary social living, self realization becomes impossible when human energy is wasted on unprofitable thoughts and actions most of the time. This truth also makes the solitude of *pabbajjā* the initial step in the holy goal of enlightenment and freedom as opposed to the unholy goal of temporary worldly success, when people being themselves subject to suffering also seek what is subject to suffering .

What has been said so far would explain the true meaning of *pabbajjā* and its necessity for the realization of the goal of Buddhist practice. In conclusion, let the opening stanza of the *Visuddhimagga* be quoted here as summarizing this meaning as the duty of a genuine Buddhist, whether monk or layman.

"When a wise man, established well in virtue,
Develops consciousness and understanding,
Then as a *bhikkhu*, ardent and sagacious,
He succeeds in disentangling this tangle."

A. G. S. Kariyawasam

PABHASSARA-CITTA (an assumed original pure state of the human mind traced into Pali literature)

The word *pabhassara* in Pali means radiant and luminous. Coupled with the word *citta* which means the mind, the compound word *pabhassara-citta* is believed to imply that the original human mind (or the mind at some stage, i.e. anterior to a specific point of time) is radiant. We believe the genesis of this idea of a *pabhassara-citta* is traceable to a few references in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (A. I. 10 – four references). A few more slightly different references are found at *Ibid.* 254 & 257. These latter, we shall examine at the end

The references $ 9 and $10 at *A.* I. 10 do not carry a compound as *pabhassaracitta* which means a radiant mind. The Pali used there predicatively reads as *pabhassaraṁ idaṁ bhikkhave cittaṁ* which means 'this mind, O Bhikkhus, is radiant.' The stress perhaps is on the idea of it being so 'at a particular point of time.' This statement is further qualified at $ 9 with the words *'tañ ca kho āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭhaṃ' ti.'* This appended qualifying second statement means 'and this mind is defiled or contaminated by incoming defilements.' We shall examine these statements in due course.

Do not fail to note that $10 here presents to us a completely different idea in its second appended statement when it says, blowing as it were hot and cold in the same breath, that the said mind is liberated. This is what $10 says now of the same *citta* (about which it said earlier, in complete identity with the same at $ 9 in the first half: *pabhassaraṁ idaṁ bhikkhave cittaṁ*). In the second appended statement it says that 'this mind is liberated from or is freed of the incoming defilements (*tañ ca kho āgantukehi upakkilesehi vippamuttan' ti*). The word *upakkiliṭṭhaṁ* of $ 9, which means 'defiled', is replaced in $10 with the word *vippamuttam* which means liberated or released. No indication at all is given in the text as to how and when this all-important change takes place.

We cannot fail to observe here that *upakkiliṭṭhaṁ* and *vippa muttaṁ* used in these two contexts are polarized concepts. Of the same item of this *citta* or *idaṃ cittaṃ*, it is said:

1. On the one hand in $ 9 it is said that *citta* is radiant (*pabhassara*) but stands contaminated by or on account of incoming defilements (*āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭhaṁ' ti*).

2. On the other, it is said in $10 that this same *pabhassara citta* is totally free of or liberated (*vippamutta*) of incoming defilements. (How and when, we are not told.). These statements must certainly refer to two different stages in time. There can be no simultaneity or co-existence. Nor can we concede a recurrence (or an on and off occurrence) in this process of contamination and purification. It has to be a complete and final change from one to the other.– from *upakkliṭṭha* to *vippamutta.*

In these what appear to be categorical philosophical statements, it is important to ask about whose *citta* or mind are we speaking at the moment. Are we speaking of 1. the *samsāric* being or 2 the one who has gone beyond it or got out of it? If it is the *samsāric* being, we are not to forget his identity as to why and how he is rolling on in *samsāra*. We are quite sure a *samsāric* being is not just a spark of a primary divine source like Brahman or *Paramātman* whose divinity and divine grandeur the humans would invariably have to carry within themselves. Are we here attempting to look for parallels with Indian religious concepts within our own stock in trade?

On the other hand, no matter where the *samsāric* course of each one began (*pubbā koṭi na paññayati*), each one of us now roll on in it because of our own *samsāric* contamination. Note what is said of each one of us that we are victims of *nīvaraṇa* and *saṃyojana* in our *samsāric* journeying (*avijjā-nīvaraṇānaṃ satta naṃ taṇhā-saṃyojanānaṃ sandhāvataṁ saṃsarataṁ* *S.* III. 149, 151). It is in our nature that we carry these defilements with us through *samsāra* or more precisely, that the defilements drag us along through *samsāra*. It would therefore be a gross error of judgment if one said, while talking of *samsāric* beings, that the mind of an unborn child in the mother's womb is radiant and untarnished.

Let us now take a look at what the *Mahāmāluṅkya Sutta* says on this subject. "A little baby lying on his back has no notions of *sīla*. How then can he have incorrect attitudes like *sīlabbata-parāmāsa* towards *sīla*? But he has deeply embedded in him underlying traces of *sīlabbata-parāmāsa*" (*anuseti tv 'ev' assa sīlabbata-parāmāsānusayo* *M.* I. 433). The word *anuseti* or *anusaya* here stand for what we call trans-samsāric karmic residues which are transmitted from one phase of life of an individual to his next life. Each one of us has a quota of these within us at birth, brought in by each one at conception. The *sutta* says this of a range of *anusaya* covering *kāmarāga* and *vyāpāda* (*M.* I. 433). Some modern thinkers, medical men and psychologists are very close to us in thinking when they dare to say that they have every reason to believe that the mind of the unborn child in mother's womb is pre-monitored. This concept of pre-monitoring precludes us from entertaining an idea of a pure mind in the mother's womb.

In our opinion, speaking of a radiant mind for the humans which is free from defilements, is a possibility only at the final stage of *āsavakkhaya* or termination of all defilements in the Nirvānic state (of course while still living a life as a human, here and now). The very concept, we believe, is visualization from many possible angles, of what it is like on reaching the state of Nirvāna.

Here is a bit of indispensable related evidence on the subject. When the question is asked in the *Kevaddha Sutta* (*D.* I. 223) as to where the four great elements of which the universe is believed to be constituted come to a complete state of non-existence (*aparisesā nirujjhanti*), the Buddha is said to have pleaded for a re-phrasing of the question to read as "Where will the four great elements have no hold (*āpo ca pathavī ca tejo vāyo na gādhati*). "They extend the question further to read as" Where will dimensional notions of long and short, large and small, and notions of wholesome and unwholesome hold no say? Where will the psychic and material bases of human existence (*nāmañ ca rèpan ca*) completely cease to be?" The question is diverted by the Buddha from what was originally an external cosmic one to a personal individualized one. This shift of accent must be clearly noted.

It is tremendously important to note here the complete change of emphasis and change of direction in the answer provided in the sutta (*tatra veyyākaraṇaṃ bhavati*) The purpose of the question is first apprehended. Such a speculated state (as in Nirvāna) is possible only where the *samsāric* process of human life is believed to be capable of being completely ended. We have to admit here of the existence of two equally valuable and equally compatible traditions on this issue, of looking at Nirvāna, as to what happens when one gets there. In addition to our *Kevaddha Sutta*, we also have a very cryptic but very meaningful reference in the *Samyutta Nikāya*. The *Samyutta Nikāya* seems to earnestly endeavour to combine the realities of the physical world with the religious truths of Buddhism. They are beautifully combined in just four lines.

Kuto sarā nivattanti (kattha vattam na vattati.
Kattha nāmañ ca rūpañca) asesaṅ uparujjhati (*S.* I. p. 15)

From whence the streams stop flowing,
where the wheel (of life) turns no more,
where name and form, completely cease to be.

The first line alone of the above verse from the *Samyutta* appears to concern itself with phenomena of the physical world- Where do flowing rivers cease to flow? The remaining three lines refer to religio-philosophical issue of

1. the termination of the individual process of *saṃsāric* continuance propelled by individualized *viññaṇa* and

2. the cessation of the inter-play of the psycho-physical dualities of mind and matter (*nāma & rūpa*) of the humans.

Admittedly the *Kevaddha Sutta* questioning appears more searching and more comprehensive than that of the *Samyutta*.

In the *Kevaddha Sutta* which appears more mature to us, the answer begins, we believe, with what happens to the carrier of human life in *saṃsāra*, namely *viññā ṇa*. Let us begin with the original Pali in the *Kevaddha Sutta* (*loc*, cit).

Viññānaṃ anidassanaṃ anantaṃ sabbato pabhaṃ

Saṃsāric Carrier Consciousness or *viññāṇa* at the stage of the arahant, i.e. the one who has attained Nirvā na is, undemonstrable (*anidassanaṃ*). Do not fail to be impressed by the profundity and depth of wisdom reflected in this single line. We shall now immediately get to the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikā ya* where the Buddha himself is seen handling this same theme with great clarity.

In Buddhism, the person released in Nirvāna (with no time space relationships) is referred to as *vimutta-citta*. It is said of him that even in the gods in heaven with Indra or Brahma or Prajapati as their chiefs search for his *viññāna*, trying to find its specific location as to where it is centered on (*idaṃ nissitaṃtathāgatassa viññānan' ti M.* I. 140), they shall never succeed. For the location of the psyche of such a liberated person cannot be found even in this very existence (*ditthe 'vā ham bhikkhave dhamme tathāgataṃ ananuvejjo' vadā mi. Ibid*).

This statement in the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* is in complete consonance with the *Kevaḍḍha Sutta* reference to *viññāṇamanidassanaṃ*. Here we are quite sure we are speaking of the liberated person (*vimutta-cittambhikkhuṃ*), i.e. the one who has reached his Nirvā nic state. One cannot point at the exact location of the *viññāṇa* of such a person, even here and now, in this very existence, as lying perched on or tethered to (*idaṃ nissitaṃ tathāgatassa viññāṇaṇ ' ti*).

It is in the same context that the *Kevaḍḍha Sutta* refers to the *viññāṇa* of the arahant as being 'totally luminous or radiant' (*anantaṃ sabbato pabhaṃ*). To us, this also is no less and no more than the quality of *Nirvānic viññāṇa*. Through the riddance of all defilements or *āsavakkhaya* what else could the Nirvā nic *viññāṇa* be, except totally radiant and luminous? The Commentary to the Sutta too completely miss this point (*DA*. II. 393). Perhaps a growing up divergent tradition regarding the nature of Nirvāna seems to be pulling in an entirely different direction and confusing the whole issue. We do not feel it is even worth taking it up for comment.

Viññāṇa at this stage is non-regenerative. Therefore with its cessation, everything else of a *saṃsāric* being ceases to be (*viññāṇassa nirodhena etth ' etam uparujjhati. D*. I. 223).

While probing into the dubious concept of *pabhassara-citta* in Buddhist literature, we have laid hands on a few bits wonderfully revealing evidence with regard to what early Buddhism believes to be the true reality of the Nirvanic ending of a samsaric being. It is being examined with regard to the believed in realities of the phenomenal world as well as to the religio-philosophical analysis of the so-called being.

We choose to hold the view, from the evidence examined so far, that the so-called radiance of the human mind (*sabbato pabhaṃ* or *pabhassaraṃ*) is a state which is predictable only of the liberated mind (*vimutta-citta*) of the arahaṇt or Nirvanic being. It is only such a mind which is accurately predictable as being *āgantuketi upakilesehi vippamuttaṃ* as at *A*. I. 10. We also cannot subscribe to the view of a radiant mind of a *saṃsāric* being at any time anywhere before his *āsavakkhaya* in Nirvana. We fail to ignore his *saṃsāric* inheritance by way of *āsaya and anusaya* which pursue the *saṃsāric* being from birth to birth.

We also like to refer to, before we conclude to the interest shown in our text to positively assert the non-worldliness of the *Nirvanic* state.

1. The *Alagaddūpama Sutta* categorically asserts that the mind of the liberated one (*vimutta-citta*), while living his human life here and now, is in no way involved with things of the world (*idaṃ nissitaṃ tathāgatassa viññāṇam ' ti. M*. I. 140). This pertains to his psychic relations with the world in which he still continues to live.

2. Both the *Kevaḍḍha Sutta* (*D*. I. 223) and the Saṃyutta (*S*. I. 15) refer to the complete cessation of *nāma and rūpa* (which means no more rebirth) on the attainment of Nirvāna (*Ettha nāmañ ca rū pañ ca asesam uparujjhati*).

3. *Kevaḍḍha Sutta* alone goes still further, with an obvious true grasp of the basic Buddhist teachings, to say that on the cessation or non-productivity of *viññāṇa*, everything ceases to function towards regeneration (*viññāṇassa nirodhena etth ' etam uparujjhati*). This specially mentioned role of *viññāṇa* is no part of the original question, which only speaks of the final perishing, or cessation of only *nāma* and *rūpa*. This sensitivity to the role of *viññāṇa* as true life gives to *nāma-rūpa* comes out in this special mention of the role of *viññāṇa* here.

4. In a world based on no more than time space realities, even the attempt to understand *Nirvāna* did not go beyond these. So in the *Kevaḍḍha*, they searched for a place where the four great elements *paṭhavī āpo tejo vāyo* would completely cease to be. The *Saṃyutta* would be even more down to earth and add to the list places from where rivers stop flowing (*Kuto sarā nivattanti S*. I. 15). The *Udana* refers further to the presence of the sun and the moon as well as light and darkness.

Yattha āpo ca pathavī ca tejo vāyo na gādhati
na tattha sukkā jotanti ādicco nappakāsati
na tattha candimā bhāti tamo tattho na vijjati.
(Udāna p.9)

In Buddhism, *Nirvāna* is obviously beyond and outside time space considerations. It is unmistakably personal and individual. All that we need to talk about

and learn with regard to *Nirvāna* is only in terms of *Viññāṇa* on the one hand as well as *nāma* and *rūpa* on the other.

Before we conclude, let us examine the second set of references from *Anguttara Nikāya* (A. I. 254 ff) mentioned earlier in this essay. Here too, the word *pabhassara* is used with reference to the mind or *citta*. But it is in a slightly different context. *Pabhassara* obviously carries with it its original meaning of radiance, brilliance or brightness. But we believe it is more to imply the idea of robustness or being in a good healthy state. Another adjective *pabhaṅgu* which means perishable or liable to break is closely associated with it in contrast.

When a bhikkhu, without excessive application (*kālena kālam*) directs his mind moderately to diversified patterns of reflection, he acquires this healthy state of mind called *pabhassara* (*Yato ca kho bhikkhave adhicittamanuyutto bhikkhu kālena kālam samādhinimittaṃ manasi karoti...paggāhanimittaṃ. upekkhānimittaṃmanasi karoti taṃ hoti cittaṃmuduñ ca kammaniyañ ca pabhassaraṃ ca na ca pabhanga sammā samādhiyati āsavānaṃkhayāya* A. I. 257). The context in which the word *pabhassara* is used here definitely fixes it that *pabhassara* is a state of the mind which one brings about through diligent and patient cultivation. It is steady and not liable to get disrupted (*na ca pabhangu*) and is ready to get settled (*sammā samādhiyati*) to be harnessed for higher spiritual attainments (*āsavānaṃkhayāya*).

The reference from the *Anguttara Nikāya* immediately brings to our mind the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* reference in the *Dīgha Nikāya* which speaks of a very similar achievement of the mind through a well defined process of culture (So *evam samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte anangane vigatūpakkilese mudubhūte kammaniye thite āneñjappatte ñānadassanā ya cittaṃ abhinīharati* D. I. 76). It is to be remembered that this type of relatedness in Buddhist teachings, though found scattered here and there, is not merely accidental. It reflects a closely related well-strung pattern of religious culture in Buddhism

Dhammavihārī

PACCĀJĀTA PACCAYA See PACCAYA

PACCAVEKKHAṆA - (*Pati + Avekkhaṇa*, Sk.*pratyavekṣana*) gives the meanings of looking at, consideration, regard, attention, reflection, contemplation and reviewing etc., This term is often used in the *Ambalaṭṭhikārāhulovādasutta* (*M.I.*p.414*ff*). Here the Buddha asks Venerable Rahula as to what the purpose of a mirror is, to which the latter replies that its purpose is to reflect (*paccavekkhaṇa*). The Buddha instructs Venerable Rahula , that a deed with the body, with speech or/ and with the mind is to be done after reflection (*paccavekkhitvâ, paccavekkhitvâ kāyena kammaṃ kâtabbaṃ,. vâcâya kammaṃ kâtabbaṃ .... manasâ kammaṃ kâtabbaṃ–ibid*.p.415). In analyzing the above three deeds the Buddha further advises Venerable Rahula that he should reflect on the deed that he is desirous of doing with the body thus: This deed which I am desirous of doing with the body is a deed of my body conduce to the harm of self and to the harm of others and that might conduce to the harm of both. This deed of body is unskilled, its yield is anguish, its result is anguish. On reflection when you realise thus you Rahula should avoid such a deed of body. But Rahula on reflecting thus should find 'This deed that I am doing with the body is a deed of my body that is not conducive to the harm of self, harm of others or/ and harm of both; this deed of body is skilled, its yield is happy, its result is happy'- you Rahula could do such a deed of body. Again the Buddha instructs Venerable Rahula that he should reflect likewise on the same deed of body while he is doing it (*karontopi*) and after he has done (*katvâpi*). Buddha instructs Venerable Rahula to follow the same instructions by reflecting thus as far as speech and mind too are concerned (*Ibid*).

In the *Dasuttara Suttanta* (*D.III*.272*ff*.) Venerable Sariputta instructs *bhikkhûs* to develop five factors of perfect concentration in which retrospective thought (*paccavekkhaṇa*) is given as the fifth factor (*D.III*.p.277-278). In the *Dasadhammasutta* (*A.V.*p.87-88), the Buddha states ten factors which must again and again be contemplated (*abhiṃham paccavekkhitabbâ*) by one who has gone forth (from home). There the Buddha states that the *bhikkhû* must again and again contemplate thus: I have attained the state of having no caste (*Vevanniyamhi*). My livelihood depends on others (*parapatibaddhâ me jîvitaṃ*) and I must now behave myself differently (*añño me âkappo karaṇîyo*) does my conscience blame me on account

of my behaviour….Perhaps learned fellow celibates ,testing me do not blame me on account of my behaviour (*sîlato na upavadatî ti*).….(there would be) differentiation and separation from all who are dear and beloved to me…I am one whose *kamma* (action) is my own wealth (*kammassakomhi*), I am the inheritor of my *kamma* (*kammadâyâdo*), I am having *kamma* as the matrix (as the course of rebirth, *kammayoni*), I am having *kamma* as my relative (*kammabandhu*), My *kamma* is my refuge (*kammapaṭ isarano*); whatever *kamma* I shall do, good or bad, I shall be the inheritor to it (*tassa dâyâdo bhavissâmî*)…. To what sort of self do night and day pass (*rattindivâ vîtipatantî ti*)? …Perhaps I should take delight in a quiet abode (*suññâgâre abhiramâmî ti*) ……..Are there qualities in me beyond the power of men, (and) has the noble sight of knowledge attained by me (*ariyaññâṇada ssanaviseso adhigato*)? Shall I , during my last days (i.e. at death), when questioned by fellow celibates, not be confused(*na maṃkhu bhavissâmî'ti*)? (*Dasaime bhikkhave dhammâ pabbajitena abhinnaṃ paccavekkhitabbâ.Katame dasa? …………., pacchime kâle sabrahmacârîhi puṭṭho na maṅkhu bhavissâmî'ti pabbajitena abhiṇhaṃ paccavekkhitabbaṃ -Ibid*).

The *Visuddhimagga* gives a twofold *paccavekkhaṇas* for the *bhikkhû* as far as the requisites are concerned (*Vism.*p.43) i.e. at the time of receiving requisites (*paccayânam patilâbhakâle*) and at the time of using them (*paribhogakâle*). If a *bhikkhû* reviews them either as (mere) elements or as repulsive and puts them aside for later use, and if he reviews them thus at the time of using them it is shown as blameless use (*patilâbhakâle pi hi dhâtuvasena vâ patikûlavasena vâ paccavekkhitvâ ṭhapitâni cîvarâdîni tato uttari paribhuñjantassa anavajjo va paribhogo,tathâ paribhogakâlepi ……. Ibid*).

If a *bhikkhû* who is virtuous uses the requisites without reviewing (*apaccavekkhana paribhogo*) it is called the 'use as a debt' (*iṇaparibhogo*). Hence, the robe should be reviewed every time it is used (*tasmâ cîvaraṃ paribhoge, paribhoge paccavekkhitabbaṃ*) and the alms food (*piṇḍapâta*) should be reviewed lump by lump (*âlope âlope*) – *Ibid*. If dawn breaks on him without his having reviewed thus, he finds himself in the position of one who has used it as a debt. Also the resting place (*senâsana*) should be reviewed each time it is used (*Senâsanaṃ pi paribhoge paribhoge paccavekkhitabbaṃ – Ibid*).

The *Majjhima Nikâya* (*M*.1.p.10) gives a description as to how a monk should consider with regard to the four requisites namely clothing (*cîvara*), food (*piṇḍapâta*), shelter (*senâsana*) and medicaments (*gilânapaccaya*). They should be used by a monk with due consideration to their uses and not for enjoyment. Each requisite has some particular functions to fulfil in the life of a monk. There the *bhikkhû* considers thus: Carefully, with proper care (intention) I use my robes, only for the purpose of warding off cold (*sîtassa paṭ ighâtâya*), warding off heat (*uṇhassa paṭ ighâtâya*), warding off the contact with gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sunshine and reptiles (*daṃsamakasavâ tâtapasirinsapasamphassânaṃ paṭ ighâtâya*), and also for the purpose of covering the private parts (*yâvad-eva hirikopînapaṭ icchâdanatthaṃ*). Carefully, with proper care (intention) I use my food, not for sport (*n'eva davâya*), not for manly vigour(*na madâya*), not for ornamentation (*na maṇḍanâya*), not for adornment (*na vibhûsanâya*), but only for the purpose of living and sustenance of this body, to take non-delight in hurting, to help me to live the holy life (celibacy). Thus I destroy the past (uncomfortable) sensations due to overfilling, and the continuation of my life will carry on. Similarly my living without fault and comfortable living will continue. Carefully with proper care (intention) I use my living place only for the purpose of warding off cold,…heat,….the contact with gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sunshine and reptiles, in order to avoid the rigours of seasons and other dangers and in order to take joy in retirement. Carefully with proper care (intention) I use requisites for the sick and offerings of medicaments only for the purpose of warding off the sufferings which arise when the body is ill and because freedom from disease is highest happiness (*Paṭ isankhâ yoniso cîvaraṃ paṭ isevâmi, yâvad-ev……….. gilânapaccayabhesajjaparikkhâraṃ patisevâmi, yâvad-eva uppannânaṃ veyyâbâdhikânaṃ vedanânaṃ paṭighâtâya abyâpajjhaparamatâyâti – Ibid*).

D.Saddhasena

PACCAVEKKHAṆA ÑĀṆA - Reviewing knowledge. In describing virtue(*sīla*), the *Visuddhimagga* gives a twofold *sīla* as *sâsavaṃ sīlaṃ* (virtue subject to cankers or *lokiya* (mundane virtue) and *anâsavaṃ sīlaṃ* (virtue not subject to cankers) or *lokuttara* (supermundane virtue) – *Vism*.p.13. Further it says that supermundane virtue (*lokuttara sīla*)brings about the escape from becoming (*bhavanissaraṇâvaham*) and is the plane of Reviewing knowledge (*paccavekkhanañâṇassa ca bhûmi*) – *ibid.* See PACCAVEKKHAṆA.

D.Saddhasena

PACCAVEKKHAṆA SUDDHI- Purification by reviewing. The Virtue dependent on requisites (*paccaya* [*paribhoga*] *Sannissita Sīla*) is called the *paccavekhaṇa suddhi* (*Vism*.p.44). According *to* the *Visuddhimagga*, a *bhikkhû* must review the requisites at the time of receiving them (*paṭilâbhakâle*) and at the time of using them (*paribhogakâle*). If a *bhikkhû* reviews them either as (mere) elements or as repulsive and puts them aside for later use, and he reviews them thus at the time of using them, it is shown as blameless use (*Vism.p.43*). This is called the *Paccavekkhaṇa suddhi* or the ' Purification by reviewing '. But there is no offence for a Buddhist monk who is mindful in using after accepting without mindfulness (*paṭiggahane pana satiṃ akatvâ paribhoge karontassa anâpatti*........)- *Vism*.p.44. See PACCAVEKKHAṆA

D.Saddhasena

PACCAYA – This term gives several meanings as resting on, falling back on, foundation, cause, condition, motive etc., *Paccaya* is the condition on which something else is dependent and without which the latter cannot be. There are so many ways in which one thing, or one occurrence, may be the condition for some other thing or occurrence. There are 24 modes of conditionality according to the *Paṭṭhâna*, the last book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. There these 24 modes are enumerated and explained and then applied to all mental and physical phenomena and occurrences (*Dukapaṭṭhâna*. Vol.I.*PTS*.1906).

Accordingly the 24 modes of conditionality are:

1. *Hetu paccaya* (Root condition)
2. *Ârammaṇa paccaya* (Object condition)
3. *Adhipati paccaya* (Predominance condition)
4. *Anantara paccaya* (Proximity condition)
5. *Samanantara paccaya* (Contiguity condition)
6. *Sahajâta paccaya* Co-nascence condition)
7. *Aññamañña paccaya* (Mutuality condition)
8. *Nissaya paccaya* (Support –or Dependence – condition)
9. *Upanissaya paccaya* (Decisive support condition)
10. *Purejâta paccaya* (Pre-nascence condition)
11. *Pacchâjâta paccaya* (Post-nascence condition)
12. *Âsevana paccaya* (Repetition condition)
13. *Kamma paccaya* (Kamma condition)
14. *Vipâka paccaya* (Kamma-result condition)
15. *Âhâra paccaya* (Nutriment condition)
16. *Indriya paccaya* (Faculty condition)
17. *Jhâna paccaya* (Jhâna condition)
18. *Magga pccaya* (Path condition)
19. *Sampayutta paccaya* (Association condition)
20. *Vippayutta paccaya* (Dissociation condition)
21. *Atthi paccaya* (Presence condition)
22. *Natthi paccaya* (Absence condition)
23. *Vigata paccaya* (Disappearance condition)
24. *Avigata paccaya* (Non-disappearance condition)

(*Dukapaṭṭhâna*-pp.3,8)

1. *Hetupaccaya* (Root-condition)– All kammically wholesome and unwholesome mental states are entirely dependent on the simultaneity and presence of their respective roots (*hetu*). There are six roots i.e. three Kammically wholesome roots (root of greedlessness or *alobhamûla*, root of hatelessness or ***adosamûla*** and root of undeludedness or ***amohamûla***) and three kammically unwholesome roots (root of greed or *lobhamûla*, root of hate or *dosamûla* and the root of delusion or *mohamûla*). Just as a tree rests on its root and remains alive only as long as its root is not destroyed, these mental states depend on these roots (*Ibid*.p.58).

2. *Ârammaṇa paccaya* (Object condition)- is called something, which as object, forms the condition for consciousness and mental phenomena. Thus

the physical object of sight consisting in colour and light is the necessary condition and the *sine qua non* for the arising of *Cakkhu viññāṇa* (eye consciousness) etc., Likewise sound is the necessary condition and the *sine qua non* for the arising of *Sota viññāṇa* (ear consciousness) Ordour is the ....for *Ghāna viññāṇa* (nose consciousness), taste is the... ...for *Jivhā viññāṇa* (tongue consciousness). Thus the tangible is the ......for *Kāya viññāṇa* (body consciousness). Any object arising in the mind is the necessary condition and the *sine qua non* for the arising of *Mano viññāṇa* (mind consciousness).

3. *Adhipati paccaya* (Predominant condition) is the term for four *iddhipādas* on the predominance and predominance of which are dependent the mental phenomena associated with them. These are concentrated intention (*chanda*), energy (*viriya*), consciousness (*citta*) and investigation (*vimaṃsā*). Thus the predominant intention (desire) is related to the states associated with desire, and the matter produced thereby by predominance condition. Likewise predominant effort (energy) predominant consciousness and the predominant investigating wisdom are related to the states associated with effort etc.' and the matter produced there by predominance conditions respectively.

4 & 5 *Anantara* and *Samanantara paccaya* (Proximity and Contiguity conditions) –These refer to any state of consciousness and mental phenomena associated with them which are the conditions for the immediately following stage in the process of consciousness. For example, Eye consciousness element and its associated states are related to mind element and its associated states by proximity condition. Mind element and its associated states are related to mind consciousness element and its associated states by proximity condition and contiguity condition.

6. *Sahjāta paccaya* (Co-nascence condition)- The four mental aggregates i.e. feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), mental formations (*saṅkhārā*) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*) are mutually related to one another by co-nascence condition. The four Physical Elements–solid (*paṭhavi*) liquid (*āpo*), heat (*tejo*) and motion (*vāyo*)–are mutually related to one another by co-nascence condition. At the moment of conception, mentality and materiality are mutually related to one another by co-nascence condition (*Conditional Relations*.p.5).

7. *Aññamañña paccaya* (Mutuality condition) – The four immaterial (mental) aggregates as well as the four physical elements (four great primaries) are related to one another by mutuality condition. At the moment of Conception, mentality and materiality are related to one another by mutuality condition (*Ibid*.pp.5-6).

8. *Nissaya paccaya* (Support or Dependent condition) – The four mental aggregates are mutually related to one another by dependence condition. The four physical elements (*paṭhavi, āpo, tejo* and *vāyo*) are mutually related to one another by dependence condition. Five sense organs and the physical base of mind are mutually related to the corresponding six kinds of consciousness elements and their associated states by dependence condition (*ibid*.p.6).

9. *Upanissaya paccaya* (Decisive support condition or the Strong-Dependence condition) – This is threefold- namely (a) by way of object (*ārammaṇūpanissaya paccaya*), (b) by way of proximity (*anantarūpanissaya paccaya*) and (c) natural decisive support (*pakatūpanissaya paccaya*). Accordingly preceding faultless states may be related to subsequent faultless states, subsequent faulty states or subsequent neutral states by decisive support condition. Preceding faulty states may be related to subsequent faulty states, subsequent faultless states or subsequent neutral states. Preceding neutral (indeterminate) states may be related to subsequent faultless, subsequent faulty or subsequent neutral states by decisive support condition. Climate, etc., are related by decisive support condition (*ibid*. pp. 6-7).

10. *Purejāta paccaya* (Pre-nascence condition) – Here something previously arisen is forming a base for something arising later on. For example, five physical sense organs and the physical base of mind is related to respective consciousness element and its associated states by pre-nascence condition (*ibid*.p.7).

11. *Pacchâjâta paccaya* (Post-nascence condition)- The states post-nascent consciousness and mental factors are related to this pre-nascent body by the post-nascence condition (*Ibid.*p.8).

12. *Âsevana paccaya* (Repetition condition) – Here the preceding faultless states are related to subsequent faultless states by repetition condition. Preceding faulty states are related to subsequent faulty states by repetition condition. Likewise preceding functional indeterminate states are related to subsequent functional indeterminate states by this condition (*Ibid.*)

13. *Kamma paccaya* (Kamma condition) – Faultless and faulty *kamma* is related to resultant aggregates and *kamma* produced matter by this condition. Here *cetanâ* (volition) is related to its associated and the matter produced thereby by *kammma* condition (*Ibid.*)

14. *Vipâka paccaya* (Karma-result- condition) – The Four mental resultant aggregates are mutually related to one another by resultant condition (*Ibid.*).

15. *Âhâra paccaya* (Nutriment condition) – The edible food (*kabalinkârâhâra*) is related to the body by nutriment condition. The immaterial nutriments (*viññâṇâhâra, manosañcetanâhâra)* are related to their associated states and the matter produced thereby by this condition (*Ibid.*).

16. *Indriya paccaya* (Faculty condition) – Eye faculty, Ear faculty, Nose faculty, Tongue faculty and Body faculty are related to their corresponding consciousness elements and their associated states respectively by faculty condition. Thus the physical life faculty is related to *kamma* – produced matter and the mental faculties are related to their associated states and the matter produced thereby by this condition (*Ibid.*p.9)

17. *Jhâna paccaya* (Jhâna condition) – The *Jhâna*-factors are related to their associated states and the matter produced thereby by this condition (*Ibid.*).

18. *Magga paccaya* (Path condition) – The Path factors are related to their associated states and the matter produced thereby by Path condition (*Ibid.*).

19. *Sampayutta paccaya* (Association condition) – Association condition mutually relates the four mental groups (*khanda*) to one another (*Ibid.*).

20. *Vippayutta paccaya* (Dissociation condition) – The material states are related to mental states by Dissociation condition. Likewise mental states are related to material (physical) states by this condition (*Ibid.*).

21. *Atthi paccaya* (Presence condition) – Refers to a phenomenon - being present or co-nascent – which through its presence is a condition for other phenomena. This condition applies to the condition numbers 6,7,8,10 and 11 above.

22. *Natthi paccaya* (Absence condition) – Refers to consciousness and mental factors which has just passed, are related to the present states, consciousness and mental factors by Absence condition (*Ibid.*p.10)

23. *Vigata paccaya* (Disappearance condition)- Refers to consciousness and mental factors which has just passed, are related to the present states, consciousness and mental factors by Disappearance condition (This is identical with number 22 above).

24. *Avigata paccaya* (Non-disappearance condition)- Refers to a phenomenon - being present or co-nascent- which through its presence is a condition for other phenomena. This condition too applies to the conditions numbers 6,7,8,10 and 11 above. (*Ibid.*pp.11, 12)

Dependent origination (*paṭicca Samuppâda*) gives 12 factors namely : Ignorance (*avijjâ*), Karma formations (*sankhârâ*), Consciousness (*viññâṇa*), Corporeality and mentality (*nâma-rûpa*), Six bases (*salâyatana*), Impression (*phassa*),Feeling (*vedanâ*), Craving (*taṇhâ*), Clinging (*upâdâna*) Process of becoming (*bhava*), Rebirth (*jâti*) and Old age and death (*jarâ-maraṇa*). Here the formations exist only when ignorance exists .The Buddha said "Not knowing monks, in ignorance, he forms the formation of merit, forms...of demerit, forms...of the imperturbable. As

soon as a *bhikkhû's* ignorance is abandoned and clear vision arisen, *bhikkhus*, with the fading away of ignorance and the arising of clear vision he does not form even formations of merit". – *S.*II.p.82.

From the above statement it is clear that ignorance is a condition for formations. The Buddha has stated the 24 conditions mentioned earlier (*Vsm.*p.532). For the formation of merit, ignorance is a condition in two ways; as object condition (*ârammaṇa paccaya*) and as support condition (*upanissaya paccaya*). Ignorance is a condition, as object condition, for formation of merit of the sense sphere at the time of comprehending (by insight) ignorance as liable to destruction and fall; and it is likewise for those of the fine material sphere (*rûpâvacarânam*) at the time of knowing a confused mind by means of direct-knowledge consciousness (though penetrating the minds of others etc.,). But it is a condition as decisive support condition (*upanissaya paccaya*), in two cases, in one who, for the purpose of surmounting ignorance, fulfils the various instances of sense sphere merit-making consisting in giving etc., and in one who arouses the fine-material *jhânas*. Likewise in one who effects that merit while aspiring to the delight of sense-sphere becoming and fine material becoming because he is confused in ignorance. (*Vsm.*p.541)

Karma-formations associated with greed, hate or delusion are always and in all circumstances, conditioned through the simultaneous ignorance; as object-predominance and object decisive support respectively at the times of giving importance (to ignorance) and enjoining it; as decisive-support in one who, being confused by ignorance and unaware of danger, kills living beings etc., as proximity (*anantara paccaya*), contiguity (*samanantara paccaya*), proximity-decisive-support (*upanissaya paccaya*), repetition (*âsevana paccaya*), absence (*natthi paccaya*) and disappearance (*vigata paccaya*), for the second impulsion and those that follow; as root-cause, co-nascence (*sahajâta*), mutuality (*aññamañña*), support (*nissaya*), association (*sampayutta*), presence (*atthi paccaya*) and non-disappearance (*avigata paccaya*) , in one doing anything unprofitable. It is thus a condition in many ways. (*Vsm.*p.541)

The proposition "Through the Karma –formations is conditioned Consciousness"(*sankhâra paccayâ viññâṇam*) means that the wholesome and unwholesome karma-formations are the causes of future rebirth in an appropriate sphere (*gati*). The karma-formations of a previous life, condition the budding in the womb of a new mother of a fresh psycho-physical aggregation of the 5 *khandhas* (five groups of existence) which here are represented by *viññâṇa* (consciousness). All such Karma- resultant (*vipâka*) Consciousness, however as e.g. eye-consciousness (*cakkhuviññâṇam*) etc., as well as the mental phenomena associated therewith (feeling etc.,) are karmically neutral. This karma-resultant consciousness is functioning of the embryonic being from the very moment of conception in the mother's womb (*ibid.*545*ff*).

Next proposition of the Dependant Origination "Through Consciousness, corporeality and Materiality are conditioned" (*viññâṇa paccayâ nâmarûpam*) implies that without consciousness there can be no mental or physical process of existence. By mentality (*nâma*) karma-resultant (*vipâka*) mental phenomena such as feeling, perception and volition etc., are meant. Consciousness (*viññâṇa*) is a condition by way of Co-nascence (*sahajâta*) for mentality (*nâma*). Consciousness is a condition for Corporeality (*rûpa*) by way of Co-nascence only at the moment of conception. It appears to be a Post-nascence (*pacchâjâta-paccaya*) and Nutriment (*âhâra*) thereafter (*Ibid.*558*ff*).

Through Mentality and Corporeality the six bases are conditioned (*nâma-rûpa paccayâ salâyatanam*). Mentality (*nâma*) is a condition by way of Post-nascence for the five sense organs (*âyatana*), while feeling etc., are a condition for the sixth base (Consciousness) by way of Co-nascence (*sahajâta paccaya*). Corporeality (*rûpa*) or the four elements are a condition by way of support (*nissaya*) for the five sense organs (*âyatana*), while corporeality (*rûpa*) five physical sense organs are a condition for the sixth Base (consciousness) by way of support (*nissaya*) and pre-nascence (*purejâta –paccaya*)- *Ibid* pp.562-565.

(Sensorial and mental) impression is conditioned through the six bases (*salâyatana-paccayâ phasso*) This proposition is mentioned as there can be no sense impression without 5 physical Bases or sense-organs and without the 6th Base or consciousness there can be no Mental Impression. Thus the 5 physical Bases (eye etc.,) are for the corresponding sense impressions

(visual impression etc.,) a condition by way of Support (*nissaya*) and Pre-nascence (*purejâta*), whereas the 6th, the Mind-Base (consciousness), is a condition for the Mental Impression by way of Co-nascence (*sahajâta paccaya*), Association (*sampayutta paccaya*), Mutuality (*aññamañña paccaya*) etc., (*Ibid.*pp.565-566)

"Feeling is conditioned through Impression" (*phassa-paccayâ vedanâ*) i.e. the sensorial and mental impression are a condition by way of Co-nascence (*sahajâta paccaya*), Association (*sampayutta paccaya*), Mutuality (*aññamañña paccaya*) etc., for the Feeling associated therewith (*Ibid.*pp.566-567).

Craving is conditioned through Feeling (*vedanâ-paccayâ taṇhâ*). Any (Karma-resultant) Feeling, whether agreeable, disagreeable or neutral, bodily or mental, past or expected, may become for craving a condition of Decisive Support (*upanissaya paccaya*) by way of Object (*ârammanûpanissaya*). Even physically and mentally painful feeling may, through the desire to be released therefrom, become a condition of Decisive Support for craving by way of Object (*ârammanûpanissaya*)-*Ibid.*p.567.

"Clinging is conditioned through Craving" (*taṇhâ-paccayâ upâdâna*). Clinging is explained as an intensified form of Craving. It is of 4 kinds: (1) Clinging to Sensuality (*kâmûpâdâna*), (2) to erroneous Views (*diṭṭhûpâdâna*), (3) to Rules and Ritual (*sîlabbatûpâdâna*) and (4) to Personality-Belief (*attavâdûpâdâna*). Sensuous Craving is a condition of Natural Decisive Support (*pakatûpanissaya*) to clinging to sensuality. For the other 3 kinds of clinging, craving is a condition by way of Co-nascence (*sahajâta paccaya*), mutuality (*aññamañña paccaya*), Support (*nissaya paccaya*), Association (*sampayutta paccaya*), Presence (*atthi paccaya*), Non-disappearance (*avigata paccaya*) and Root (*hetu paccaya*). These seven conditions become eight when taken with condition of Natural Decisive Support (*upanissaya paccaya*) – *Vsm.*pp.568-571.

"The process of becoming is conditioned through clinging"(*upâdâna paccayâ bhavo*). Here the *bhava* or the process of becoming is twofold, i.e. kamma-process becoming (*kammabhava*) and rebirth process becoming (*uppatti bhavo*)- *Vbh.*137. Clinging becomes an inducement of Decisive Support (*upanissaya*) to several kinds *kusala kammas* and *akusala kammas*(wholesome and unwholesome karma). Clinging to sensuous objects (*kâmûpâdâna*) may be a direct motivation for bodily misconduct, evil words and thoughts. Clinging to rules and ritual (*sîlabbatûpâdâna*) may lead to self-complacency, fanaticism, cruelty etc., Clinging is a condition by way of Co-nascence (*sahajâta paccaya*) and Association (*sampayutta paccaya*) etc., for the evil karma associated therewith (*Vsm.*pp.571-575).

"Rebirth is conditioned through the process of becoming" (*bhava-paccayâ jâti*). Here the *bhava* means the *kammabhava* and not the *uppattibhava* (*bhavoto pan'ettha kammabhavo vâ adhippeto* ....*Ibid.*575). Through the wholesome and unwholesome karma-process (*kammabhava*) rebirth process is conditioned. Because kamma is the cause of the difference of inferiority and superiority among beings the Buddha said, " It is *kamma* that separates beings according to inferiority and superiority" (*kammaṃ satte vibhajati yad-idaṃ hîna-paṇîtatâyâ ti* *M.*III.203). From that, it can be known that becoming is a condition for birth (*Vsm.*p.576).

"Old age and death are conditioned through rebirth"(*jâti paccayâ jarâ-maraṇaṃ*). Where there is no birth neither ageing and death nor the states beginning with sorrow come about. But when there is birth these appears in a person. Hence this birth is a condition for ageing and death and also for sorrow and so on. It is a condition as Decisive Support (*upanissaya paccaya*) – *Ibid.*

D. Saddhasena

PACCAYANISSITA SÎLA *See* **CATUPÂRISUDDHI SÎLA**

PACCEKABUDDHA: Of the three modes of deliverance –as arahant, paccekabuddha and sammâ sambuddha –which find frequent mention in Pali texts both within and outside the *Tipiṭaka*, there is none apparently less known, though not less significant, than enlightenment as a paccekabubddha.

A paccekabuddha, as the word itself implies, is 'a separately enlightened one'.[1] This means that his enlightenment is self-earned and, as the *Apadāna* of the *Khuddhaka Nikāya* describes "it is realised apart from enlightened ones, by reflection on a subject, no matter how insignificant".[2] "Paccekabuddhas are individually and separately enlightened" says the *Visuddhajanavilāsini*,[3] commentary to the *Apadāna*.

In the *Puggalapaññatti*, a paccekabuddha is defined as a "person who realises alone the Truths in respect of matters unheard of before, of which, however, he neither attains omniscience, nor gains mastery of the fruits of enlightenment" (*Idh' ekacco puggalo pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu sāmaṃ. saccāni abhisambujjhati na ca tattha sabbaññutaṃ pāpuṇāti na ca phalesu vasībhāvaṃ. Ayaṃ vuccati puggalo paccekasambuddho*[4]).

Less elaborated is the explanation of the *Saddhammappakāsini (commentary* of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*) where a, paccekabuddha is defined as one who, on account of particular reasons, has realised the Four Truths alone, without a teacher.[5]

From the data furnished above one may conclude that a paccekabuddha's enlightenment is gained by a realisation of the Four Noble Truths, but without any aid from outside.

This enlightenment, however, cannot be realised without an initial aspiration. An aspiration (*patthānā*) to become a paccekabuddha is an indispensable prerequisite, for it metaphorically marks the moment of a person's initial plunge into the spiritual career of a *paccekabodhisatta* or "one aspiring to be separately enlightened. "This aspiration should be continuous for a period of at least two Incalculables (*asaṅkheyya*) and one hundred thousand aeons (*kappasata-sahassañca*[6]), during which he should practise the perfections (*pāramiyo*) necessary for his goal. The perfections to be accomplished throughout this vast period of time include the cultivation of the habit of constant recollection of a topic of meditation, and a life of solitude to facilitate such reflection.[7]

The aspirant must constantly recall his topic of meditation, whether in leaving (*gata*) his residence or returning (*paccāgata*) to it, or in removing (*haraṇa*) anything from, or bringing back (*paccāhāraṇa*) anything to it. That observance (*vatta*) is, accordingly, termed *gatapaccāgata-vatta* and *haraṇapaccāharaṇa*–v *.

The *Apadāna* commentary speaks at length of the manner in which such an aspirant, if he be a recluse, shall conduct himself both within and outside the monastery. Thus, for example, whenever he goes a begging, he first recalls to memory his topic of meditation. "He does not hurry in haste but proceeds quietly, like a wagon full of water that has entered on uneven ground" and " begging from house to house, he tarries at each just so long as would enable him to decide whether or not he would receive any food". When he has collected his meal, he shall sit down at an agreeable spot and "before he partakes of it, shall reflect on his topic of meditation and induce a sense of revulsion for food by mentally comparing it to the lubrication of an axle, the anointment of a wound, or to rotten flesh. Then for a short while afterwards, he rests till he gets over the fatigue of eating. Then, as much before his meal as after it, as well as during the preliminary, intermediate and final watches, he recalls to memory his topic of meditation."[8] The topic of meditation should be his sole preoccupation and he should spare no pains on its reflection. It is a conduct that must be fully perfected for, "there is no one" says the commentary, "that attains paccekabodhi without its accomplishment[9]". It appears from the *Apadāna* and its commentary that in the practice of this conduct the aspirant would have been inevitably brought into direct association with all the enlightened ones of the past (*sabbabuddhesu katādhikāro*). Such association[10] or contact is, indeed, one of the benefits desired by the aspirant in pursuance of his initial aspiration, the others being birth as a human male, the sight of dispassionate ones, an indefatigable resolve based on a sense of sacrifice and an earnestness to realize the goal. These benefits [11]collectively assure him of the uninterrupted continuance of his mode of conduct.

It was noted earlier that the training of a *pacceka bodhisatta* necessitated not only a particular mode of conduct but a life of solitude as well. Such a life, besides facilitating the constant recollection of one's topic of meditation, certainly conduces much more than an, act of charity[12] does to enlightenment as a paccekabuddha. It is, indeed, quite essential that all aspirants for *paccekabodhi* should lead such a life because, according to the commentary, delighting in solitude is

the very basis of this training; so alone must one sit, walk, stand and sleep"[13]

Living in this way, it is not unlikely that the aspirant practises the same meditation as he had cultivated in former lives, because of personal predilection due to his previous association with it (*pubbabhāvanānubhā vena*[14]). Of such meditations only a few, however, are mentioned by name, as, for instance, the first of the mental absorptions (*pathamajjhāna*), or that concerning loving kindness (*mettājhāna*)—which is reckoned besides as one of the 'sublime abodes, —or the reflection on dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppā da*), in direct or reverse order. Often, the description is far too general; the aspirant resolutely progressing towards his goal is sometimes described as 'well discerning' (*vipassanto*), 'reflecting from the source' (*yoniso mansikāronto*) or, rather vaguely, as ' conducting himself properly' (*sammā paṭipajjamāno*). However, it would appear that, irrespective of the topics of meditation, all aspirants, as a rule (*vidhi*), attain enlightenment only after a proper comprehension of the sequence of causes relating to each of the Four Noble Truths[15]

There is no information in the texts as to whether the aspirant in his quest for enlightenment has to observe a particular posture of meditation. It is, however, unlikely that any such posture had ever been recommended in view of two instances mentioned of paccekabuddhas who attained enlightenment in a reclining position.[16]

The same (*Apadāna*) commentary also records a few instances of laymen becoming paccekabuddhas.[17] That however, is not contrary to tradition for, it is nowhere stated that formal renunciation by entry into an order of recluses is necessary for *paccekabodhi*, though it is a neceessity in the case of aspirants for full enlightenment[18]. There is no evidence whatsoever of any women having become paccekabuddhas. The story of Mahāpaduma,[19] as recorded in the commentary, shows that women may nevertheless aspire for *paccekaabodhi* though they must subsequently undergo a change of sex if their aspirations are to be realised.

Following his enlightenment, every paccekabuddha experiences a deep sense of joy, which he expresses in words. These words (*udāna*), indicate in brief the prime cause that led to his enlightenment. Each paccekabuddha must have a cause that is particular to him and thus there could be as many such causes as there are paccekabuddhas. And every paccekabuddha should have a separate stanza embodying his *udāna*, but this is not always so.[20]

The *Apadāna* refers to these utterances as 'well said' (*subhāsitāni*) or as 'transformations' (*vikubbitāni*). They are well said,' declares the commentary because their purpose is to save people from the four hells, and also because they have been uttered by way of advice and admonition[21]. And they are 'transformations', because they have been specially declared in the pursuit of mental absorptions [22]. Nor do all *udāna*-declarations immediately follow upon enlightenment. The Jātaka commentary has recorded an *udāna-gāthā* which a paccekabuddha had uttered only just before his death. This stanza, and many others besides, [23] have not been included among the *Udāna-gāthā* of paccekabuddhas that are contained in the *Apadāna*. These latter are confined to the stanzas comprising the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*.

It is said[24] that after enlightenment, a paccekabuddha undergoes a marked change in his personal appearance. His lay attire, if he were dressed as a layman, disappears completely when he strokes his head with his right hand. Instantaneously, he would resemble an elder a hundred years old [25] with the eight requirements of a recluse cleaving to his body. According to the *Jātaka* commentary, he would be clothed in yellow robes and have his hair and beard shaven[26]. According to other sources, however, his hair and beard would remain just two inches long (*dvaṅgulakesamassu.*[27]).

When a paccekabuddha has uttered his *udānagā thā*, he proceeds to the Gandhamādana mountain, [28]which lies beyond seven mountains in the Himalayas.. Paccekabuddhas often live in caves on one of its flanks (*pabbhāra*) called *Nandamūlaka*, and here they formally admit into their fold the new paccekabuddhas. The ceremony of admission is brief and simple and is characterized by the paucity of words employed during the proceedings. As soon as the new paccekabuddha has sat down on a seat there, all the paccekabuddhas then living would immediately assemble. After they have all sat down, the whole assembly would remain for a while in deep meditation, in one or other of the states of mental absorption. When

they have arisen from their meditations, the president of the assembly (*saṅghatthera*) would, for the pleasure of all, question the new paccekabuddha as to the cause that led to his own enlightenment which would mean no other than the object that caused him to reflect. The question is limited to the words *'katham adhigatam'* and, in answer, the new comer would declare his former *udānagāthā* which, in this instance, would be termed a *vyākaraṇagāthā* or stanza of exposition. So it happens that the *udānagāthā* features as a *vyākaraṇagāthā* as well, differing only in the time and the occasion of its recital.[29]

The assemblies of paccekabuddhas are not restricted to the admission of newly enlightened ones only. Assemblies are held on *uposatha*-days also, on the compound at the foot of the Mañjūsaka tree on Gandhamādana. But, in their performance of the *uposatha*, the paccekabuddhas limit themselves to the recital of the words *"ajja uposatho"*.[30]

The Nandamūlaka-pabbhāra, of the Gandhamādana Mountain, is undoubtedly the most popular abode of paccekabuddhas. Due perhaps to its popularity, it is sometimes alluded to by the general appellation, 'place of paccekabuddhas'[31]. The *Apadāna* commentary states that for eight months paccekabuddhas live in the Himalayas and during the four rainy months they spend their time in the country.[32] And sometimes, on such occasions, they solicit the service of people to make dwellings for themselves.[33] Isipatana is also specially associated with them as a temporary halting place where they assemble during their journeys to and from Gandhamādana P[34]. Other abodes mentioned are the Isigili mountain[35] where five hundred paccekabuddhas are once said to have enjoyed continuous residence, the Cittakūta mountain,[36] and a bank of the Mandākini pond in the Chaddanta forest.[37]

Paccekabuddhas are often mentioned as leaving their abodes to obtain alms outsides. Sometimes they go in search of provisions such as honey to prepare medicines for ailing paccekabuddhas[38]. Not infrequently they go a-begging when they hear with their 'divine-ear' an invitation for alms proclaimed by devotees, wherever the latter be. Such invitations are very respectfully proclaimed preceded by an enumeration of the virtues of paccekabuddhas and by offering in their name many handfuls of flowers[39]. But the paccekabuddhas first make it a point to find out whether their prospective donors have enough faith and a capacity to serve them[40]. "This they decide after their meditations in the morning when they survey the world daily in search of such persons.[41] When such a one has been found, a paccekabuddha may present himself before him by a flight through the air, induced by a state of mental absorption capable of producing miracles [42]and, if alms are offered to him, he would speak a few words expressing the hope that the devotee's wish, whatever it may be, "would soon reach fulfillment, even as the moon on the fifteenth day of the month"[43]. Sometimes, to cause greater elation in a devotee's heart, a paccekabuddha might even perform a miracle, such as would enable the other to see him journey through the air right up to the moment he alights on Gandhamādana and distributes his food to an assembly of many hundreds of paccekabuddhas.[44] One must not wonder how a scanty meal could suffice for, so many", for such is the "scope of a paccekabuddha" (*paccekabuddhavisaya*), which is also reckoned as one of the four Inconceivables.[45]

If such is the capacity of a paccekabuddha, then an offering of alms or respectful treatment accorded to him must be of no mean consequence. Many stories indicate that this is so. It is said, for instance, that Mahā pajāpati Gotami's birth amidst royalty was due largely to her seemly treatment, of paccekabuddhas in her earlier life.[46] For a similar reason, the thera Aññā Kondañña was ministered to by herds of elephants, numbering several thousands, during his twelve years' stay in the Chaddanta forest[47]. The thera Sona Kolivisa is said to have acquired a golden complexion in consequence of a gift made to a paccekabuddha of a red blanket worth a hundred thousand coins[48]. A father and a son who had together entertained seven paccekabuddhas for three months each were, for that very reason, were born in the Tāvatimsa heaven and thereafter, sojourned in all the six sensual heavens, enjoying great majesty among the gods.[49] A gift of a pair of shoes to a paccekabuddha enabled a ship-wrecked person to find refuge in the sea,[50] and a lump of clay that a woman offered to one similarly enlightened, that he may daub the interior of a mountain cave, assured her of a skin that was soft to the touch [51] Still more fascinating is the tradition recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*, of the great emporor Asoka and his queen Asandhimittā, that both owed their undivided sovereignty to their respective aspirations, which they made in their former life[52] after offering hospitality separately, to a paccekabuddha.

Receiving alms from persons, that they may thereby derive some merit, is just one of the ways in which paccekabuddhas show compassion to people. At times, they advise persons whom they had known intimately in the present or an earlier life, after having ascertained fully whether or not they have the capacity to benefit by such advice. [53] The same criterion would enable them to decide whether or not they should perform a miracle, to make a person understand better[54] or to cause him to renounce a heresy.[55]

Yet, when they draw another's attention, they do so unobtrusively. A paccekabuddha, for instance, may sit in a state of mental absorption at a convenient spot such as a bamboo grove near the entrance to a park, so that when the intended person passes by, respectful admiration will be evoked[56]. In this way, the paccekabuddha would modestly draw the other towards him to speak a few words, which would cause him to reflect and think. Paccekabuddhas are generally known for their frugality of speech. Often all they would say would be 'May you be happy', or 'May you be freed from the round of births'.[57] They are hardly ever seen as preachers proclaiming the Sublime Truths in order to lead people to enlightenment, though, very rarely, they may admit persons into recluse-ship and train them in the ways of proper conduct.[58] Their consideration for the world, says the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*', is not the transcendental, *(lokuttara)* but material *(lokiya)* well-being of persons. This they may sometimes do by foretelling a person's future, or by providing charms for his protection[59].

A special virtue of paccekabuddhas seems to be their power of protecting people. It is not only the person of a paeckabuddha, but even his very attire, that is considered to possess a strong protective influence. That, perhaps, is the reason why a robber is said to have once shot a paccekabuddha with a bow and arrow, in order to get his bowl and robes *(pattacī varalobhena*[60]*)*. The belief may have been based on sympathetic magic. Protection from wild beasts seems to have been similarly sought by assuming the guise of a paccekabuddha *(paccekabuddhavesa)*. An interesting case is related of an elephant-hunter who, perhaps being a greater respecter of persons than the robber above-mentioned, cultivated the habit of lying in ambush in the guise of a paccekabuddha along the pathways of elephants in a forest.[61] The popular belief seems to have been that protective power could be readily harnessed by a recapitulation of the names of paccekabuddhas. An example of this is to be found in the recital during *paritta* ceremonies of the *Isigili Sutta*[62] which contains-such names.

Paccekabuddhas have, however been criticized as being self-centred and of "little importance to mankind"[63]. They are regarded as being "self-centred" perhaps because of their reluctance to preach the Truths to people, while they are said to be of "little importance to mankind" perhaps because of their solitary ways. Such a criticism might have some justification in Mahāyāna, where all spiritual careers are subordinated to that of the *bodhisattva*, but not so in Theravāda, where the paccekabuddhas essentially constitute a cult and are, besides, believed to exert a strong protective influence. The *Apadāna*,[64] in which these trends are already discernible, states that "the compassion of paccekcabuddhas reaches out to the peoples of the border lands", that they are "beacons illuminating this world and the next, and continuously well-disposed". This belief is further developed in the commentaries, where a paccekabuddha is defined as an "enlightened one who has become a master and lord in providing happiness and protection, and enabling the attainment of heaven and deliverance (to beings) in innumerable states of existence".[65]

If, on the one hand, respectful treatment of a paccekabuddha ensures a person protection and other benefits, any disrespect for them, on the other hand, would produce unpleasant results. A farmer who burnt down the bower of a paccekabuddha was, in consequence, born as an *ahipeta*, [66] and a king who insulted a paccekabuddha by calling him a leper was himself born a leper to suffer for a whole lifetime.[67] The tragic end of thera Bāhiya Dārucīriya, who was gored, to death by a young cow, was explained by some *(keci)* as the inevitable result of his having killed a paccekabuddha in one of his former existences.[68] King Kusa, a celebrated character in the *Jātakas*, had an ugly face because, in a previous life, he had snatched back from the bowl of a paccekabuddha a cake that his wife had given as alms.[69] A woman, who had attained *sotāpatti* and had even served as preacher to the ladies of a royal harem, became hunched because of her mimicry in an earlier life of the walk of a hunch backed paccekabuddha.[70] Among those who had insulted paccekabuddhas in previous lives, the Buddha himself is included. According to the *Apadāna*, the Buddha

confesses that Devadatta's incitement of brigands against him was merely the result of a sinful act in an earlier life when as a child he playfully threw potsherds on to the road in front of a paccekabuddha[71]. " So also were the insults he had to endure on account of the nun Sundari,[72] and likewise, the charge of the elephant Nālāgiri[73] which were, the consequences of having slandered and insulted respectively, two paccekabuddhas in former lives.

In between their own meetings or the visits they pay to desirable persons, paccekabuddhas spend their time in meditation or in attending to their bodily needs. In their meditations they experience the bliss of *nibbā na*, often for a whole week at a time. When they arise from their meditations, they wash their faces at the Anotatta lake[74] and use stems of the *nāgalatā* creeper as tooth-picks. At the Anotatta lake they may even bathe at special fords set apart for them.[75] Their meditations include an entry into a state of complete cessation of all thought activity *(nirodhasamāpatti)*, or of enjoyment of any of the fruits of enlightenment *(phalasamāpatti)*. They are generally capable of "attaining to" or summoning "any of the psychic powers, the states of mental absorption or of analytical knowledge."[76] In the course of their meditations when they remain fully absorbed *(anto samāppattiyam)* no danger ever befalls them; and even if one "consumes a thousand cart-loads of firewood in an attempt to burn their bodies, they would still not experience the slightest heat. They would get up on the seventh day and proceed wherever they wish".[77]

But this immunity from pain or danger they do not enjoy when out of their meditations. The *Jātaka* commentary[78] speaks of a paccekabuddha who was shot with an arrow as a result of being mistaken for a deer. He is said to have felt great pain *(mahatī vedanā)* and met with his death shortly after. Apparently, he was not absorbed in meditation at the moment he was fatally injured.

The usual spot where paccekabuddhas are said to die and pass away into full *nibbāna* is a mountain called Mahāpapāta (Great Precipice) situated in the Himā layas. The commentary alludes to this as "the place of the passing away of paccekabuddhas". When a paccekabuddha goes there to die, he first collects the bones left of the one that had pre-deceased him and throws them down the precipice. Next, if he feels so inclined, he makes an ecstatic utterance and thereafter renounces his life'[79]. Such is the account given of the passing away of the "last of the paccekabuddhas" named Mātanga. But the *Jataka* commentary[80] and the *Apadāna*[81] mentions other places where paccekabuddhas had passed away, as, for instance some royal parks at Banaras and a forest infested with non-human beings. In the former instances their bodies were cremated by kings and in the latter, by a *thera* named Citakapūjaka.

But, irrespective of the place where they pass away their consciousness at death would always constitute one of the *bhavangacittas* that would arise as a result of *kamma* which evidently is the way in which all sentient beings die[82].

After death, a paccekabuddha's relics may be enshrined in a *thūpa*. Both the *Dīgha* and the *Anguttara Nikāyas* mention paccekabuddhas as constituting a class of persons worthy of a *thūpa*.[83] The reason *(atthavasam)* for this, according to the *Mahāparinibbā na Sutta is* that a *thūpa* would " gladden the hearts of people when they find it to be of such and such a paccekabuddha and in consequence, such persons would be born in heaven on the dissolution of their bodies at death".[84]

The foregoing is only a brief survey of the life and conduct of a " separately enlightened one". It would not be out of place here to assess briefiy the nature of the sources relating to this subject. The relevant material is scattered in various sections comprising the *Tipiṭaka* and the commentaries. In the former such sections includes the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, the *Isigili Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, portions of the *Niddesa* and *Apadāna*, and passages from the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, the *Puggalapaññatti* and the *Anguttara Nikāya*.

But not all of these sections are early, as for instance the *Apadāna*[85] which has come to be regarded as late. On the other hand, the *Khaggavisāna sutta*[86] is generally ascribed to an early period because it has been found to be commentated upon in the *Niddesa*. This sutta is said to comprise a collection of *udāna gā thās* of paccekabuddhas. The reason for the inclusion of these *gāthās* in a single *sutta* seems to have been due solely to the refrain which is common to all the stanzas: ' *eko care khaggavisānakappo*.[87] And since

they were so collected in one sutta, the term *khaggavisāṇakappa* which means "like a rhinoceros[88]" came to stay as the distinguishing epithet of a paccekabuddha.[89] This figure of speech, with its associations of the single horn [90]or the lonely ways of a rhinoceros,[91] accorded well with the life of solitude of a paccekabuddha from the moment of his initial aspiration.

Apart from the above sections of the *Tipiṭaka* which may be said to pertain directly to this subject, there are others like the *Muni*[92] and *Moneyya Suttas*[93] which not only extol and emphasise the ideal of solitary recluseship[94] " but at times even textually resemble the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*. Yet, these are not recognised by tradition as relating to paccekabuddhas. An attempt perhaps to reconcile these divergences is noticed in the *Niddesa*[95] which states that the sentiments voiced in the *Moneyya Sutta* may as well apply to paccekabudddhas.

But the greater bulk of material concerning paccekabuddhas is contained in the commentaries which undoubtedly belong to a period of literary activity that is later by many centuries than the latest additions to the *Tipiṭaka*. The commentaries have elaborated and supplemented in greater detail all that has been barely mentioned earlier. The elaboration reveals a great preponderance of legends and miracles which make the accounts seemingly unbelievable. But, as would have been noticed earlier, the commentaries have in all possible instances developed the thought contained in the texts that preceded them.

In the course of this elaboration which seems to have been their main consideration, the commentaries reflect not a little scholasticism. This is especially so with regard to the categorisation of a paccekabuddha. Thus, he may be classed among 'noble ones' *(ariya)*[96]along with Buddhas and their disciples, or in the category of goodmen *(sappurisā)*.[97] In another instance, he is reckoned as one of the three types of persons who have cultivated their faculties *(bhāvitindriya')*.[98] He may also be reckoned among the six classes of persons who could recall their previous lives, *(pubbenivāsa)*[99] " then again *as* one of the four types of enlightened ones *(buddhā)*[100] or as one of the nine human types that have gained deliverance, according to the *Asekhabhāgiya Sutta*[101], or more especially as one of the ten persons worthy of respect and adoration and constituting the world's incomparable field of merit *(anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassa)*.[102] Though they may be viewed diversely from many angles, yet as a class *(panti)*, they are one.[103]

The names of paccekabuddhas are contained in three sources, namely, the *Isigili Sutta*, its commentary and the *Apadāna* commentary. The list in the *apadāna* commentary is not as complete as that contained in the *Isigili Sutta*. Though it shows considerable agreement with the latter, there is certainly no conformity. And the commentary to the *Isigili Sutta*, except in a few instances, is also not very helpful in elucidating whether certain words of the text, which is in verse, should be read as qualificatives or as proper names. In the circumstances, one is obliged, first, to make a list of names where absolute unanimity exists and, secondly, other lists giving differences and omissions. Thus we have the following tables:

Absolute conformity.—Ariṭṭha, Upariṭṭha, Tagarasikhī, Yasassī, Sudassana, Piyadassī, (Gandhāra, Piṇḍola, Upāsabha, Nītha, Tatha, Sutavā, Bhāvitatta, Sumbha, Subha, Aṭṭhama, Anīgha, two Jālīs, Aṭṭhaka, Kosala, Subāhu, Santacitta, Vijita, Jita, Aṅga, Paṅga, Guttijjita, Passī, Aparājita, Sarabhaṅga, Lomahaṃsa, Uccaṅgamāya, Asita, Anāsava, Manomaya, Bandhumā, Mātaṅga, Ariya, Accuta and Sumaṅgala.

Additional names contained in the Isigili Sutta but omitted in the Apadāna commentary. Supatiṭṭhita, Asayha, Khemābhirata, Sorata, Durannaya, Saṅgha, Vijaya, Sayha, four Ānandas, four Nandas, four Upanandas, two Bhāradvājas, Bodhi, Mahānāma, Tissa, Upatissa, Upasīdarī, Sildarī, Maṅgala, Usabha, Upanīta, Jeta, Jayanta, Paduma, Uppala, Padumuttara, Rakkhita, Pabbata, Mānatthadda, Vitarāga, Kaṇha.

Differences between (1) Isigili Sutta and (2) Apadāna Commentary (arranged in rows, respectively).

(Isigili Sutta)	*(Apadāna Commentary)*
Methula	Mekula
-	Sumedha
Athassumegha	-
Sudātha	Sudatta
Hiṅgu	Bhiṅgu
Hiṅga	Bhiṅga
Upanemi	Upanemisa

Nemi	Nemisa
	Sacca
	Tatha
	Viraja
	Paṇḍita
Kalūpakāla	Kāla
	Upakāla
	Jahi[104]
	Upadhiṃ[105]
	Dukkhamūlaṃ[106]
Sattha[107]	-
Pavatta[108]	-
	Manacchida[109]
Tadādhimutta	Tadādhiputta
	Vimala
	Ketuma
Ketumbarāga	Kotumbarakkha
Accutagāmabyamaka[110]	Accutagami
	Byāmaka
Dabbila	Dibbila

Names noticed elsewhere in literature: Dārimukha, [111]Gaṅgamāla[112], Kosiya, [113] Karaṇḍu, [114] Surabhi[115], Mahāpaduma, [116] Adiccabandbu, [117] Aniṭṭhigandha, [118] and several Brahmadattas, [119] who seem to have been named according to a peculiarity that was characteristic of each such as, Vibhusaka B., Cakkulola B., Pādalola B., Anivatta, B., Sitāluka B., Catumāsika B., Ekaputtika B., Ekavajjika B., etc., etc.

This list is in no way complete for, as is recognized by the sources themselves, there may be other names as well (*aññe ca*). Some at least of these names, may even be inventions of commentators. There may also be instances where the same name was doubled by the addition of prefixes as: Nemi, Upanemi, Nanda, Upananda, &c. It is not impossible that a few names as least are historical. Such names may perhaps be contained in the list where absolute conformity exists. But even here one cannot exactly say which of these names are historical and which legendary. It is likely, as Malalasekera suggests, that the original purpose of the list was to include the names of pre-Buddhist sages whom the people held in high esteem, especially in the localities where the cult of paccekabuddha had its origins.

Apart from the paccekabuddhas of the past mention is made of a future paccekabuddha, namely, Devadatta. It is said in the *Milindapañha* that when this aeon which is divided into six parts comes to an end, Devadatta will have outlived his term in hell and become a paccekabuddha by the name of Aṭṭhissara.[120]

The concept of paccekabuddha was common to almost all the early schools of Buddhism. It may have originated, as Poussin has stated, in a desire to accommodate the pre-Buddhist ideal of solitary recluseship within the religious system of Buddhism.[121] But, the importance it occupied, and the significance attached to it differed according to the respective philosophies of the schools. The *Kathāvatthu* records a belief of the Sammitiyas that paccekabuddhas could be born among the gods.[122] Other differences, such as those obtaining in Mahāyāna works fall outside the scope of this article. But, even in the Theravada tradition to, which this article is confined, there are terms like *buddhakhetta*, [123] and *dhammakāyā*, [124] used in the *Apadāna* in sections relating to paccekabuddhas, while others like *paccekabodhisattabhūmi*[125] and *buddhabhūmi*[126] have been employed in its commentary. The use of these terms might have been influenced by the employment of identical terms in Mahāyāna, though it is doubtful whether they possessed the same religious connotations. However, the *Jātaka* commentary [127] suggests such a tendency in the account it provides of a paccekabuddha where he is actually subordinated to a bodhisatta who, in this particular instance, happens to be a peacock. Even the enlightenment of the paccekabuddha—who, until the moment of his spiritual transformation, had been a hunter—was gained in the presence of, and after listening to the words of this bodhisatta. True, it is said that he had, accomplished his perfections and that his knowledge was on the point of ripening, like a mature lotus-bud awaiting the touch of the sun' rays." The paccekabuddha shows his gratitude to the bird by walking thrice round him in respectful adoration. This same account emphatically states that a bodhisatta's skill in ways and means (*upāyapariggahañāṇa)* is greater than that of a paccekabuddha. [128]

In relation to a *sāvaka* or *arahant*, however, a paccekabuddha is superior. A *sāvaka* attains enlightenment in consequence of what he hears, whereas a paccekabuddha's enlightenment is self-earned (*sayambhū*). In fact, a paccekabuddha is considered superior even to an *aggasāvaka* or chief disciple. A paccekabuddha, it is said, could recall his past for a period as far back as two Incalculables and one hundred thousand aeons, which is exactly the extent of time that he has to spend in order to be enlightened. [129] But, an aggasavaka's ability to recall his past lives does not exceed one incalculable and a hundred thousand aeons which is, again, the duration of time required for his enlightenment.[130] A

paccekabuddha, however, is far inferior to a sammā sambuddha, though there are many things that they share in common. These include the assurances they both receive as aspirants, that they shall attain enlightenment in their respective ways,[131] their manner of enlightenment, which is always unaided, the territory of their birth[132], which is necessarily the Majjhima-desa, the clan[133] in which they are born, which is either Khattiya or Brāhmana' and the period[134] when that takes place which must be one of evolution *(vivaṭṭamāna)* and not involution *(saṃvaṭṭamāna)*[135]. However, they never appear contemporaneously. The most important of their differences is that concerning knowledge and wisdom. The knowledge and wisdom about the world, with its men and gods, possessed respectively by a Tathāgata, i.e., a fully enlightened one, and a paccekabuddha, are far apart, says the *Saddhammappakāsini*.[136]. This difference obtains from the time of their respective realizations of the Truths. A sammā-sambuddha is omniscient. But not so a paccekabuddha. And by reason of the unique kinds of knowledge that a sammāsambuddha has mastered he could, in a single discourse, cause enlightenment to beings in countless realms of existence[137]. That is a quality which definitely distinguishes him from the rest. Another distinguishing feature is that a sammā sambuddha is conscious from the moment of his conception right up to the moment of his birth. And, when he issues from the womb, he descends in a standing position, consciously.[138] Paccekabuddhas, on the other hand, are never conscious either in entering the womb or in coming out of it and in the circumstances endure much suffering.[139] Again, with regard to the ability of sammāsambuddhas to recall their past lives, there is no limit *(pariccheda)*, as in the case of *sāvakas* or paccekabuddhas. Hence, they could recall as far back as they like.[140] Sammāsambuddhas are also free from dispositions *(vāsanā)*, whereas paccekabuddhas and *sāvakas* possess them even after they have attained deliverance.[141] In summing up the differences between paccekabuddhas and sammā -sambuddhas, the *Apadāna* commentary observes [142] that the former "comprehend only the letter *(attharasaṃeva)* and not the spirit *(na dhammarasaṃ)* and that they are incapable of preaching the transcendental Law in ordinary language. Their realisation of this Law is like the dream of a dumb man, or like the taste of (rich) food enjoyed in a city by a woodsman". " They are superior to *sāvakas* in the excellence of their virtues but, inferior to sammā sambuddhas".[143] Finally, to quote the commentary[144] again, it may be said that paccekabuddhas are 'separately enlightened ones' who are unlike others and have nothing in common except with the 'Fully Enlightened One'.

H. S. COORAY.

References

1. That the word pacceka means 'individual' or 'separate' is sseen from many instances where it is prefixed to words as: *paccekagātha* (*S.*I, p. 26), *paccekadussayugam* (*M.* I, p. 353), *pacceka-itthi* (*D.*I, p. 49), *Paccekaniraya* (*SnA.* II, 2p. 476), *paccekasacca* (*A.* II. p. 41), *paccekabrahmā* (*S.*I, p. 146) *pacceka- vasavatti* (*D.*II, p.261), etc. These terms possess no special religious or technical connotations apart from the idea of separation that is common to all which alone requires them to be translated as "a separate stanza", "a separate pair of robes", "a separate woman", "a separate hell" etc. And for the same reason it would be incorrect to transläte the word paccekabuddha as "Silent Buddha" or "Private Buddha".
2. *Ap.*I, p.7. stanza 3.
3. *A.pA.* p. 100.
4. *Pug.* p. 14, § 29.
5. *PsA.* I,op. 207.
6. *SA. I*, p. 25; *ApA.* p. 142.
7. *ApA.*pp.143, 172.
8. *op.cit.* p. 147.
9. *op. cit* p. 143.
10. *op. cit.* pp. 147, 160, 167,171.
11. *Manussattaṃliṅgasampatti vigatāsavadassanam – adhikāro chandatā ete abhinīhāra kārana*" *(op.cit.* p.142).
12. *UdA.* p. 281-82.
13. *ApA.* Pp. 134, 172; cf. p. 152 ibid.
14. *op.cit.* p. 156.
15. *PsA.* III p.599. of also Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism* p. 81.
16. *ApA.* Pp. 171, 175.
17. *op. cit.* pp. 147, 165, 167, 171, 175, 180.
18. *op.cit.* p. 140.
19. *op. cit.* p. 162 ff.
20. e.g.,ApA p. 182, where the same stanza is attributed to two paccekabuddhas.

21 *op. cit.* p.205.
22 *op. cit.* p. 206.
23 *J.*III, p. 433-34; op. cit. IV, pp. 116-117.
24 e.g., *AA.* I. p. 354; ApA. p. 151.
25 *ApA.* p. 151. But sixty years old, according to the *Jataka* commentary IV, p.342.
26 *J.* III, p. 377.
27 *ApA.* p. 151; AA. I p. 354.
28 *op.cit.* p. 153.
29 *ibid.* p. 153.
30 *op. cit.* p. 143.
31 *op. cit.* p. 182.
32 *op. cit* p. 495.
33 *ApA.* p. 338.
34 *PsA.* III p. 296.
35 *M.* III. p. 68.
36 *Ap.* II p. 415; ApA. p. 487.
37 *SA.* I.p. 280.
38 *Mhv.* V, 52.
39 *J.* IIIpp. 367, 368.
40 *DhpA.* III, p. 91.
41 *op.cit* IV, p. 200-201.
42 *ApA.* p. 162.
43 *DhpA.* IV.
44 *ApA.* p. 205.
45 *DhpA.* III, p. 93.
46 *AA.* I, p. 340.
47 *SA.* I. p. 280-81.
48 *ApA.* p. 478.
49 *J.* IV, p. 318.
50 *op.cit.* IV p. 15.
51 *op,cit* V, p. 441.
52 *Mhv*, V, 55, 59.
53 *ApA.* pp. 162, 164; *DhpA.* III, p. 91.
54 *J.* IV.p. 328.
55 *op.cit.* III, p. 307.
56 *ApA.* p. 160; J.III, p. 240.
57 *ApA.*p. 186.
58 *op. cit.* pp. 172, 177.
59 *J.*I, p. 396.
60 *UdA.* p. 95.
61 *J.* II, p. 197.
62 *M.* III,pp. 68ff.
63. Elliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 344.
64. *Ap.* I. p.13, stanza 53. In the Jataka they are compared to the sun and actually called so (suriya) VI, p. 41.
65. *ApA.* p. 205.
66. Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, I, p. 231.
67. *SA.* I, p. 349-50.
68. *Uda.* p. 95.
69. *J.*V.p. 289.
70 *DhpA.* I, Part II, p. 226.
71. *Ap.* I, p. 300 stanzas 17 , 18.
72. op. cit. I, p. 299 stanza 4 ff.
73. op. cit. I, p. 300 stanza 19 ff.
74. *ApA.* p. 162,; AA. I. p. 173.
75. *J.* III, p. 257; AA. IV. P. 109.
76. *ApA.* p. 143.
77. *UdA.* P. 385; *DhpA.*, Part II, p. 225.
78. *J.* III, p. 440.
79. *ApA.* p. 202; the paccekabuddha Mahapaduma and his associates are said to have renounced their lives in a standing position according to the Anguttara commentary (AA. I, p. 174).
80. *J*, III, pp. 434, 440.
81. *Ap.* I, p. 227 p; 253, stanzas 1, 2.
82. *DA.* II, p. 595.
83. *D.* II, p. 142; A. I, p. 77.
84. *D.* II, p. 142-43.
85. *ERE.* I, p. 603: Winternitz: *History of Indian Lliterature II*, p. 159-60.
86. University of Ceylon Review , VII , 1949 , pp. 119-128.
87. But not all stanzas having this common refrain seem to have been grouped under the *Khaggavisāna sutta*. A stanza so omitted is recorded in the *Udānaṭṭhakathā* and is ascribed to the paccekabuddha Mahapaduma. (UdA. p. 29).
88. J.J. Jones has pointed out that such a transition is possible if the word is construed as a *bahuvrihi* compound name for a single horned animal. (*SBB* xvi, p. 250, foot note I.
89. *Ap.* I. p. 13; ApA p. 133- 34.
90. *ApA.* p. 133- 34.
91. *University of Ceylon Review* , VII, 1949 p. 119.
92. *Sn.* Stanza 207-221.
93. op. cit stanzas 700- 723.
94. The Dhammapada too contains stanzas that laud the ideal of the solitary life as, 13 (Brahmana, V) 9, 10 (Naga, v.) 16 Pakinnaka, v). I. I.
95. Nd. I. p. 58.
96. *PsA.* II, p. 446; NdI, p. 158; AA. III, p. 44.
97. *PsA.* II, p. 446.
98. *Ps.* II, p. 3.
99. *VA.* I, p. 161.
100. *SA.* I, p. 25 .
101. *Nett.* p. 190 *I. I.*

102 *V.* p. 23.
103 *AA.* iv, p. 187.
104 105,106. The commentary to the Isigili Sutta construes these predicatively with Passi as their subject: Passi jāhi upadhiṃdukkhamūlam (*MA.* Iv, p. 129).
107 & 108 Though omitted by the Apadana commentary, these are distinctly mentioned as proper names, in the commentary to the Isigili Sutta (ibid. p. 129).
109 This is not a name but only a qualificative of the paccekabuddha Bandhuma, according to the comentary to the Isigili Sutta (ibid. p. 129).
110 The commentary takes them to be two names : Accutagama and Byamaka.
111 *J.* III, p. 240.
112 *ibid.* III, p. 452.
113 *ApA.* p. 487 ; 473. The Apadana however gives the name as Kosika (*Ap.*II, p. 414 ; 470).
114 *ibid.*, III, pp. 376-377.
115 *Ap.* I, p. 299.
116 *ApA.* p. 163; UdA, p. 291.
117 *ApA.* p. 181.
118 & 119 Malalasekera :*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* I, p. 702.
120 *Miln.* I, p. 111.
121 *ERE.* X, p. 153.
122 *Kvu.* p. 95.
123 *A.* I, pp.1, 5, 44; Ap. II, p. 444.
124 *Ap.* I, p. 13, Stanza 52.
125 *ApA.* pp. 143, 297.
126 *ApA.* p. 141.
127. *J.* III, Maha Mora Jataka (No. 491).
128. op. cit. p. 341.
129 *V.A.* I.p. 161.
130 *ibid.* p. 161.
131 *PsA.* III, p. 645.
132 *AA.* II, p. 37.
133 *ApA.* Pp. 54, 142.
134 *ApA.* p. 142.
135 *ibid.* p. 142.
136 *PsA.* III, p. 644.
137 *ApA* p. 100.
138 *DA.* III, p. 886.
139 *ibid.*p. 886.
140 *V.A.* I, p161.
141 *UdA.* p. 194. (But according to the Vamsatthappakasini, paccekabuddhas have put an end to all defilements together with the dispositions (vasanā), thus transcending the spiritual status of a sāvaka, p. 31).
142 *ApA.* p. 142.
143 *ibid.* p. 142.
144 *op.cit* p. 204. (*"paṭiyekkaṃ visum sammā sambuddhatoti visadisā aññasādhāraṇā buddhā paccekabuddhā"*).

PADAKKHIṆĀ (PRADAKṢINĀ). The ritualistic practice of circumambulating or going round a person or an object with the devotee's right side turned towards the object or the person as a mark of respect. The term *padakkhiṇā* in Pāli occours only as an adjective and not as a substantive as in Sanskirt. Accordingly, the Pāli usage is more or less confined to the phrase *padakkhiṇaṃ karoti* with the person or the object to be respected taking the accusative case, as for example so *cetiyam padakkhiṇaṃ karoti*- "he circumambulates the *cetiya*." The visitors who came to see Buddha practised this ritual when taking their leave from him (*Vin* I. 17;*S*. I. 138etc.).

There are three types of *cetiyas* or shrines, which have become objects of this type of reverential salutation among the Buddhists in their religious rituals of worship. These are : i. the *cetiyas* or stūpas enshrining the bodily relics of the Buddha (*sārī rika*) ii. Shrines enshrining objects used by the Buddha (*pāribhogika*) and iii. Those, which portray or depict his likeness pictorially or sculpturally (*uddesika*).

Cetiyas belonging to the first category are innumerable as they are found in all the Buddhist countries the world over. It has been traditionally laid down that when a *stūpa* is being orbited in this manner the devotee should kneel down and worship it at sixteen points in the course of his or her orbital circuit. These sixteen points can be marked by dividing the orbital circuit into sixteen equal sections.

The commonest example for the second category is the Bodhi-tree as the Buddhists regard any Bodhi-tree as a representative of the original tree under which Prince Siddhārtha attained Enlightenment. The main representative of the third category is the Buddha statue, ubiquitous in every country where there are Buddhists. It is customarily established that three orbital circuits should be performed to complete the ritual.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

PADHĀNA The word *padhāna* (*from pra + dhā, padahati*) means striving, perseverance, exertion. *Padahati* is often used with other verbs expressing the idea of striving in the phrase: *chandaṃ janeti vāyamati viriyaṃ ārabhati cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati* (*M.* II, II). *chandaṃ janeti* means to generate the desire/ the interest/ the will to do something. *Vāyamati* means to try. *Viriyaṃ ārabhati* means to put forth energy. *cittaṃ paggaṇhāti* means to make up one's mind, to resolve. *Padahati* means to strive, to persevere. In *J.*VI, 508 there is a phrase: *usīraṃ muñjapabbajaṃ urasa padahessāmi* which means: Bravely I shall try (to go forward) through the (tall) *muñja* grass. The commentary explains it as: *dvedhā katvā purato gamissāmi* meaning: I shall move the grass to either side and go forward. This grass grows tall and has sharp blades which can cut badly if rubbed upwards. Therefore moving through thickly grown *muñja* grass calls for great caution and brave striving. *Padahati* used in this context gives an idea of what the word stand for.

Though *padhāna* is closely akin to *viriya* and *vāyāma* in meaning it has a religious spiritual dimension in addition. *Padhāna* generally means to strive for spiritual gain.

Padhāna is used to describe some of the austere religious practices of the Jains as well. In the *Devadahasutta* (*M.*II, 218) the Buddha questions some Jaina monks whether the pain they experience is great when the striving is keen and whether the pain is less when the striving is not keen. They answer that the pain is more when the striving is keen. Using various practical and logical arguments the Buddha exposes the futility of Jaina religious striving and declares that these whole exercise is a spiritual failure, *aphalo upakkamo aphalaṃ padhānaṃ*. The *Sandakasutta* (*M.* I, 515) and the *Dhammapada* (141) also refer to a form of religious striving performed while being in a squatting position called *ukkuṭikappadhānaṃ* which is of no spiritual value. In the *Mahāsaccakasutta* (*M.* I, 242-243) the Buddha reminisces some of the austere yogic practices he carried out prior to attaining Enlightenment. Clenching the teeth, pressing the tongue against the palate when he tried hard to suppress and overpower the mind, though his energy (*viriya*) remained unflagging and mindfulness was ever present, the body was tense and not relaxed as it was smitten with painful striving (*dukkhappadhānena padhānābhitunnassa sato*). It is only when the body is relaxed with the experience of a sense of ease that the mind gets concentrated *passaddhakāyo sukhaṃ vedeti, sukhino cittaṃ samādhiyati* (*D.* I, 73). Therefore painful striving is not conducive to mental composure which is essential for realization.

A. V, 192 explains what striving should be undertaken and what should not be. If a particular form of striving causes the proliferation of unwholesome mental traits and the waning of wholesome traits such striving should not be undertaken. Only striving which helps the waning of unwholesome traits and proliferation of wholesome traits should be undertaken. In Buddhism it appears that *padhāna* is mostly used in the sense of meditative striving.

The *Padhānasutta* (*Sn.* p.74) describes the zeal of determination of the Bodhisatta to attain the goal of *nibbāna*. He derived strength from self-confidence – *atthi saddhā tato viriyaṃ* and thus he engaged himself in ardent meditative striving (*pahitattaṃ*). He was determined to strive on even if the blood in his body were to dry up, the bile and the phlegm were to get dehydrated, and the flesh were to shrink and be shrivelled. It is said that with this determined meditative striving his mind became more and more lucid; mindfulness, concentration and wisdom were established with greater clarity. Such was the unswerving and faithful nature of the Bodhisatta's striving for the highest spiritual goal.

*S.*V, 246 maintains that *sīla* is the basis for *padhāna*. According to the *Itivuttaka* (*p.* 30) one who is agitated with the awareness of the precarious situation of human life realises the urgency for constructive action. This realization urges him on to meditative striving. The *Bodhirājakumārasutta* (*M.* II, 95, and also *M.* II, 128, *D.* III, 237, *A.* III, 65) records factors conducive to striving - *padhāniyaṅgāni*. They are faith in the Buddha, good health, being open-minded and unhypocritical, energetic and wise. There are certain fallow conditions of the mind, *cetokhila*, which prevent meditative striving. When there is doubt with regards

to the Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha and the course of training (*sikkhā*), and when one is irritable and unable to get along with fellow monks one cannot bend one's mind for meditative striving (*D.* III, 238, *M.* I, 101, *A.* IV, 249).

The *Caṅkīsutta* (*M.*II, 173) elucidates the place of *padhāna* in the path to realization. When a person learns and appreciates the *dhamma* he gets interested (*chanda*) in putting it to practice. Being interested he makes an effort (*ussāha*) weighing the *dhamma* from various angles. This weighing (*tulanā*) leads him to meditative striving (*padhāna*) which gives him the opportunity to realize the ultimate truth experiencing it through his body - *kāyena c'eva paramasaccam sacchikaroti*. *S.* II, 268 records that there are monks who use a wooden block as a pillow so that their diligence and zeal do not get dissipated in the love of comforts. It is said that when they are thus engaged in meditative striving *Māra* does not find an opportunity (to mislead them).

According to the *Sampasādaniyasutta* (*D.* III, 104-5) a monk engaged in meditative striving, practising diligently with wise attention attains composure of mind (*cetosamādhi*) which enables him to see (a) the contents of the body, (b) the skeleton, (c) the stream of consciousness not disconnected at both ends established in this world and in the next, and (d) the stream of consciousness not disconnected at both ends without a basis in this world and the next. These four attainments are called *dassanasamāpatti* and the last named is mentioned as the highest of them.

The *Devadahasutta* (*M.* II, 223) explains how meditative striving becomes fruitful. Here a monk does not defile the body that is comfortable, by inflicting pain on it – *na h'eva anaddhabhūtaṃattānaṃdukkhena addhabhāveti*. He does not reject righteous comfort, but is careful not to be overwhelmed by that comfort. When he strives (to eliminate) the cause of suffering dispassion / detachment enters (*virāgo hoti*). When he observes the cause of suffering and develops equanimity, dispassion / detachment sets in. This is how suffering gradually wanes. In this way meditative striving becomes successful and fruitful.

*A.*I, 49 mentions two types of *padhāna* which are difficult to attain in this world. The layman has to strive hard to give to the monks robes, almsfood, dwelling places, medicine and other requisites for sick monks. As for the monks it is difficult striving to abandon all possessions, and the deep-seated love for these possessions - *sabbūpadhipaṭinissaggatthāya padhanaṃ*.

Suttas (*M.*II,11=*A.*II,15) mention four aspects of the right striving, *sammappadhāna*, as follows:-

1. To strive not to let unwholesome evil traits which have not yet arisen to rise a new
2. To strive to eliminate unwholesome evil traits which have already arisen
3. To strive to generate unarisen wholesome traits
4. To strive to promote and proliferate wholesome traits which have already arisen.

This explanation is identical with those of *sammā vāyāma* (*S.* V, 9) and *viriy'indriya* (*S.* V, 198). *A.* II, 74 calls the above four categories *saṃvarappadhāna* (striving to restrain), *pahānappadhāna* (striving to eliminate), *bhāvanappadhāna* (striving to develop) and *anurakkhanappadhāna* (striving to maintain) respectively.

The *saṅgītisutta* (*D.* III, 225) explains the latter set of four *padhānas* in greater detail from a practical point of view as follows:

1. *Saṃvarappadhāna* means guarding the sense-doors.

2. *Pahānappadhāna* means the elimination of thought connected with sense pleasures, malice, cruelty and all sinful unwholesome traits which have already arisen.

3. *Bhāvanappadhāna* means the development of the factors of enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*) such as mindfulness, investigation of mental

phenomena, perseverance, joy, relaxation, concentration, and equanimity.

4. *Anurakkhanappadhāna* means protecting, the good sign of concentration which has arisen (*uppannaṃ bhaddakaṃ samādhinimittaṃ anurakkhati*). *S.*V,244 maintains that the development of the four strivings inclines one towards *nibbānaninno hoti nibbānapono nibbā napabbhāro ti.*

padhāna is also closely connected with the four *iddhipādas* (*S.*V,263) which run as follows :

1. *Chanda-samādhi-padhāna-saṇkhāra-samannā gataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhāveti*

2. *Viriya-samādhi-padhāna-saṅkhāra-samannā gataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhāveti.*

3. *Citta-samādhi-padhāna-saṅkhāra-samannā gataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhāveti.*

4. *Vīmaṃsā - samādhi -padhāna - sankhāra-samannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ bhāveti.*

This can be translated as "One develops successful basis (*iddhipāda*) consisting of the activity *saṅkhāra* of striving *padhāna* for concentration (*samādhi*) urged on by keenness/interest (*chanda*), perseverance (*viriya*), motive force (*citta*) as intellectual curiosity (*vīmaṃsā*)." The sutta explains the practice further as follows:

One strives so that the keenness / interest (*chanda*) does not become lax (*atilīno*) so as to fall on to the side of laziness (*kosajja*) (*S.*V, 277), nor excessive tenseness (*atipaggahīto*), so as to fall on to the side of restlessness (*uddhacca*). One strives so that this keenness /interest is not internally contracted (*na ajjhattaṃ saṅkhitto hoti*) with sloth and torpor (*thīnamiddhasahagato*), nor dissipated externally (*na bahiddhā vikkhitto hoti*) among sense pleasures (*pañcakāmaguṇe*). One strives with the perception of the future and the past (*pacchāpuresaññī*), reckoning experiences of the future in terms of the past (*yathā pure tathā pacchā*) and vice versa. One strives seeing the bodily impurities from top to bottom and from bottom to top. One strives day and night alike. Thus one strives urged on by perseverance (*viriya*), motive force (*citta*) as intellectual curiosity (*vīmaṃsā*).

*S.*V, 268 explains *padhāna* in *iddhipāda* further as follows: When a monk gains concentration (*samādhi*) and one-pointedness of mind (*cittassa ekaggatā*) depending on keenness / interest (*chanda*), it is called *chandasamādhi*. He strives hard not to let unarisen evil traits arise, to eliminate evil traits that have already arisen, to encourage wholesome traits that have not yet arisen, to proliferate wholesome traits that have already arisen. This is called *padhānasaṅkāra*. Thus *chanda-samādhi-padhāna - saṅkhārasamannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ* means a successful basis endowed with the activity of striving for concentration dependent on keenness / interest. Similar is the explanation for *iddhipāda* dependent on *viriya, citta* and *vīmaṃsā*.

Suttas also describe quiet pleasant comfortable places away from disturbing human activity as being suitable for striving (*M.* I,167, *A.* IV, 355, *Ud.* p. 34). There are also suitable and unsuitable times for striving. The unsuitable periods are during old age, illness, famines, war/civil unrest and schism in the order. Suitable periods are when one is young, healthy, when food is available without difficulty, there is peace in the country, and when the community of monks is united (*A.*III, 65-66).

It is said that king Suddhodana is a person who attained arahantship without striving (*J.*I, 90). According to *S.*I, 47-48 he who has done his duty (*katakicco*) has no necessity to strive. It is only one who is in the stream who has to strive with hands and feet, but he who has gone to the further shore and is established on dry land has no necessity to strive - *nāyūhati pāragato hi so.*

Lily De Silva

PADHĀNAGHARA. The pâli term *padhânaghara* and its Sinhalese equivalent *piyangal* have been used in ancient records to mean ' a hall especially made for meditation. The Pâli term is met with in the *Papañcasûdanî*, the commentary to the *Majjhima Nikâya*[1] with reference to the meditation hall at Andhavana, one *gâvuta* away to the south of the city of Sâvatthi. It appears to have been a well guarded place where monks and nuns engaged themselves in meditation. The *Mahâvaṃsa* makes several references to these halls of solitude. Buddhaghosa, the celebrated commentator of the 5th Century A.C., arrived at the Mahâpadhânaghara[2] in Anurâdhapura and learnt from Saṃghapâla, the commentaries in Sinhala language. Dāṭhopatissa II (664-673) is reported to have donated the village of Mahâgalla for its maintenance[3]. Aggabodhi II (598-608) caused to be built[4] in the Mattapabbata – vihâra, a *padhâna- ṭṭhâna* for a Kâlinga prince who had renounced the world. Aggabodhi III (624-640), in association with Uparâja Mâna, erected[5] a *padhânaghara* named Mahallarâja and granted for its maintenance two villages, the revenues accruing from a third village and the whole of the necessary staff. Aggabodhi IV (673-689) had a *padhânaghara* built and named after him[6] and donated it to the Thera Dâṭhâsiva, who dwelt in Nâgasâlâ. It was accepted by the thera and then made over to the community.

The Sinhalese term *piyangal* occurs in several epigraphical records of Sri Lanka. *Patanagala*, its older form, is met with in the Perimiyankulam rock inscription[7] of Vasabha (66-110), with reference to a grant of revenues to a meditation hall named Sudasana. The Mannar Kacceri Pillar inscription[8] of Sena II (866-901), the Anurâdhapura slab inscription[9] of Kassapa V (929-939) and the Mädirigiriya pillar inscription[10] of the same monarch, record grants of immunities to *piyangal*, the halls of contemplation. The Mihintale tablets[11] of Mahinda IV (975-991 record payments to be made to an official serving in a *piyangal* situated within the monastery of Mihintale. Other epigraphical records which make mention of this institution are from Sangili Kanadarâva and Kurundankulam. A slab inscription from Tissamahârâma has preserved[12] a variant form i.e. *padanagala*. In Indian epigraphs, the term is spelt as[13] *padhânamaḍava* (P. *padhâna-maṇḍapa*), a term which is synonymous with *padhânaghara*.

Among the manuscripts recovered from Gilgit, the *Posadhavastu* of the *Mûlasarvâstivâda Vinaya Piṭaka*[14], contains rules for the construction of a *prahâṇasâlâ* (chamber for *nisadyâ* i.e. sitting in a lonely place for meditation, particularly on the parts of the body such as hair, nails, teeth, liver, heart, intestines etc.). This chamber could be large, small or two-storied and has to be fitted with doors and windows in such a way as to arrest any creaking sound. Special attention should be paid in its construction to ensure that the contemplator within be not disturbed by external sources such as thieves, wild animals and birds. Furthermore, there are minute directions pertaining to doorframes, seats, seats-covers, and cushions. Sk. *prahâṇasâlâ* is synonymous with P. *padhânaghara* or *padhânasâlâ*. Sk. *prahâṇa* in this context means the destruction of *âsravas* (*âsavas*) or *klesas* through concentration of mind. In the *Divyâvadâna* and in the *Mahâvastu* its variant forms[15] *samyak-prahâṇa* and *samyak-pradhâna* are met with. Both mean 'right exertion directed towards the destruction of the banes'.

In Classical Sinhalese works, the term *piyangal* is met with, which as shown earlier, had evolved from its older form *padanagala*. The *Dhampiyâ Atuvâ Gätapadaya* (10th C.), a Sinhalese commentary to the *Dhammapapadaṭṭhakathâ* of Buddhaghosa,[16] explains 'Andhavana' as andavana piyangal'. The maha *Bodhivamsa-Gäṭapadaya*[17] (11th C. has also preserved this word in its identical form. By way of explaining the Pâli words *Morapâsâde padhânagharam*, this commentary renders them into Sinhalese as *mora-vâ piyangalata*. Ruins of the Mayûra-pariveṇa (Mayûra-pâsâda) are still in existence to the north-east of the Sacred Bo Tree at Anurâdhapura. From the reference to a meditation hall at this site, it is understood that some at least of the inmates of this establishment, practised meditation exercises. The *Pûjâvaliya* (13th C.) refers to a piyangal-pirivena established by King Sirisangabo[18] (who may be ibentified with Aggabodhi IV). It was earlier shown that the *Mahâvamsa* has also credited this monarch with the construction of such an edifice.

The subject matter of the Pâli *Rasavâhini* (13th C.), which contains some Stories pertaining to forest dwelling monks of ancient Sri Lanka has been made use of by the author of *Saddhammâlaṃkâra* (14th C.). The *Âraññaka-vagga* of the last named work[19] is devoted to such tales. From these references it is to be

understood that Cittalapabbata-vihāra in south Sri Lanka was an extensive monastery, which had a meditation hall within its premises or affiliated to it. Several tales of monks who attained enlightenment at that spot are also narrated in the *Saddharmaratnākara* (15th C.) The latter work[20] uses the term *patan-bhûmi* (P. *padhâna-bhûmi*) to denote a spot in Anurâdhapura which was hallowed by the visit of the Buddha and over which was later built the Ruvan-pâya (Ratana-pâsâda). Among the architectural monuments at Anurâdhapura, there is an edifice which has now been called Ratana-pâsâda and not far from it lie the ruins of several *padhânagharas*, otherwise named as Western Monasteries.

During the period when Buddhism was first introduced to Sri Lanka, monks preferred to live in caves, in perfect solitude. This is proved by the presence of thousands of Brahmi inscriptions engraved on the drip-ledges of caves, scattered throughout the country. In the course of time this practice appears to have gone out of vogue and monasteries began to be built to house them. Those who preferred to live in seclusion and engage themselves in meditation resorted to the forests and were called *âraññakas*. It is most probable that at first they lived in simple huts built by themselves or by lay devotees. For the construction of such simple dwellings no architects were needed and as may be expected, there are no traces of the abodes of those early Buddhist recluses. It has been shown earlier that by about the 2nd Century A.C. buildings of a particular character for the use of forest dwelling monks had come into vogue. Among the architectural remains at Anurâdhapura, Mullegala, Ritigala, Mânâkanda, Veherabändigala, Sivalukulama, Galbändi-vihâra, Mänikdena, Nuvaragalakanda and other sites,[21] there are ruins of groups of buildings, which conform to one particular plan in general. The best preserved of these is the Tapovana group lying near the western half of the Outer Circular Road at Anurâdhapura. As tradition held that they were "palaces of kings", antiquarians at first mistook them for secular buildings. The non-committal name "Western Monasteries" has since been generally applied to avoid confusion. As bhikkhus who engaged themselves in meditation were considered to be pious and holy abodes for their use were put up with lavish expenditure and labour.

Padhânagharas, the architectural remains of which still exist, conform to one particular plan of construction. They occupy rocky sites, flattish outcrops of granite, comparatively level. The groups of buildings off the Outer Circular Road at Anurâdhapura, on either side of the road, have been numbered A, B, C, etc., for convenience. Each group consists of a double plat formed structure, one in front and one at the back. The latter is built on a rock, having a moat surrounding it. On it was built a chamber, which was walled and roofed. Stone pillars supporting the roof, which was of wooden construction, are in situ. The moat was made up of dressed slabs of stone. The platform in front had no roof over it as evidenced by the absence of pillars. The two platforms were connected to each other by means of a huge slab of monolithic stone, which also served as a bridge across the moat. A brick wall enclosed each group of buildings. Access to these meditation halls was by means of a pillared porch on the eastern side but there were side posterns in the north and south walls respectively. Each porch contains eight pillars, which supported a roof of stone slabs. There were raised lounges behind the doorway of each porch, with a stone Sedilia to lean against. A raised ambulatory for meditative pacing, about 6 to 8 feet in width, was constructed round the inner face of the wall. These were the *caṅkramanas*, each termination of which was marked by flights of steps. Several outhouses appear to have been in existence, but the number and character of these varied with each group. One such outhouse was meant as a lavatory. The presence of urinal stones attests to its character. The only decorative treatment applied by the architects to stone work in these buildings was with regard to the urinal stones. On some of them are shown has relief representations of facades of buildings.

All the buildings belonging to this type are not well preserved. The measurements of one of the best preserved may be given for an understanding of its size and extent. The pillared chamber measures externally 41ft x33 ft. It contained 24 pillars. The platform to the front is 44 ½ft.x 37 ¼ ft. the monolithic bridge which served as a connection between the two platforms is 14 ft.8 in x 13ft.6in. It is 2ft.3 in. in thickness. The base mouldings of the platforms are of the usual Anurâdhapura type. The balustrades flanking the flights of steps and the terminal guards are quite plain. All the *padhânagharas* in Sri Lanka, though possessing the double platformed plan, do not contain

all the features which are available at Anurādhapura. The remarkable absence of the entrance porch is the most striking. All these structures belong to the last phase of the Anurādhapura period and may be safely assigned to the period 7th-10th centuries A.C. No buildings of this class were erected after Anurādhapura ceased to be the capital of Sri Lanka.

There appears to have been other types of forest hermitages in existence during the Polonnaruva period and thereafter. The architectural compositions of these establishments were of such a character that they have left very few traces for any serious study. However, the numerous references to *āraññakas* occurring in classical Sinhalese works of the 13th century and thereafter are such that some mention ought to be made of this sect of the Buddhist clergy. The foremost centre of forest dwelling monks of the Polonnaruva period was situated at Dimdulāgala (P. Udumbaragiri or Dhūmarakkha), a mountain not far from Kacchakatittha, on the right bank of the Mahāvāluka-nadi[22]. Several scholars of great repute and erudition are reported to have lived there, the most celebrated being Mahā Kassapa and Medhaṅkara.

Another forest hermitage of repute was located at Palābatgala[23] (P. Puṭabhattasela), at the foot of Adam's Peak and was founded by Parākramabāhu II (1234-1269), of Dambadeṇiya. The contemporary *Pūjāvaliya*[24] records the establishment of this abode, which produced a line of scholars of repute by name Dhammakitti. It is doubtful whether these later abodes of the forest dwelling fraternity were called *padhānaghara*. The available evidence points to a usage of the *āraññа-senāsana* in preference to the former which appears to have gone out of vogue after the collapse of Anurādhapura as the capital of Sri Lanka.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

References

1. Aluvihara Series, Vol. I, 338.
2. *Cv.*, xxxvii, 232.
3. *ibid*, xlv, 27.
4. *ibid*, xlii, 11.
5. *ibid*, xliv, 119.
6. *ibid*, xlvi, 11.
7. *JCBRAS*, N. S., Vol V, pt. II, p. 130.
8. *E.Z.* III, 106.
9. *E.Z.* I, 44.
10. *ibid*, II 29.
11. *ibid*, I. 88.
12. *ibid*, III. 106.
13. J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati &Jaggayapeta*, Lond, 1887, P. 105.
14. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. IV, Pt. IV, p. 74.
15. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell & Nell, Camridge, 1886, p. 208.
16. ed. Sir D.B. Jayatilaka , p. 142.
17. ed. R. Sri Dharmarama, p. 142.
18. ed. B. Sraddhatisya Thera ,1953, p. 731.
19. ch. 13. See also *Saddharmmaratnākaraya*, Colombo, 1948, p. 333, 356, 360, 363 etc.
20. pp. 312-3.
21. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1895, p. 5 and *A.S.C. Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 1-47.
22. *History of Ceylon*, Ceylon University Press Board, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 566-7, 745.
23. *ibid*, p. 615, 746, 751, etc.
24. p. 740-1.

PADMAPĀṆI. Padmapāṇi has been classified as one of the six Divine Bodhisattvas, i.e. (1) Samantabhadra (2) Vajrapāṇi (3) Ratnapāṇi (4) Padmapāṇi (5) Viśvapāṇi (6) Ghaṇṭāpāṇi. Divine Boddhisattvas do the duties of a mortal Buddha during the period between the disappearance of one Buddha and the coming of the next. During the interval in between the passing away of Buddha Gautama and the appearance of Buddha Maitreya, it is the duty of Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva (or Avalokiteś vara) to do the duties of a mortal Buddha. These Dhyāni Bodhisattvas affiliate themselves to one or the other of the Dhyāni Buddhas and their respective *Buddhaś aktis*. Padmapāni and Pāṇḍarā are affiliated to Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha as his Dhyāni Boddhisattva and *Buddhaś akti* respectively. They are sometimes represented as standing and sometimes in different sitting attitudes. The *Sādhanamālā* gives altogether thirty-one *sādhanas*, which describe Avalokiteś vara or Lokeś vara in a variety of forms. It has been found that the different forms of Avalokiteś vara are no less than one hundred and eight. The Macchandar Vahal, one of the numerous *vihāras* in Kathmandu has paintings in many colours of this Bodhisattva on wooden panels surrounding the temple on three sides.

Some of the best examples (sculptures) (of about the 9th Cent. A. C.) are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Standing Padmapāṇi (or Avalokiteśvara copper gilt (from Nepal) is perhaps the best of all known bronzes. This is a sculpture, which can be definitely classed as Nepalese. Although it is a Nepalese work, in style it is very close to Indian types.

A fresco of Padmapāṇi from Pagān, Burma, datable to about the 13th century, has been illustrated by Coomaraswamy. It is from Payathonzu temple at Minnanthu near Pagān. It displays the influence of Tantric Buddhism of the Burmese Arī sects (which is a mixture of Buddhism, Hinduism and local elements).

Padmapāṇi, (seated in *mahārājalīlā* on a lion throne) from Java, is now on display at the British Museum, London. It is of copper and is datable to 10th century A.C. Central Java has produced several Buddhist metal images, some of gold and others of copper.

A number of Buddhist sculptures were found at Mahoba (North India) and are on display at the Lucknow Museum. These figures may be dated to about the latter half of the 11th century (the reign of perhaps of Kīrtivarman, the great Candela king). Coomaraswamy has illustrated one of these as Fig. 223 and calls it Padmapāṇi (Lokanātha or Avalokiteśvara). These sculptures are in the local buff sandstone and some have been inscribed with dedicative inscriptions.

Bibliography :

1. B. Bhattacarya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 8 etc.

2. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of India and Indonesian Art*, Figs. 276, 311, 223

3. D. C. Bhattacharya, *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, New Delhi, 1974. p. 29. " It is generally believed that the *caitya* on the crown is an iconographic feature of Maitreya Bodhisattva. It is also an iconographic element of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, at least in his Sukhāvatī and Uṇiśavijaya forms".

Nandasena Mudiyanse

PADMASAMBHAVA: Padmasambhava was a great *ācārya* in Tibet when Tantric Buddhism was first propagated there, and he was highly esteemed by the Buddhists in Tibet, who designated him as "*Saṅs-rgyas gñis-pa*" (the Second Buddha). From him evolved the *Rñiṅ-ma-pa* sect in Tibet. The establishment and flourishing of Buddhism during the earlier period of propagation in Tibet were chiefly due to his activities. His influence upon the later development of Tibetan Buddhism was immense.

According to the *Life of Padmasambhava* written by Taranatha (1575-1633) in 1610, Padmasambhava was born in the royal family *pr Srado* (or Srigadhara). In Oḍḍiyna at the time of Devapala of East India. (According to the chronological order in Tāranātha's *History of Indian Buddhism*, Devapāla was a contemporary of Jñānacandra, master mentioned by I-tsing and therefore the actual date should be the latter half of the 7th century A.C.). He was then named Padmā vabhāsi, and at that time the king of Oḍḍiyāna was Hayalīla. When he was learning the *Vidyās*, he took the name Kamala-kuliśa. Afterwards he went to a *vihā ra* in the city of Ṣaṃrakṣa, where he embraced Buddhism and learned the five sciences as well as the *sutras* and *abhidharmas*. He further studied under the instruction of Ācārya Śāntirūpa the three basic *Tantras* of Activities (*kriyā*), Application (*Caryā*) and Perfection (*Yoga*), as well as the corresponding Baptisms (*Abhiśekas*) of Tantric Buddhism. Then he received the Tantric name of Padmasambhava. He also learned the *Tantra* of the Supreme *yoga* from yogin Sukhādeva and Yoginī Sukhadhari. He practised it diligently and obtained *Siddhi*. After the death of King Hayalīla, his son Akṣalīla succeeded to the throne, in whose presence a minister cast aspersion on Padmasambhava, and had him exiled on the suspicion of committing high treason. Since then he wandered in the cemeteries at various places in India, diligently practising and reciting the *Dhāraṇīs* and thereby obtaining *Siddhi*. In the eight famous cemeteries of Jambudvīpa he met the eight accomplished saints of the past, namely, (1) Dhanuskrita, (2) Sahibu, (3) Ni-mahibu, (4) Amṛta-prabha, (5) Śivaṅkara, (6) Vararuci, (7) Geer-bu, and (8) Nan-spoṅ, from whom he studied the Dharma, achieved the eight great common *Siddhis*, and obtained *Vidhyādhāra*. After that with a view to the realization of the *Mahāmudrā-siddhi*, he went to the Dharmāṅkura Monastery in Magadha, and under the guidance of Buddhajñānapāda he became a monk

of the Mahāsāṅghika School and received his full ordination. Under the instruction of Buddhajñānapāda, he studied the whole text of the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* and obtained the baptism of all tantric dharmas in a perfect manner. He also received the baptism and Upadeśa of Yoga-tantra from Buddhajñānapāda's disciple Buddhaguhya. From Buddhajñānapāda he learned Guhyasamāja, Māyājāla, Candraguhyatilaka, Buddhasamayoga, Karmamala and the five inner tantras, and obtained the understanding of the theory of Oneness. Then he went to the Parśi forest to the north of the city of Paṇḍu in Bhaṅgala to practise the *Śri heruka sādhana*, and in a period of six months he diligently practised the *Utpanna-niṣpanna yugalanaddha*, finally realizing *Mahāmudrāsiddhi* and achieving *Vajrakāya*. Then he went to such northern countries as Tirāhuti, Tharu, Kāmaru, Nepāla, Campa and Kasya, where he performed alchemy, the prolongation of life, the increment of happiness, the dissolution of such calamities as drought or flood, and other deeds that were beneficial to the people. Padmasambhava stayed for sometime at Trimala near Triliṅga in South India, where he made a sandalwood image of Avalokiteśvara, and then he went to the Vikramaśila Monastery where he constructed a *Tārā* Hall. After that he returned to Oḍḍiyāna, accepted disciples who had the opportunity to meet him, constructed Buddhist shrines and propagated Buddhism. The king of the neighboring country of Kaccha became an *upāsaka* under his guidance. Once Kaccha was invaded by the king of Stag –gzi gzig of the city of Pāgada in the territory of Moltāna.

Legend has it that Padmasambhava routed the enemy troops by some Tantric performance.

At that time Khri-sron lde-btsan was on the throne of Tibet. He had previously invited Śāntarakṣita to Tibet to construct a monastery at Bsan-yas, but without success. (This event took place in an "ox" year, and according to the researches of Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, it must be the "Earth-ox" year, i.e., 749 A.C.). Śāntaraksita suggested to the Tibetan king that Padmasambhava be invited to Tibet. At that time Siṃharāja, who had been sent to India by the Tibetan king, returned to Tibet and highly praised the merits of Padmasambhava. Thus the Tibetan king dispatched four envoys to invite Padmasambhava at Vajrāsana in India. (He was then the abbot of Vajrāsana at the request of King Sūryasiṃha of India). On the 15th day of the month of Pauṣa in 750 A.C., he started his journey to Tibet. On his way he passed Nepal, where he stayed for three months. On 1st day of the month of Jesṭhaḥ in the following year (751 A.C.) he left Nepal and arrived at Gun-than of Man-yul in Tibet , where he also spent three months. Then he proceeded to Kha-la brag-ri to pass the winter, conquering Māras all along the way. In the next year (752A.C.) he reached Gyaḥ ri goṅ, where he stayed for a spring, and in the summer he reached Lohita-hgram-tshal, in Zuṅ-mkhar, where he met the Tibetan king. On the 1st day of the month of Bhadrapada, the Tibetan king invited him to the Chag-pheb Palace at Bsam-yas to hold conference with Śāntarakṣita about the construction of a monastery. Padmasambhava personally surveyed the site for the construction and made a plan by incorporating Chinese (also said to be Khotanese), Indian and Nepalese styles of architecture. On the 8th day of the month of Aśvini the construction work was recommenced, and in the winter of a "horse" year (the wood horse year, i.e. 754 A.C.) the construction of the Bsamyas Monastery was completed. In the month of *Pausa* of the same year Padmasambhava and Śāntarakṣita went together to the new monastery to conduct the ceremony of consecration. A lunar eclipse occurred on the 15th day of the month of *Mārgaśira* in the following year (755 A.C.), and on that occasion Padmasambhava practised the Dharma of Vajradhātu for seven days in the monastery. At that time both Padmasambhava and Śāntarakṣita wished to return home. The Tibetan king requested them to stay longer, but they did not agree, and so the king appointed an envoy to escort them back to India. (This is according to the general tradition of the historians of the later period of propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. But according to the *Larger Biography of Padmasambhava*, he is said to have remained in Tibet at the request of the Tibetan king, and in collaboration with Śāntarakṣita he trained translators and invited one hundred and eight famous Indian Buddhist masters to Tibet. He personally took charge of the translation task and basically completed the translations of the esoteric and exoteric works in the Tripiṭaka. Afterwards, in 785 A .C., as the Tibetan king was injured in a horse-race, Padmasambhava acted as his regent for fourteen years till Mu-tig btsan-po ascended the throne. He left Tibet for Cāmara in an "ape" year, i.e., the "wood-ape" year, (804 A.C.).

After leaving Tibet Padmasambhava first went to Dramiḍā-dvīpa (or Dāmiḍo – dvīpa), where he

conquered Dākinī on three occasions and finally converted the king to Buddhism. He invited several Tripiṭaka Upādhyāyas from Magadha and constructed the three Vihāras of Vidhā, Ardhā and Sudhā. In this island Padmasambhava propagated Buddhism for twelve years, and it is said that the Candraguyhatilaka, Vajramaṇḍa-alaṃkāra, Vajragaṇḍari, Yāmāntaka, Hayagriva, Mahākāla, Mātṛi, Hevajra, Śrī-paramādya, Guhyasamāja and other Tantras, which were prevalent at later times in that island, were all handed down from Padmasambhava. There are still several ruined sites in that island in connection with Padmasambhava's subjugation of Dākinī. After he had completed his edification work in this island, he proceeded to Cāmara. According to Indian tradition he is also said to have been to Hurmuju, Sikodhara Dhanakosa, Rugama and other places to perform beneficial deeds extensively for the good of sentient beings.

Of Padmasambhava's works that are collected into the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, there are *Ārya-nīlāmba-radhara-vajrapāṇi-sādhana-ṭīkā, Vajravidāraṇā-nāma-dhāraṇī-vyākhyāna-vajrāloka, Śrī-khasarpana-lokanātha-sādhana, Them-yig gsan-ba, Samaya-pañca, Ālimanmatha-sādhana, Muktakena a-ra-pa-ca-na-sādhana, Gshal-yas-khaṅ gsal-bar-bved-pahi mnon-rtogs mun-sel sgron-ma*, etc. Besides, some of the works attributed to an author named Padma-vajra, are probably also his writings. Together with Vairocana he translated the *Vajramanthabhīru-sandhimūlatantra*, which is also collected into the Bkaḥ-hgyur of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

As regards Padmasambhava's thought and theory, he did not give us a systematic explanation in his writings. But we know that among those who were closely connected with him. Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla belonged to the Mādhyamika svatantra School, while Vimalamitra was a great master who propagated the teachings of *Prajñā-pāramitā* and wrote the *Ārya-saptaśatika-prajñā-pāramitā-ṭīkā* and the *Ārya-prajñā pāramitāhṛidaya – Ṭīka*, etc. Padmasambhava's thought might be quite close to theirs.

Padmasambhavaa's educational activities in Tibet produced a large number of able scholars. According to tradition twenty-five of them obtained Tantric Siddhi, namely, the Tibetan king Mṇaḥ-bdag rgyal-po and his queen Mkhar-chen-bzaḥ Ye-śes mtsho-rgyal, Nam-mkḥahi sñin-po, Saṇs-rgyas ye-śes, Rgyal-ba mchog dbyaṅs, Dpal-ryi ye-śes, Dpal-gyi seṅ-ge, Vairocana, Gyu-skra s-in-po Jñāna-kumara, Rdo-rge bdud-hjoms, Ye-śes dbyaṅs. Sog-po Lha dpal , Sna-nam ye-śes, Dpal-gyi dbaṅ-phyug, Ldan-ma rtsa -maṅ, Ka-ba dpal-brtsegs, ĉun-bu Dpal seṅ, Rgyal-baḥi blo-gros, Kheyḥu-chun Yomi, Dran-pa nam-mkhaḥ, Po-bran dbaṅ-phyug, Rma-thog rin-chen, Dpal-gyi rdo-rje, Laṅ hgro dkon-mchog, and Rgyal-baḥi byaṅ-chub. Among them Nam-mkhaḥi sñiṅ-po, Jñāna kumara and Ka-badpal-brtsegs were famous translators at a later time.

Although Padmasambhava had won the faith and devotion of the Tibetan king shortly after he arrived in Tibet, he had to encounter difficulties in his works for the permanent establishment of Buddhism in this land. Notwithstanding the fact that Princess Wen-cheng of T'ang and Bal-bzaḥ khri-btsun of Nepal had brought Buddhist images to Tibet at the early period of the T'ang dynasty and had constructed the Hphrul-snaṅ and the Ra-mo—che monasteries, Buddhism which was embraced only by a few members of the royal family had not yet formed a prevalent religion in society.

As late as the time of Khri-sron lde-btsan, the indigenous Bon religion was still a dominating influence over the populace. After the arrival of Padmasambhava those ministers who were hostile to Buddhism tried once and again to slander him in the presence of the king, attempting to destroy his good relationship with the ruler. It is said that even those translators educated by Padmasambhava such as Vairocana and Nam-mkhaḥi sñin-po, were also accused by those anti-Buddhist ministers and subsequently suffered banishment. Padmasambhava himself also narrowly escaped being killed by assassins sent by his opponents. All these showed that he in his works for the propagation of Buddhism was not without resistance. But through his energetic efforts, he exerted a permanent influence upon the later development of Buddhism in Tibet.

Bibliography:

(1) Mkhar-chen-bzaḥ Ye-śes mtsho-rgyal: *O-rgyan guru padmaḥbyuṅ-gnas -kyi skyes-rabs rnam-par thar-pa rgyas-par bkod-pa padma bkaḥi than-yig (Larger Biography of Padmasambhava)*, Sde-dge edition.

Padmasambhava : *Oyon padmas mdsad-paḥi bkaḥ-than bsdus-pa*, Sde-dge edition

(2) Taranatha : *De-bshin-gśegs-pa thams-cad kyi gsun-rdo-rjehi sprul-pahi sku o-rgyan-gyi slob-dpon chen-po padma-hbyun -gnas-kyi rnam-par thar-pa yid-ches-gsum ldan (Life of Padmasambhava)*, Sde-dge edition

Ko Yung-hsing

PAGAN: By about 5th Century B.C., the dominant races of Burma were the Pyus (of Central Asian origin) in the north and Talaings in the South. Contact with India by land and sea had already been established by about the Maurya period. From the 5th century onwards, Prome and Thaton were important centres of Buddhist and Hindu culture. Hindu sculptures and Buddhist stupas which were mostly in Gupta tradition have been found at Tagaung, Prome and Thaton. The Buddhism of Prome was of the Mahayana type and that of Thaton, Hinayana. The Saka era was in use. Buddhaghosa is said to have visited Thaton about 450 A.C, bringing with him the books of the Pali canon. From this time onwards, Burma has been more exclusively a Buddhist country.

Northern Burmese Buddhism, at an early date acquired a Tantric character and had close connections with Nepal. In the 8th century, the Talaings of Pegu conquered Prome and a new northern capital was established at old Pagan. The walled city, of which the southern gateway still exists, dates from 847 A.C.

Only a few of the Pagan temples and stupas date from the 10th century. The Ngakywe Nadaung is a cylindrical stupa, recalling the Dhāmek at Sarnath. The Pawdawmu has Indian affinities. The Pebin Gyaung is of the Sinhala type.

The unification of Burma was first accomplished by Anawrata (Aniruddha) of Pagan (1040 - 1077). Anawrata invaded and conquered Thaton. He brought back with him the Talaing king (Manuha), Hinayana books and priests to Pagan. He established connections with foreign countries, obtained relics and initiated a great era of building activity. Remains of more than 5000 'pagodas' can still be traced in and near Pagān. The following are the names and dates of some of the most important:

11th century: Kyanzittha cave temple (1057 - 1059); (shwezigon) (1059), (enlarged 1084 - 1112); Ananda (1082 – 1090),Nanpaya, Seinnyet, the two Petleik pagodas, and the library (Bidagat Taik);

12th century: Sapada, Thatbinnyu and Shwegugyi pagodas;

13th century: Mahabodhi, Kondawgyi, Mingalazedi (1274) and Tilominlo pagodas.

With the exception of Kyanzittha and Nanpaya, these are all brick structures and were decorated with carved stucco. The Nanpaya is of stone. The Nat Hlaung Gyaung and Ananda pagodas are remarkable for their centemporary sculptures, the Kyanzittha, Kondawgyi and others for their mural paintings, the Shwezigon, Ananda, Petleik and some others for their glazed terracotta bricks illustrating the *Jātakas*.

The architectural forms are varied. The bulbous and cylindrical forms are similar to Sarnath and the votive stupas of the Pala period. The Pebin Gyeung and Sapada are of the old Sinhala hemispherical type. Several others are crowned by a kind of Aryāvarta *śikhara* shrine, the Mingalazedi and Shwesandaw have truncated pyramidal terraced bases with angle towers and a central stairway on each side. The Mahabodhi with its high straight edged *śikhara* is modelled on the older shrine at Bodh-Gaya.

The modern Burmese pagodas of the Shwedagon type, slope almost smoothly upwards from the broad base, thus without a marked distinction of the separate element and presenting a different appearance from the old Indian and Sinhala bell and domed types, as well as from the medieval cylindrical forms of Sarnath, Pagān and Hmawze.

Classical Burmese sculpture is best represented by the 81 reliefs of the Ananda pagoda (Pagān), which represent scenes from the life of the Buddha, according to *Avidūre-Nidāna*, with one panel perhaps referable to *Lalitavistara*.

Several of the Pagān pagodas contain contemporary frescoes. The *Jātaka* paintings of the Kubezatpaya (11th -12th century) and Kubyaukkyi consist of small square panels, closely grouped and collectively covering a large area. Separate figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are on a larger scale. Those of the Payathonzu triple temple at Minnanthu near Pagān

illustrate the Tantric Buddhism of the Burmese Ari sects. A pair of carved wooden door panels of the Pagan period is preserved in a temple near Shwezigon. The great expenditure of resources during the Pagān period paved the way for foreign invasions. In 1287 Kublai Khan (of China) sacked Pagan. After this followed Shan-Thai incursions.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

Reference: A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Histry of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Dover publication, U.S.A., 1965.

PAHĀNAPARIÑÑĀ See PARIÑÑĀ

PAJĀPATIGOTAMI See MAHĀPAJĀPATI GOTAMI

PAKUDHA KACCĀYANA – We come across Pakudha Kacchâyana and his teachings in the *Sâmaññaphala-sutta* of the *Dîgha Nikâya* (*D.I.*56ff). As Ajâtasattu the king of Magadha wanted to find peace in his heart he paid a visit to the Buddha accompanied by Jîvaka and questioned the Buddha on the Fruits of recluseship, wherefore men join the Buddha's Order. Herein Ajâtasattu told the Buddha that he had already put the question to the founders of six other Orders (six heretical teachers). There the king explained the exposition of Pakudha's teachings. According to the story Pakudha had said thus: "The following seven things O king, are neither made nor commanded to be made (*akaṭâ akaṭâ-vidhâ*), neither created nor caused to be created (*animmitâ animmâtâ*), they are barren (so that nothing is produced out of them), steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed. They do not move, neither do they vary, they trench not one upon an other , no avail aught as to ease or pain or both. What are the seven? The Four Elements - earth (*paṭhavi*),water (*âpo*),fire (*tejo*)and air (*vâyo*) – and ease (*sukhe*) and pain (*dukkhe*) and the soul (*jîva*) as the seventh. So there is neither slayer nor causer of slaying (*hantâ vâ ghâtetâ*), hearer or speaker, knower or explainer (*viññâtâ vâ viññâpetâ vâ*). When one with a sharp sword cleaves a head in twain, no one is thereby deprived of life, a sword has merely penetrated into the interval between seven elementary substances"(*Ibid.*p.56).

According to Pakudha Kacchâyana's teachings the seven things mentioned above are eternally existent and unchangeable in their very nature; there is no volitional activity of consciousness in them. Therefore his doctrine is one of *akiriyavâda* non-action). *Dîghanikâyaṭṭhakathâ*(*Sumangalavilâsinî – Vol.I*) adds that Pakudha Kacchâyana avoided the use of cold water(*sît-udakapaṭikkitto*...) using always hot ; when this was not available , he did not wash (*udaka-kiccam na karoti*). If he crossed a stream he would consider this as a sin, and would make expiation by constructing a mound of earth (*Ibid.*p.144). It further describes Pakudha Kacchâyana's teaching as *nissarika laddhi*.

Pakudha Kacchâyana's name is spelt as Pakudha Kâtiyana, Kakudha Kacchâyana and Kakuda Kâtiyâna also. Buddhaghosa says that Pakudha is his personal name and the Kacchâyana is the name of his *gotta* – family name – (*Pakudho ti tassa nāmaṃ Kacchâyano ti gottaṃ- Ibid*). Pakudha's followers did not hold him in high esteem in contrast to the devotion felt for the Buddha by his followers. This is evident from what Saccaka, the son of a Jain utters after listening to the Buddha's discourse (*Mahâ Saccaka sutta –M.I.291ff*). It shows that Pakudha did not welcome questions, and displayed annoyance and resentment when he was cross-examined. Any way Pakudha Kacchâyana is spoken of as having been highly honoured by the people, a teacher of large and well-reputed school, with a large number of followers. In the *Cûla Sâropamasutta* (*M.I.245ff.*) we come across an incident where Pingalakoccha the Brahman commends Pakudha Kacchâyana as one of the leaders in religious life(*samaṇabrâhmaṇa*) heads of companies (*sanghino*) heads of groups (*gaṇâcariyâ*) well known (*ñâtâ*)famous (*yasassino*)......much honoured by the many folk(*sâdhusammatâ bahujanassa-Ibid*).

In the *Mahâbodhi Jâtaka* (*J.V.*246) Pakudha Kacchâyana (in a past life) is mentioned as one of the five persons who were adhering to false doctrines. According to *Milinda Pañha*, Pakudha Kacchâyana has been visited by King Milinda (*Milinda Pañha* p.8).

D.Saddhasena

PÄLÄNE SRI VAJIRAÑĀṆA, an erudite and distinguished bhikkhu of Sri lanka. Muhandiram Don Andiris Tudāwa Panditha Gunawardena, a great Sinhala poet and grammarian and Dona Gimāra Serasinghe of Päläne were blessed with a son on 25th November 1878. He was the fifth child in a family of eight children. He was named Don Aron Panditha Gunawardena by the parents. This was a time a Buddhist revival was gathering momentum with the victory gained by Ven. Mohottiwatte Gunananda Thera, defeating the Christians at the historic Panadura debate on 27th August 1873. As a young boy Aron Panditha Gunawardena witnessed the Buddhist reaction to the foreign missionary activities in the country during the second half of the nineteenth century.

He received his early education at the Sinhala School in Päläne and later under John Blook, principal of the Bi-lingual school in Mirissa. The untimely death of his father, Don Andiris Tudāwe Panditha Gunewardena on 17th June 1890, led the young boy to incline towards religious activities and live a religious life. With his mother's consent, who was also a pious lady, the child was ordained as a monk on 20th July, 1893, under the tutelage of Ven. Siri Saddharma Jotipala Kavidhaja Weragampitiya Sri Revata Thera, the incumbent of the Devagiri Vihara in Kamburugamuwa. The young monk was named Päläne Vajiragñāana.

As Päläne Sri Vajiragñāna Thera displayed great ability in the study of Buddha- Dhamma, it was decided to admit him in 1897 to the Vidyodaya Pirivena, Maligakanda as a pupil of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Mahānāyaka Thera, who was the founder principal of that historic Pirivena, one of the centers where the nineteenth century Buddhist revival was activated. Päläne Vajiragñāna Thera displayed a remarkable ability in learning the Dhamma and the Vinaya, was placed first in the class every year. The Thera completed the Pirivena education in 1900, winning the much coveted prize awarded by the King of Siam for the most distinguished and brilliant student of that Pirivena. On 20th April 1900, Päläne Sri Vajiragñāna Thera received his higher ordination a few months before he completed the Pirivena education at the Vidyodaya Pirivena. After the completion of his Pirivena education in the year 1901, some devoted Buddhists in Bambalapitiya invited the Thera to reside in the present Vajirārāma temple which was then called the "Dharmasālāwa". Within a brief space of time, Päläne Vajiragñāna Thera was able to win the veneration of not only the people of Bambalapitiya, but also those who came from afar. His reputation for the knowledge of the Dhamma and his self – discipline attracted many pupils and supporters from many parts of the country. The Daham Pāsala or the Sunday school started on 08.08.1918 by the Thera at Vajirārāma, imparted knowledge of the Dhamma and discipline according to the Buddhist way of life. Some of the distinguished personalities who trod their way to study at the feet of the Mahānāyaka Thera were, former president J.R. Jayawardene and R. Premadasa, Cochet Jayawardene (Later Sedawatte Dharmaruchi Thera), R.G. Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake, Bernard Soysa, Dr. P.R. Anthonis, Lalith Athulathmudali and Anura Bandaranayike.

His profound knowledge of the Dhamma and his exemplary life as a Buddhist monk, naturally attracted to the Vajirārāma temple, educated and intelligent young men who were ordained by him as pupils after a course of strict training in the bhikkhu order. The distinguished and learned pupils of the Mahānāyaka Thera, Viz; Koṭahene Nārada, Kumburugamuwe Mahānāma, Denipitiya Sumanasiri, Madihe Paññāsiha, Kotahene Piyadassi, Panwila Vipassi, Bambalapitiye Kassapa, Ampitiye Rāhula, Walgama Sugathananda, Naottunne Gunasiri, Bope Vinitha and Pamburana Metteyya were well trained to carry the light of the Dhamma to all parts of the world. The venerated pupils of Päläne Vajiragñāna, lighted the candle of understanding of the Dhamma in countries viz, England, Germany, France, Australia, China, Japan, Jāva, Sumatra, Singapore, Hong Kong, Viet-nam and Nepal. The Mahānayake Thera had three distinguished personalities, who came for discussion and advice on academic and literary matters. They were Sir D.B. Jayatilake Scholar and Nationalist, Wellawatte Arachige Abraham Silva, the famous Sinhala novelist and Lionel W. de Silva of Katunayake, the Sinhala poet. Many scholars came to Vajirārāma to use the library which was established by the Mahānāyaka Thera on 15th July 1924. Vajirārāma became the nerve center of Buddhist activities in the country during the first half of the twentieth century.

In the year 1905, on the proposal of Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Nāyaka Thera and seconded by Ven. Waskaduwe Sri Subhuti Mahānāyaka Thera, Ven. Vajiragñana was elected to the oriental Languages Society. On 13th of July 1917, he was made the Anunā yaka of the Amarapura Dhammarakkhita Nikāyand on 14th July 1920, was appointed the Mahānāyaka of the same Nikāya.

The venerable monk was a great exponent of the Dhamma. The Buddhists of this age will remember him as one of the greatest who could explain the most difficult passages in the *Abidhamma* in the most simplest manner. The reason for this is that the Thera had a mastery of Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhala. Fifty years and more ago, there was no Buddhist monk who was more sought after for his lucid sermons than the late Mahānāyaka Thera. Great orations he delivered on many an occasion were thought provoking and outstanding. His voice was matchlessly attractive. When broadcasting was inaugurated in this country on 27th June 1924, he became the most popular speaker in the oriental service. Mahānāyaka Thera's sermons were so impressive, that late Sir John Kotelawela as the then Minister of Broadcasting, ordered his officials to provide facilities for the Nāyaka Thera to broadcast the Dhamma sermons from his room at Vajirārāmaya. Pälane Vajiragñāna Thera is the first monk to broadcast a Dhamma sermon over the radio in this country. His Dhamma sermons not only reached the length and breadth of this country, but also spread over to India as far as Bangalore, when a former Indian Magistrate named "Chari" and his family embraced Buddhism after listening to a Dhamma sermon of the Mahānā yaka Thera.

Both as a writer and as a preacher he followed a style which was inherently his own. He was a prolific writer and contributed regularly to the periodicals of his day and wrote many booklets on Buddhism. "*Shabddhārtha Chintā*" (reflections on words and their meanings) in prose and "*Buddhasthotra Satakaya*" (a hundred verses in praise of the Buddha) in verse, are considered his outstanding contributions to Sinhalese Literature. The versus he composed for children in simple style, made him the most venerated teacher of the children during his day. The Nāyaka Thera's contribution towards the propagation of Buddhism and disciplining the society through the Buddhist periodical "*Bauddha Lamaya*" and Buddhist pamphlet "*Lak Budu Sasuna*" was unparalleled and indescribable. The Nā yaka Thera also wrote poems to the newspapers under the anonym "Yathalaba Kiviyara".

This erudite scholar who was rich in exposition, in human Kindness, in simplicity and a true son of the Buddha Sāsana, peacefully passed away on the 21st September 1955, leaving a void hard to fill in the exposition of Buddha Dhamma and service to the nation.

K.D.G. Wimalaratne.

PĀLI :

1.**The Pali Language**-Pali is the name by which the language of the Theravāda Canon is now known.[1]

It was earlier designated as Māgadhi (though there existed a Middle Indian language by that name which was quite distinct from Pali. There is no evidence to show that either during the lifetime of the Buddha or for many centuries to follow that the term Pali was used to refer to a language, nor for that matter even to refer to the teachings of the Buddha. However, in course of time, the term acquired the meaning "Buddha's teaching" as was handed down in the Pali Canon.[2] Almost a millennium after the Buddha, the commentator Buddhaghosa (*Vism.* pp. 107,450 etc.) uses the term *pali* to refer to the texts of the Pali Canon distinguishing it from commentarial literature. Terms as designations of the word of the Buddha in earlier use are : *Dhamma-vinaya*, 'Doctrine and Discipline'; *navangasatthu-sāsana*, 'the nine fold Dispensation of the Teacher', *Buddha–vacana*, 'the word of the Buddha'; *pāvacana*, 'the Sacred Word'; *tanti*, 'Holy Writ'; *piṭakattaya-pāḷi*, 'the Texts in three Baskets' etc.

The term *pāli* (spelled with a dental l) has several general meanings: row, line, canal, ridge (of a rice field) etc. (*vide. PED s.v. pāli*). These are clearly attested in literature. However, in the Canon itself this term is not employed to designate a language, and when the necessity did arise to name the language in which the teachings of the Buddha were handed down the terms *Māgadhi, Māgadhikā-nirutti* and *Suddha-māgadhi* were employed. Yet the term *piṭakattaya-pāli*, copiously attested in *aṭṭhakathā* literature, the *Visuddhimagga* and the Pali chronicles, clearly refers to the Canon that has come down to us. The word *piṭaka*

as referring to a collection of Buddha's sayings[3] is however of early use as may be seen in such references as *tipeṭaki*, 'versed in the Three Baskets' (*Vin*.V.p.3; *Miln*.p.18 etc.). The collection of teachings of any religious tradition was also designated by this term, cf. *piṭakasampadānena*, 'by inclusion in the Basket (of teachings)' *A*.I., p.189 etc.

The above data are inadequate to explain the term *pāli* now in vogue as referring to a language. None of the primary meanings of the term would apply to the name *Pāli*. It is equally futile to derive the word *pāli/pāḷi* from *pāṭha* as representing *Srimukha-pāṭha* 'the sacred oral teachings'[4] but it is quite clear that when the term is employed to refer to the Buddha's teachings, the underlying purpose is to contrast it with the commentaries. The commentators themselves have used it in that sense. Thus it is evident that during the early centuries of Buddhism no particular designation was given to the language medium in which the teachings were preserved and this medium, based on the Magadhan-Kosalan speech of the Buddha's day, could not have differed basically from the Pāli language as we know it today despite the numerous non-eastern Prakrit characteristics preserved in it. After the lapse of several centuries attention was focussed on the language in which the texts were handed down at successive Councils (*saṅgīti*, 'recitals') and transmitted orally until they were written down in the 1st century B.C. It came to be known by various names as attested in commentarial and other post-canonical literature. Whilst commenting on the term *sakāniruttii* (*Vin*.II, p.139) Buddhaghosa calls it *sammāsambuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhikavohāro*, 'the Magadhan idiom as spoken by the perfectly Enlightened One'-*VinA*. p. 1214, meaning the Buddha's native language. It is also suggested (W.Geiger. *Pali Literature and language*, p. 7) that in order to preserve the teaching accurately both in form and content the language medium in which the Buddha taught should be used, thus justifying Buddhaghosa's explanation. However, in the context of prohibiting the use of Vedic metre (*chandas*) Buddha's injunction could very well have referred to the language in which the *Buddhavacana* was originally taught thus vindicating Buddhaghosa's explanation. Hence the correct translation of the phrase should read: 'I enjoin you, monks, to learn the word of the Buddha in *its own* idiom and not as: 'each in his own idiom'. A historical reason for this designation Pāli to gain currency was the conducting of all three Great Councils (as acknowledged by the Theravāda) in Magadhan cities.[5] It is to be expected that the recitals of the teachings held in Magadha were conducted in the Magadhan language. Furthermore, the Mahāsāṅghika school that broke away from the parent body after the Second Council and the Sarvāstivādins who established themselves in Kasmīra-Gandhāra and the Himavat regions in Asoka's reign and immediately afterwards, at first used the various regional Prākritic dialects and later adopted a form of hybrid Sanskrit closely resembling Pāli in idiom and style. The Theravādins themselves, in order to distinguish their texts from those of other schools, adopted the term (Māgadhi (*Suddha*/ 'pure') māgadhi to designate the language of their texts. The so called *Suddha-māgadhī* or *Māgadhikā nirutti* differs from the Middle Indo-Aryan language known as Māgadhī. The language that had gained currency in Magadha and neighboring territories that came under imperial Magadhan rule during the Middle Indo Aryan period commencing in the 6th century B.C., was Māgadhī. There is no extant literature in that language belonging to that period apart from the 3rd century B.C. lithic records of Asoka in the Gangetic Plain, Orissa and the southern regions of his empire. There also remains in the Sanskrit dramatic literature of later date a much younger version of Māgadhī which has preserved its essential characters. In drama the Prakrit dialect of Māgadhī is spoken by some of the characters. The speech forms used is Sanskrit drama vary according to the social standing of the characters; and Māgadhī is spoken by characters of a lower social order such as robbers, prisoners, gardeners etc. Even though Pāli bears kinship with this language due to various historical and linguistic reasons, the identification of the two is not possible. Besides these varieties of Māgadhī, there yet remains the language of the Jaina Siddhāntas which is designated as Ardha-Māgadhī or ārṣa. In just the same way the Jainas employed this term to distinguish their language from standard Māgadhī, the Buddhists too used the term *Suddha Māgadhī* to designate their *māgadhikā-nirutti* as distinct from Māgadhī.

In the context of these Māgadhan connections, it is worth while examining whether the language medium of the Buddha's teachings is in fact a variety of Māgadhī. The three basic characteristics of Māgadhī which distinguish it from other Middle Indo-Aryan languages are: (1) the nominative singular of -*a* nouns has flexion –*e* (eg. *śe :puliśe, śe phale* (Pali: *so: puriso, taṃ phalaṃ*)(2) all sibilants become palatal: *ś* unlike in most other Middle Indian languages where they

become dental s (3)all *r* sounds become l as characteristic of Eastern Prakrit dialects. Of these, 1 and 3 are rather infrequently attested in Pali. The nominative singular in *-e* is seen in quotations from other teachers or in dialect variations e.g. *bāle ca paṇḍite ca, ke chave ke ca sigāle, vanappagumbe yathā phussitagge*. Likewise both *r* and *l* are attested in parallel forms of the same word in Pali e.g. *rohita/lohita; rudda/ludda; taruṇa/taluna*. While Māgadhi is definitely a *l* dialect, Pali cannot be classified either as a *r*-dialect or a *l* dialect though it has preserved in some instances forms with *r* even where, *l* is expected e.g. *ruppati*. None of these special features of Māgadhi are characteristic of Pali. As Pali has preserved dialect variations representing an extensive area of North India one cannot stake exclusive claims to an eastern origin of Pali despite historical reasons and the occurrence of numerous eastern phonological features such as *-kṣ- >-kkh-,-rt-> - ṭṭ-* (besides the equally well attested western forms *- ks - > - cch -, -rt->-tt-*). While cerebralization (e.g. *puṇya, puṇṇa*)is a feature of Eastern Prakrits seen in Pali, the equally frequent palatalization (e.g. *puṇya> puñña* which is a characteristic of Western Prakrits such as Mahārāṣṭri (e.g. *akkhi>acchi;iksu>ucchu)* is of frequent occurrence.

Despite the fact that Ṡauraseni Prakrit of the Madhyadeṡa preserved in Sanskrit dramatic literature which is regarded as a western dialect, is directly related to classical Sanskrit, it bears a remarkable resemblance to Pali. Just as the dialect variations of the western regions of India are preserved in Pali some characteristics of Paiṡāci Prakrit current in the Vindhyā region, and Kasmira-Gandhāra are equally to be met with in Pali. Hardening of soft consonants is one such feature e.g. *tippa, pāpuraṇa, palāpa, chakala, lāpu.* The opposite process of softening of hard consonants -generally intervocalic stops-is a characteristic of all other Middle Indian languages while in Prakrits, such as Mahārāṣṭri, they disappear altogether. Another feature of the Prakrits the reduction of aspirated soft consonants in intervocalic position to -h- is also attested in Pali e.g. *sāhu, lāhu* etc. Colloquial or dialect forms are to be seen in conversation e.g. – *he je, hañci, abbhumme, bhikkhave.* Provincialisms have already been noted as *janapadanirutti* in the Canon (*M.* III, p. 234f.). Vedic forms are represented in the old *gāthā* dialect of Pali. On account of these conflicting data there is no consensus as regards the home of Pali.[a] However, on a general comparison with all the attested literary Prakrits, Pali bears the closest relationship to ṡauraseni .The language of the Bairāṭ edict of Asoka, which closely resembles Pali, can be looked upon as an old form of ṡauraseni. Apart from the dramatic Prakrit, ṡauraseni the Jains too have employed a version of this Prakrit, which for convenience is named 'Jaina ṡauraseni' and it closely resembles the former in phonology and morphology, semantics and syntax. Likewise it is to ṡauraseni, among all the Prakrits, that Pali bears the closest resemblance on linguistic grounds in spite of the tradition among subsequent users of Pali that it is a literary (*suddha*) Māgadhi. From a historical point of view the region occupied by Maccha-Surasena was situated in the extreme North-west corner of the Madhyedeṡa of pali texts, lying immediatly to the south of Kuru-pañcāla. The capital of this *mahājanapada* was at Mathura: and according to the modern provincial divisions, it now belongs to Rajasthan. The Māgadhi language, on the other hand, was in vogue in the territories of Aṅga Magadha, Kāsi-Kosala and the Vajjian confederacy in the eastern regions of the ancient Madhyadeṡa. They now constitute Bihar, Orissa, South-eastern part of Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Although it is traditionally believed that Pali had its origin in Bihar, the Middle Indian language that is seen to bear the closest resemblance to it was spoken in the Rajasthan region. It is for this reason that one cannot be certain that the language in which the Buddha taught was Pali though it is beyond any doubt that he employed the then current Kosalan-Maghadhan idiom to address his disciples. This was the language generally understood in the regions of his sojourns. As in the present day, in ancient times too, the languages used by the various linguistic groups of North India were understood by one another. If the Buddha taught in the Kosalan dialect, current in the Sakyan territory, he could have been understood by his listeners from the neighboring districts. This would have been particularly so if provincialisms and dialect variations were avoided as one would expect in the formal exposition of the teaching. Formal speech lends itself to further systematization at the hands of monastic editors. This is precisely what happened at the successive Councils when the teachings were edited, classified and systematically arranged. Pali that has come down to us is thus a literary language in every sense of the word. Whatever its origin, it soon became a *lingua franca* the Buddhists" dispersed over a wide area and was widely understood. It is not possible to localize it to a particular region or district. As in the case of Classical Sanskrit being standardized by the

language became fixed by the finalization of the Pali Canon at the Councils. From then on it gained the status of a literary language. In this process it gained many accretions, and admitted into the language features of many languages and dialects during its extensive use by different linguistic groups. Such variations have been already noted as provincialisms (*janapadanirutti*. *M*. III, p.234 f).

The Tipiṭaka introduced to Sri Lanka by the Arahant Mahinda was the version finalized at the Third Council. It was not a provincial version of Ujjeni as emphatically rejected by Oldenberg (cf. *Vin*. I, p. xlix- ff.) refuting arguments put forward on the ground that Mahinda was a native of Vidisā and because he last lived in the Avanti region, prior to visiting Sri Lanka. Whilst the authentic Tipiṭaka embodying the word of the Buddha and accepted finally at the Council held in his capital Pāṭaliputta was available to Asoka, it is inconceivable how he could send through his apostle son a provincial version of it as "a gift of the dhamma".' It is equally untenable that it is a version confined to the imperial capital and the neighbouring provinces of the Mauryan Empire for it is not a version in the Magadhan language as we know it from his lithic records. It was the Canon accepted by all the Theravada groups throughout the empire. It is recorded in the chronicles that at the time of the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka the Thera Mahinda preached a large number of suttas to king Devānammpiyatissa and his subjects (*Mhv*. xiv, 39:etc.). It is to be inferred that he taught the Pali suttas in the original language in which they were preserved and offered his explanations in his own language, which was either the local dialect of Avanti or the language of the Mauryan court. As recorded in the historical documents, he is credited with bringing to Sri Lanka the teachings embodied in the Tipiṭaka and the commentaries to these texts as accepted at the three Councils. The explanations and exegeses offered by him to facilitate the understanding of these texts could have been those handed down traditionally by his *ācariyaparamparā*,'succession of teachers' in India. In due course, the missionaries from India and the Sri Lankan custodians of the *dhamma* led by the Thera Ariṭṭha[a] adopted the Sinhala Prakrit to provide explanations to the original texts in Pali. This precisely is the beginning of the *Sīhaḷa-aṭṭhakathā*. It is stated that Mahinda employed the *Dīpabhāsā*, 'the language of the Island' when he taught the *dhamma*. The *dīpabhāsā* could not have differed considerably from his own language and the accuracy of this statement can be verified by making a comparison of the language in the ancient inscriptions of Sri Lanka dating prior to the christian era with Pali and other old Prakrits. A comparison reveals that this *dīpabhāsā* bears a very close resemblance to the Middle Indian languages of the period. Hence the language employed by Mahinda could have been understood by the inhabitants of Sri Lanka. In course of time this exegetical tradition recorded in a fixed form would have gained sanctity and remained static while the language in vogue in the country developed. It is this exegetical tradition that came to be designated as the *porāṇa* (the ancient) tradition in the commentaries. However, by the time of the commentarial epoch (5th and 6th centuries A.C.) there arose the necessity of recording in Pali the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* and the reason given is their incomprehensibility to foreign monks though in fact their language being so archaic they were not so clearly understood even by Sri Lankan monks unlike the works in Pali.

2.Pali Literature. The Word of the Buddha. Pali has an extensive literature that has essentially grown round the *Tipiṭaka*, 'the Three Baskets' embodying the word of the Buddha. The *Tipiṭaka* does not claim to be a *verbatim* record of the Buddha's sayings but rather his teachings as they were remembered by his immediate disciples at the First Council: Upali the Vinaya, Ananda the Dhamma (identified as the sutta) and Mahakassapa the Abhidhamma-mātikā. There is no doubt that it took several centuries for the final redaction of the Canon until it was recorded in writing in the 1st century B.C. but the complete Canon more or less as we have it now took shape by the time of the Third Council held in Asoka's reign where we have definite evidence of the rehearsal of all three *Piṭakas*, *Vinaya*, *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma*. The next most important landmark is the compilation of the commentaries in the 5th and 6th centuries A.C. However, during the intervening period were written the post-canonical works, *Nettippakaraṇa* erroneously ascribed to Mahakaccāna by tradition and Peṭakopadesa by a monk named Jambuvanavāsī Mahākaccāyana, both works serving as guidelines for the study of the Tipiṭaka. These two works along with *Milindapañha* were assigned canonical status and included in the *Khuddaka-nikāya* in Myanmar. This is a clear illustration of the "growth" of the Canon but this process has been active from very early times, as early as the time of the First Council. Whilst the sayings of the Buddha as remembered by the 500 participants

at the Council were rehearsed there was adequate provision in the *Mahāpadesa* (q.v.) the four great references' mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*:(*D*. ii. pp. 123 ff.) to incorporate at any stage those teachings of the Buddha that had escaped the attention of the participants at the Council. While the *Pātimokkha*, the nucleus of the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* is essentially old and as early as the time of the Buddha, the finalization of the two major works of the *Vinaya* the *Suttavibhaṅga* and the *Khandhaka* as digests of ecclesiastical law incorporating a canonical commentary can be assigned to an intervening period between the Second and Third Councils. The abstruse *Parivāra* the last text of the Vinaya is of subsequent date.[9] Likewise the four major *Nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* could have basically assumed some shape at the earliest stage as evidenced by *Khandhaka xi* of the *Cullavagga* (*Vin*. ii pp. 284 ff.). The works of the fifth *Nikāya*, the *Khuddaka*, comprising books of heterogeneous character grew over the centuries and its final phase is marked by the three quasi-canonical works mentioned above. The Cullavagga account of the First Council, however, states that all five *Nikāyas* were rehearsed at its recital (ib. p. 287). There was no consensus among the various *bhāṇaka* (q.v.) traditions within the Theravāda as regards the constituent works of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. Unlike the first four Nikāyas that are more or less uniform in character the Khuddaka contains works of various categories viz. anthologies of suttas, aphoristic sayings, poetical compositions, exegetical works, old narratives and philosophical treatises. The *Niddesa* belongs to the same class of literature as the *Nettippakaraṇa* and *Peṭakopadesa*—while the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* could have been more appropriately incorporated in the *Abbidhamma Piṭaka*. While the four major Nikāyas with the notable exception of parts such as the *Sagāthavagga* of the *Saṃyutta* are predominantly in prose the greater part of the Pali Canonical metrical literature is found in the *Khuddaka-nikāya*.

There is no reference to an *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* in the early accounts of the first two councils while the account of the Third Council deals specifically, with the finalization of the *Kathavatthu* which is considered as the last book of the *Abhidhamma*. *Abhidhamma* (q.v.), 'the higher dhamma' is a more systematic and scholarly treatment of the topics discussed in the *dhamma* dealing with the *dhammā* which cover a variety of fields such as ethics psychology, epistemology etc. Classification' analysis and synthesis of classes of phenomena both psychological and physical are the *forte* of the *Abhidhamma*. The germs of the *Abhidhamma* are seen in the *suttas*, particularly the *Saṅgiti* and *Dasuttara Suttas* of the *Dīghanikāya* (*D*.iii, pp. 207 ff.) and the numerical classification given in ascending order in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. While there are no corresponding parallel *Abhidhamma* texts in other (non-Theravāda) schools of Buddhism, the bulk of the Vinaya and the greater part of the four *Nikāyas* and a few works (or parts of them) of the *Khuddaka* are common to several schools. This is an index to the antiquity of a given text of the Pali Canon. The works comprising the three *Piṭakas* are:

I. Vinaya Piṭaka

1. *Suttavibhaṅga* (incorporating the *Pātimokkha*):
   (a) *Parajikapāḷi* (*Vin* IV)
   (b) *Pācittiyapāḷi* (*Vin* IV)

2. *Khandhaka*:
   (a) *Mahāvaggapāḷi* (*Vin*. I)
   (b) *Cullavaggapāḷi* (*Vin*. II)

3. *Parivāra* (*Vin* V)[10]

II. Sutta Piṭaka

1. *Dīghanikāya* (*D*)
2. *Majjhimanikāya* (*M*)
3. *Saṃyuttanikāya* (*S*)
4. *Aṅguttaranikāya* (*A*)
5. *Khuddakanikāya* (*Kh*)

i. *Khuddakapāṭha* (*Khp*)
ii. *Dhammapada* (*Dh*)
iii. *Udāna* (*Ud*)
iv. *Itivuttaka* (*It*)
v. *Suttanipāta* (*Sn*)
vi. *Vimānavatthu* (*Vv*)
vii. *Petavatthu* (*Pv*)
viii. *Theragāthā* (*Th* 1)
ix. *Therigāthā* (*Th* 2)
x. *Jātakapāli* (*J*)
xi. *Niddesa* (*Nd*), attributed to Sāriputta
xii. *Paṭisambbidāmagga* (*Paṭ*)
xiii. *Apadāna* (*Ap*)
xiv. *Buddhavaṃsa* (*Bv*)
xv. *Cariyāpiṭaka* (*Cp*).

Quasi Canonical works

xvi. *Nettippakaraṇa(Nett)* attributed to Mahā kaccāna)
xvii. *Peṭakopadesa (Pet.)*,Jambuvanavāsī Mahā kaccāyana
xviii. *Milindapañha (Miln).*

III. Abhidhamma Piṭaka

1. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi (Dhs.)*
2. *Vibhaṅga (Vbh)*
3. *Dhātukathā (Dhāt)*
4. *Puggalapaññatti (Pug)*
5. *Kathāvatthu (Kvu)*
6. *Yamaka (Yam)*
7. *Paṭṭhāna (Paṭṭh)*[11]

The Commentaries

The growth of Pali literature connected with the Canon did not stop with the finalization of the Canon as seen from the quasi-canonical works cited above. However, whatever literary activities there were from the time of the completion of the Pali *Milindapañha* up to the commentarial epoch (5th-6th century A.C.), the surviving texts are of a fragmentary nature with the exception of Dīpavaṃsa which preceded the commentaries at least by a century. The numerous quotations (as cited by E.W. Adikaram[12] from the *porā ṇā* (q.v.) in the commentaries bespeak the extensive nature of the early exegetical tradition which like the *Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā* has not survived. The great commentators Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta, Dhammapā la and others have preserved this tradition in their works which far surpass the works that formed the sources of their commentaries. The Pali chronicles state that the commentarial tradition current in India was brought across to Sri Lanka by the apostle Mahinda along with the texts of the Pali Canon. It was the exegetical tradition that was continued by the succession of teachers in Sri Lanka. They are the celebrated *porāṇā* 'the ancients' who are looked upon both in the chronicles-and the commentaries as authorities whose *vinicchaya*, 'rulings' formed the deciding factor in the interpretation of the *Dhammavinaya*. The crystallization of the commentarial tradition took place at their hands and it is not unlikely that they were responsible for the compilation of the long lost *Sī haḷa hakathā* that formed the basis of the great Pali Commentaries All these sources are discussed at length by E.W. Adikaram (*ibid.*). The best known among the ancient 'Sinhala' commentaries was the *Mahā (or Ma la)aṭṭhakathā*. This formed the main source of Buddhaghosa's commentaries though he acknowledges other commentaries such as *Kurundi* and *Mahāpaccari* often alluding to interpretations given in other commentaries such as the Andhaka which he invariably refutes. A later source *Saddhammasaṅgaha* of the 14th century states that the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* was the commentary on the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the *Mahāpaccarī* on the *Abbidhamma* and the *Kurundī* on the *Vinaya*. It is doubtful whether the *Sīhala-aṭṭhakathā* survived to the 14th century though from quotations made from them in the *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapadaya* of Kassapa V one could adduce evidence for their existence in the 10th century. The commentators played the role of editors and translators when they wrote their *aṭṭhakathā* works. They frequently acknowledge their indebtedness to the *porāṇā*, the interpretations given and views held by *ā cāriya* and the rulings given by eminent Elders on controversial points.

The *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* invariably had historical introductions attached to them in much the same way as the *Mahākhandhaka* of the *Khandhakavinaya* (*Vin* I) was prefixed with a Buddha biography and an early history of the *sāsana*. Historical introductions in such works formed the basis of the Pali chronicles commencing with the *Dīpavaṃsa*. Unlike the commentaries or the subsequent Great Chronicle (the *Mahāvaṃsa*) it was a composite work of imperfect editing where several independent traditions were indiscriminately put together presenting the appearance of a haphazard literary composition even though in parts it is of considerable poetic merit.

Unlike the great majority of canonical works the commentaries are ascribed to individual authors though there is difference of opinion with regard to some works. The most prolific writer among them was Buddhghosa (Bdhgh). Apart from his *magnum opus Visuddhimagga* which set the pattern for the subsequent *pakaraṇa* literature, as many as 15 commentaries are ascribed to him with certainty leaving the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, the voluminous *Jatakaṭṭhakathā* and *Visuddhajanavilāsinī* the commentary on *Apadāna*. There is, however, the possibility of other theras by the name Buddhaghosa who wrote commentaries being identified with the great commentator by that name. There is every possibility that the authorship of *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* and

Jātakaṭṭhakathā was ascribed to him in this manner. Buddhaghosa's contemporary Buddhadatta (Bdhd) wrote the *Vinayavinicchaya* and *Uttaravinicchaya* in metrical Pali as *Vinaya* treatises of a commentarial nature, the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Rūpārūpavibhāga* as *Abhidhamma* manuals in verse and *Madhuratthavilāsinī* the commentary on *Buddhavaṃsa*. Both Bdhgh and Bdhd lived from time to time in several monasteries in South India prior to visiting Sri Lanka for compiling their commentaries. They were followed by another illustrious South Indian monk *ācariya* Dhammapāla (Dhp) of Badaratittha who wrote commentaries on seven works of the *Khuddhaka-nikāya* that had not been commented on by Buddhaghosa viz. The commentaries on *Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therigāthā* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. Other commentaries attributed to him are *Paramatthama–jūsā* the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā* a commentary and a *ṭīkā* on the *Nettippakaraṇa* (*atthasaṃvaṇṇanā* and * Līnatthavaṇṇanā*)' *ṭīkās* on the four *āgama* texts designated as *L'natthappakāsana* and a *Linatthappakāsana-ṭīkā* on *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. He was followed by Ānanda the author of *Abhidhammamūlaṭīkā*. In addition to the above, Upasena (Up) wrote the *Saddhammapajjotikā*, a commentary on the Niddesa and Mahānāma (Mn) the *Saddhammapppakāsinī* the commentary to *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. Commentarial activity in the 5th - 6th centuries A.C. cannot be surveyed in isolation from the *ṭīkā* literature. Though several important *ṭīkās* were written towards the latter part of the commentarial period there appears to have been a gap in their continuity until the so-called Augustan Age[13] in Pali literary activity in Sri Lanka, the Polonnaru period (12th century A.C.), with a few notable exceptions like the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (lOth century) on the *Samantapāsādikā* Coḷiya Kassapa's *Mohaviccedanī*, Khema's *Nāmarūpasamāsa* or *Khemappakaraṇa* and Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, Paramatthavinicchaya* and *Nāmarūpaparicceda*. The latter two authors were perhaps posterior to Vajirabuddhi. To this intermediate period perhaps belong both Dhammasiri's *Khuddasikkhā* and Mahāsāmi's *Mūlasikkhā*, two short metrical works on *Vinaya* though traditionally held to have been written before Buddhaghosa's time.[14] The apparent hiatus between the commentarial epoch and the Polonnaru period was more or less filled by a separate class of literature called *Gaṇṭhipāda* (q.v.) and other ancillary literature. A brief summary of the extensive literature that has grown on the *Tipiṭaka* is given below based more or less on the comprehensive list given in the Epilogomena to Vol. I of the *Critical Pali Dictionary*, Copenhagen, 1948.

I. Vinaya Piṭaka

1. *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* (*Kkhv*) on *Pātimokkha* by Bdhgh
2. *Samantapāsādikā* (*Smp*) on *Vin*. I - V by Bdhgh

II. Sutta Piṭaka

1. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*Sv*) on D by Bdhgh
2. *Papañcasūdanī* (*Ps*) on M by Bdhgh
3. *Sāratthappakāsinī* (*Sp*) on S by Bdhgh
4. *Manorathapūraṇī* (*Mp*) on A by Bdhgh
5. i. *Paramatthajotikā* (*Pj* I) on Khp by Bdhgh
   ii. *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (*DhA*) on Dh attributed to Bdhgh
   iii. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Pd* I) on *Ud* by Dhp
   iv. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Pd* II) on *It* by Dhp
   v. *Paramatthajotikā* (*Pj* II) on *Sn* by Bdhgh
   vi. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Pd* III) on *Vv* by Dhp
   vii. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Pd* IV) on *Pv* by Dhp
   viii. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Pd* V) on *Th* 1 by Dhp
   ix. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Pd* VI)on *Th* 2 by Dhp
   x. *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (*JA*) on *J* attributed to Bdhgh
   xi. *Saddhammapajjotikā* (*Sdhpj*) on *Nd* by Up
   xii. *Saddhammappakāsinī* (*Sdhpk*) on *Paṭ* by Mn
   xiii. *Visuddhajanavilāsini* (*Vsj*) on *Ap* attributed to Bdhgh
   xiv. *Madhuratthavilāsinī* (*Mvl*) on *Bv* by Bdhd
   xv. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Pd* VII) on *Cp* by Dhp

On quasi-Canonical Works

xvi. *Nettiaṭṭhakathā*(*NettA*) on *Nett* by Dhp
xvii. (No information on *PeṭA*)
xviii. *Suttasaṅgahaṭṭhakathā* (*SsA*) on *Ss* by Ariyavaṃsa
xix. (No information on *MilA*)

Other works belonging to the *suttanta* tradition are: (1) *Paritta*, an anthology of *suttas* taken from canonical works and used as word-runes and designated as *Catubhāṇavārapāli* which may probably antedate the *Milindapañha*. Its commentary *Sāratthasamuccaya* is of unknown authorship.

(2) *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa which set the pattern to a class of literature called *pakaraṇa* was commented on by Dhammapāla in his work entitled

Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā while a subsequent *sannaya* (inter-verbal paraphrase in Sinhalese) was written by Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeniya (1236-1270 A.C.).

III Abbidhamma Piṭaka

1. *Atthasālinī (As)* on *Dhs* by Bdhgh
2. *Sammohavinodanī (Smv)* on *Vbh* by Bdhgh
3. *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā* I (*Ppk*)on *Dhāt.* by Bdhgh
4. *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā II (Ppk)* on *Pug.* by Bdhgh
5. *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā III (Ppk)* on *Kv.* by Bdhgh
6. *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā IV (Ppk)* on *Yam* by Bdhgh
7. *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā V (Ppk)* on *Paṭṭh.* by Bdhgh

Other important *Abhidhamma* works are: 1.*Abhidhammāvatāra* and 2.*Rūpārūpavibhāga* of Buddhadatta to be followed by works of later date towards the end of the Anurādhapura period or early Polonnaru period 3. Anuruddha's *Abhidhamma tthasaṅgaha* and the numerous exegetical works on it and his 4. *Nāmarūpapariccheda* and 5. *Paramattha vinicchaya* 6. Culla Dhammapala's *Saccasaṅkhepa* 7. Coḷiya Kassapa's *Mohavicchedani* and 8. Khemā cariya's *Nāmarūpasamāsa*.

The Sub-commentaries

The next phase of development of exegetical works on Canonical Pali literature is represented by *ṭīkās* which actually dovetailed into the commentarial period and flourished in the Polonnaru period and continued almost to the last century. The earliest *ṭīkās* are those of Dhammapāla already mentioned. They served as supplementary works to Buddhaghosa's commentaries. The writing of *ṭīkās* has apparently stopped after Dhammapāla and their place was taken by *ganṭhipada*. It is however significant that no *ganṭhipada* works on the four *āgama* collections for which Dhammapāla wrote his *ṭīkās* have been traced so far even in making references to them in subsequent works. We next hear of *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* on the *Samantapāsādikā* written during the final phase of the Anuradhapura period. This was followed by two other *ṭīkās* on the same text - the *Sāratthadīpanī* of Sariputta and *Vimativinodanī* by his pupil Mahākassapa both belonging to the Polonnaru period. Besides these there were numerous disquisitions and exegetical works on the Vinaya belonging to this period[15]. The *Suttapiṭaka* received equal attention.[16] It was the Abhidhamma that received the highest attention as noted above and numerous tracts and exegetical works were written in due course.[17] The *ganṭhipada* took over where the pioneer *ṭīkās* stopped; and probably the earliest of them was the *ganṭhipada* on the *Vinaya* mentioned in the *Sāratthadīpanī*, probably the work attributed to Vajirabuddhi in the *Gandhavaṃsa*. The other three *Vinaya ganṭhipada* referred to in *Sāratthadīpanī*, Mahā, *Majjhima* and *Cūla* were written in Sinhalese. Just as in the 5th and 6th centuries the *aṭṭhakathā* literature had a rapid growth, it was in the 12th and 13th centuries that the *ṭīkās* flourished. Unlike the *aṭṭhakathās*, *ṭīkās* continued to be produced until recent times so that additional *ṭīkās* came to be known as *navaṭīkā* if an older (*purāṇa*) *ṭīkā* did exist earlier. The important *ṭīkās* on commentaries to Canonical works are:

I. Vinaya Piṭaka

1. *Vinayatthamañjūsa (Kkhṭ)*
2. *Vajirabuddhiṭīka* (*Smp* 1) by Vajirabuddhi (10th c. A.C.) *Saratthadīpanī (Smp* 2) by Sāriputta of Polonnaruva *Vimativinodanī (Smp* 3) by Mahākassapa of Polonnaruva *Samantapāsādikā atthayojana (Smp* 4) by Ñānakitti (15th c. A.C.)
3. Several other *ṭīkās* on Vinaya works[18]

II. Sutta Piṭaka

1. (a) *Līnatthappakāsanā* I (*Svp*) by Dhammapāla
   (b) *Sāratthamañjūsā(Svṭ)* by Sāriputta of Polonnaruva.
   (c) *Sādhujanavilāsini (Svnṭ)* by ,ānābhivaṃsa of Myanmar (19th c. A.C.)
2. (a) *Līnatthappakāsanā* II (*Pspṭ*) by Dhammapāla
   (b) *Sāratthamañjūsā* II (*Psṭ*) by Sāriputta of Polonnaruva
3. (a) *Līnatthappakāsanā* III (*Sppṭ*) by Dhammapāla
   (b) *Sāratthamañjūsā* III (*Spṭ*) by Sariputta of Polonnaruva
4. (a) *Līnatthappakāsanā* IV (*Mppṭ*) by Dhammapāla
   (b) *Sāratthamañjūsā* IV (*Mpt*) by Sāriputta of Polonnaruva

5. *Ṭīkās* on commentaries to works in the *Khuddakanikāya*
   (i) *Paramatthasūdanī (PjIṭ)* (probably lost)
   (ii) (a) *DhA ṭīkās* are known by name only.
   (b) *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-gäṭapadaya* (in Sinhalese) by King Kassapa V (10 th c. A.C.)
   (c) *Saddharmaratanāvaliya* (in Sinhalese) by Dhammasena 13th c. A.C.)

(iii)-(ix) *Ṭīkās* on (iii) *Pd* I (*UdA*), (iv) *Pd* II(*ItA*),
(v) *Pj* II (*SnA*), (vi) *Pd* III (*VvA*), (vii) *Pd* IV (*PvA*), (viii) *Pd* V (*Th1A*), *Pd* VI (*Th2A*) are known by name only
   (a) with the exception of vi
   (b) *Vimanavastu-prakaraṇaya* (in Sinhalese) by Gammulle Ratanapāla (1770 A-C.).

(x) (a) *Jātaka-gāthā-sannaya* (in Sinhalese) by Rājamurāri (13 th C.).
   (b) *Jātakaṭṭhakathāya Līnatthappakāsanā (JApṭ)* by Dhammapāla.
   (c) *Jātakaṭṭhakathāya gaṇṭhipadavaṇṇanā (JAgp)* (11th C.)

(xi-xv) *Ṭīkās* on *Sdhpj* (*NdA*), *Sdhpk* (*PatA*), *Vsj*(*ApA*), *Mvl* (*BvA*), *Pd* VII (*CpA*), are known by name only.

(xvi) *Tikas* on commentaries to quasi Canonical Works

   (a) *Netti-aṭṭhakathāya Līnatthavaṇṇanā (NettApṭ)* by Dhammapāla

   (b) *Nettivibhāvinī* (*NettA*) by Saddhammapāla (10th C.)

   (c) *Peṭakālaṅkāra* on *Nettimahāṭīkā* (*NettAn*) by *Ñānābhivaṃsa* (19th C.)

(xvii) *Milindaṭīkā* (*Milṭ.*) by Cūlābhaya (15 th C.)

It is relevant here to note that there has been some confusion with regard to the authorship of several works. The names Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla and Kassapa belong to more than one author of the same name and unless the prefix *Culla* (or *Mahā*) is used with the name the identification becomes rather difficult. Several attempts though not with spectacular success have been made to identify these authors.[19]

III - Abhidhamma Piṭaka

1. (a) *Atthasālinī-mūlaṭīkā* (*Asmṭ*) by Ananda (10 th C.)
   (b) *Abhidhamma-anuṭīkā* 1 (*Asanuṭ*) by Dhammapāla
   (c) *Maṇidīpa* (*Asn* I) by Ariyavamsa (15th C.)
   (d) *Madhuratthadīpanī* (*Asnṭ* 2) by Mahānāma
   (e) *Atthasālinī-atthayojanā* 1 (*Asay* 1) by Sirimaṅgala
   (f) *Atthasālinī-atthayojanā* (*Asay* 2) by Ñāṇakitti (15th C.)

2. (a) *Sammohavinodanī-mūlaṭīkā* (*Smvmṭ*) by Ananda
   (b) *Abhidhamma-anuṭīkā* II (*Smvanuṭ*) by Dhammapāla
   (c) *Sammohavinodanī-atthayojanā* (*Smvay*) by Ñānakitti

3. (a) *Dhātukathā-mūlaṭīkā* (*PpkAmṭ*) by Ananda
   (b) *Abbidhamma-anuṭīkā* III (*PpkAanuṭ*) by Dhammapāla
   (c) *Dhātukathā-atthayojanā* (PpkAayI)
   (d) *Dhātukathā-ṭīkāvaṇṇanā* and *anuṭīkavaṇṇanā* by Tilokaguru (17th C).

4. (a) *Puggalapaññatti-mūlaṭīkā* (*PpkAmṭ* II) by Ananda
   (b) *Abhidhamma-anuṭīkā* IV (*PpkA-anuṭ* II) by Dhammapāla

5. (a) *Kathāvatthu-mūlaṭīkā* (*PpkAmṭ* III) by Ananda
   (b) *Abhidhamma-anuṭīkā* IV (*PpkA-anuṭ* III) by Dhammapala

6. (a) *Yamaka-mūlaṭīkā* (*PpkAmṭ* IV) by Ananda
   (b) *Abhidhamma-anuṭīkā* VI (*PpkA-anuṭ* IV) by Dhammapāla
   (c) *Yamakaṭīkāvaṇṇanā* by Tilokaguru

7. (a) *Paṭṭhāna-mūlaṭīkā* (*PpkAmṭ* V) by Ananda
   (b) *Abhidhamma-anuṭīkā* VII (*PpkA-anuṭ* V) by Dhammapāla

(c) *Paṭṭhānaṭīkāvaṇṇanā* by Tilokaguru
(d) *Paṭṭhānasāradīpanī* by Saddhammālaṅkāra (16th C.)

The Pakaraṇa Literature

Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* set the pattern for a class of literature called *pakaraṇa*, 'treatises'[20] which came into existence subsequently. There are works associated with all three *piṭakas* belonging to this category. To cite a representative selection at random including some works already mentioned:

I - Vinaya

1. *Khuddasikkhā* by Dharmasiri
2. *Mūlasikkhā* by Mahāsāmi
3. *Pālimuttakavinaya-vinicchayasaṅgaha* by Sāriputta (12th C.)
4. *Pātimokkhavisodhanī* by Saddhamajotipāla
5. *Vinayasamuṭṭhānadīpanī* by Saddhamma jotipāla
6. *Vinayagūlhatthadīpanī* by Saddhamma jotipāla
7. *Sikkhāpadavalañjanī* by the Pañcamūlaparivenādhipati
8. *Simālaṅkara* by Vācissara
9. *Simāsaṅgaha* by Vācissara
10. *Sīmāsaṅkarachedanī* by Toṭagamuve Srī Rahula and several other *sīmā* tracts of more recent date.

II - Sutta

1. *Visuddhimagga* by Buddhaghosa
2. Exegetical works on the *Visuddhimagga*
3. *Vimuttimagga* by Upatissa
4. *Suttasaṅgaha* anthology and its commentary by Ariyavaṃsa
5. *Sārasaṅgaha* by Siddhattha
6. *Upāsakajanālankāra* by Ananda
7. *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* by Sirimaṅgala (16th C.)
8. *Pañcagatidīpanī*
9. *Chagatidīpanī* by Saddhāmaṅgala
10. *Lokapaññatti* by Saddhammaghosa
11. *Lokappadīpasāra* by Medhaṅkara
12. *Saddhammasaṅgaha* by Dhammakitti (14th C.)
13. *Gandhavaṃsa* by Nandapaññā
14. *Sāsanavaṃsa* by Paññāsāmi (18th C.)
15. *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* by Vimalasāra (19th C.)

III - Abhidhamma

1. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* by Anuruddha and its many commentaries by Vimalabuddhi, Sumaṅgala, Ariyavaṃsa Saddhammajotipāla and others
2. *Paramatthavinicchaya* by Anuruddha
3. *Nāmarūpaparicceda* by Anuruddha and its ṭīkās
4. *Abhidhammāvatāra* by Buddhadatta and its ṭīkās
5. *Rūpārūpavibhāga* by Buddhadatta
6. *Saccasaṅkhepa* by Dhammapāla and exegetical works on it
7. *Mohavicchedanī* by Mahākassapa (13th C.) and its ṭīkās
8. *Nāmarūpasamāsa* by Khemācariya and its ṭīkā[21]

Under the category of *pakaraṇa* may be included any literary composition apart from texts in the *Vinaya* and *Sutta Piṭakas*. The important fields thus included consist of (1) the Pali chronicles (2) grammatical literature including works on poetics and prosody (3) *kāvya* literature and (4) secular literature.

The Pali Chronicles

Leaving aside the Canonical *Buddhavaṃsa*, the earliest known Pali Chronicle is the *Dīpavaṃsa* (already mentioned). The general view is that it is not the work of a single author. It is also suggested, from the importance given to nuns in it, that it is the work of *bhikkhunis*. The *Dīpavaṃsa* was followed by the more elaborate *Mahāvaṃsa* (5th C.) covering almost the same period in practically the same sequence justifying its description as a *dīpika*, 'illustrator' of the *Dīpavaṃsa*. This claim gives credence to the fact the *Mahāvaṃsa* stands in the same relation of an *aṭṭhakathā* to the *Dīpavaṃsa*. This is further supported by the title of the exegesis on the *Mahāvaṃsa* as a *ṭīkā* and not as an *aṭṭhakathā*.[22] The sources of both these chronicles and many other works of the so-called *vaṃsa* literature are the traditional records of the *porāṇā* 'the Ancients' obviously designated as the authors of the primitive *Aṭṭhakathās*. The *Aṭṭhakathā* was essentially a part of the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* and contained historical information narrated in prose. In contrast to it the *Mahavaṃsa* is the Great (*uru*) chronicle (*vaṃsa*) in verse (*padya*) cf. the title *padyapadoruvaṃsa*. Though it is claimed to be the translation of a Sinhalese original

it is an independent work based on several sources. It is observed that originally the Sinhalese chronicle formed a sort of introduction to the commentary on the canon and dealt only with the topics mentioned in the poem of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and later incorporated much extraneous matter growing into an independent compilation[23] of epic proportions.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* is essentially an historical narrative aimed at infusing serene joy and religious fervour in the virtuous (*sujanappasādasaṃvega*). Following the pattern of its ancient source the *Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* there came into existence other chronicles based on equally ancient sources on such topics as the Great Bodhi, the Cetiyas and Relics. The *Mahābodhivaṃsa* of Upatissa is an ornate prose *kāvya* on the history of the Bodhi tree, the *Thūpavaṃsa* of *Vācissara* narrates the story of the *Mahāthūpa* in Anuradhapura and other stupas. The *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* of Dhammakitti I gives the story of the Tooth Relic and the *Lalāṭadhātuvaṃsa*, the story of the frontal bone relic. The key figure in *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Thūpavaṃsa* is Duṭṭhagāmani while in the *Lalāṭadhātuvaṃsa* it is his father Kākavaṇṇatissa. All these works probably belonged to the Mahāvihāra tradition while the Uttaravihara or Abhayagiri maintained its independent chronicle known as *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā* to which there are references in the Pali commentaries. The Canonical text *Buddhavaṃsa* gives the lineage of the Buddhas and this has probably served as the model for another chronicle the *Anāgatavaṃsa* of (Coliya) Kassapa on the future Buddha, Metteyya. Its commentary (*ṭīkā*) was written by Upatissa.

As a literary product the *Dīpavaṃsa* is classed as rather elementary but the *Mahāvaṃsa*, as claimed by its author, is of a considerably high standard yet in the light of the highest literary development in Pali at a subsequent date Mahānāma's achievement is best described as mediocre.[24] Mahānāma's work like the *Dīpavaṃsa* stops with the reign of Mahāsena in the early 4th century A.C. and it was continued to the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1236-1270 A.C.) by Dhammakitti. The next part was written up to the reign of Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu of Kurunegala followed by Tibbotuvāve Sumaṅgala's continuation to 1758 A.C. The next part to 1815 A.C. the year of the British annexation of Kandy was written by Hikkaduve Srī Sumaṅgala and Batuvantudave. This was brought up to 1935 by Yagirala Paññānanda and the final part so far to 1947 when Sri Lanka regained independence was completed recently.

The extended *Mahāvaṃsa* incorporates additional material which is repeated in the *Mahāvaṃsa ṭīkā*, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*. Other works of this category are (1) the brief *Chakesadhātuvaṃsa* of unknown authorship (2) *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa* whose author calls himself a pupil of Anomadassi Mahāsāmi (3) *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā* by Vedeha (14th C.) the author of *Rasavāhinī*. To the same class as *Rasavāhinī* belong *Sīhalavatthu* and *Sahassavatthu*, all these works containing narratives with a religious background. *Jinakālamāli* (1516 A.C.) of Ratanapañña deals with the history of Buddhism in Northern Thailand. *Cāmadevivaṃsa* and *Sihiṅgabuddharū panidāna* too were written in Thailand about the same period. *Buddhaghosuppatti* gives a legendary account of the commentator Buddhaghosa. *Sandesakathā* dealing with King Kīrti Srī Rājasinha's embassy to the Thai court for the reestablishment of the higher ordination belongs to the 18th century.

Pāli Grammar

The oldest Pali grammar available is the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa* ascribed by tradition to Mahākaccāna as in the case of the authorship of *Nettippakaraṇa*. It is impossible that Kaccāyana mentioned by Buddhaghosa in the *Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā* as the chief of the *neruttikas* refers to our author as both Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla follow a grammatical system more primitive than Kaccāyana's as may be seen from the grammatical terminology used by them. Malalasekera and Geiger assign the *Kaccāyana grammar* in its present form to a post Buddhaghosa period but prior to the 11th century.[25] A feature of the work is that it offers its grammatical explanations in conformity with the independent status of the Pali language. This was followed by other subsequent classical grammarians. Geiger assigns the higher limit of the 7th century to this work on account of its having utilized the *Kātantra* system of Sanskrit grammar and the commentaries to Pāṇini.[26] Two other grammatical works *Cullanirutti* and *Mahānirutti* are ascribed to Kaccāyana though *Saddanīti* assigns the latter to Yamakamahāthera. The *Kaccāyanabheda* of Mahāyasa of Thaton (13th C.) states that the aphorisms were made by Kaccāyana, the *vutti* by Saṅghanandi, the illustrations by Brahmadatta and the *nyāsa* by

Vimalabuddhi. Tradition however, assigns all eight divisions of the work each of which included *sutta*, 'rules', *vutti*, 'supplementary comments', *payoga*, 'grammatical analyses', *nyāsa*, 'explanatory notes' to Mahakaccāna.[27] Some of the works belonging to the Kaccāyana tradition are:

1. *Kaccāyanapakaraṇa* attributed to Mahākaccā yana
2. *Mukhamattadīpanī* (*nyāsa*) attributed to Vimalabuddhi and several exegetical works on it.
3. *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa* by Saddhammajotipā la
4. *Kaccāyanavaṇṇanā* by Mahāvijitāvī (17th C.)
5. *Kaccāyanasāra* by Mahāyasa (13th C.) and its many exegetical works
6. *Mahārūpasiddhi* by Buddhappiya
7. *Mahārūpasiddhiṭīkā* assigned to Buddhappiya
8. *Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī* by Ñāṇakitti (15th C.)
9. *Mahārūpasiddhisannaya* (anon.)
10. *Bālāvatāra* by Dhammakitti (14th C.) and its many exegetical works
11. *Bālāvatāraṭīkā* by Hikkaḍuve Srī Sumangala
12. *Gaḍulādeṇisannaya*
13. *Okandapolasannaya* by Dhammajoti (18th C.)

The next grammarian of distinction after Kaccāyana was Aggavaṃsa of Myanmar who completed his *Saddanīti* in 1154 A.C. This was by far a work of great excellence dealing mainly with the language of the *Tipiṭaka*. A *ṭīkā* and a *nissaya* on the *Saddanīti* are also mentioned. Apart from the *Saddanīti* which stands in a class by itself the other system of Pali grammar besides Kaccāyana is the *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa*. In response to the growth of the ornate *Kāvya* and the popularization of Sanskritized Pali in the Polonnaru period the need to bring the study of Pali grammar up to date was answered by the Moggallānavyākaraṇa which signals a rival school of Pali grammar to the Kaccāyana system. Moggallāna was a pupil of Mahā kassapa of Udumbaragiri and wrote his work in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great. With Moggallāna's work commenced a new school of Pali grammar to which belonged Saṅgharakkhita, Piyadassi, the author of *Padasādhana*, Ananda' Vanaratana Medhaṅkara and Sri Rāhula. The chief works belonging to the Moggallā na system are:

1. *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa* with *vutti* and *pañcikā*
2. *Sāratthavilāsinī*. *pañcikā-ṭīkā* by Saṅgharakkhita
3. *Maudgalyāyana-pañcikā-pradīpaya* by Toṭagamuve Srī Rāhula (15th C.)
4. *Moggallāna-sannaya* (*virita-sannaya*)
5. *Padasādhana* by Piyadassi (12th C.)
6. *Buddhipasādanī-ṭīkā* by Toṭagamuve Srī Rāhula
7. *Padasādhana-sannaya* by Ananda (12th C.)
8. *Padāvatāra* by Sāriputta (12th C.)
9. *Susaddasiddhi* by Saṅgharakkhita (12th C.)
10. *Payogasiddhi* by Vanaratana Medhaṅkara (13th C.)

Helmer Smith lists 14 minor grammatical works.[28] Among them the better known are:

1. *Kaccāyanasāra* (listed earlier) of Mahāyasa together with the *ṭīkā* by the same author and several other exegetical works.
2. *Saddavutti* by Saddhammaguru and several exegetical works on it.
3. *Saddabindu* and exegetical works on it
4. *Saddasāratthajālinī* by Nāgita and its *ṭīkā*
5. *Sambandhacintā* by Saṅgharakkhita (12th C.) and 3 exegetical works on it.
6. *Vibhattyattha* by Saddhammañāṇa and 2 exegetical works on it.
7. *Vaccavācaka* by Dhammadassī and 3 exegetical works on it.
8. *Ganthābharaṇa* by Ariyavaṃsa (15th C.) and 4 exegetical works on it.
9. *Kaccāyanabheda* by Mahāyasa (13th C.) and 3 exegetical works on it.
10. *Kārikā* and *ṭīkā* by Dhammasenāpati.

Two works that stand in a class by themselves are the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Dhātumañjūsā* listing the roots in the Pali language. The latter was compiled by Sīlavaṃsa. Other works of lexicographical interest are the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* by Moggallāna (12th C.) listing synonyms following the method adopted in the Sanskrit *Amarakośa*. There exist several exegetical works on it including a *ṭīkā* and a *saṃvaṇṇanā*, a *sannaya* and a *sūci* of more recent times.

Another field that should be listed here is poetics and prosody. Saṅgharakkhita's (13th C.) *Vuttodaya* deals with Pali meter. The author of its *purāṇaṭīkā* is listed as Navavimalabuddhi, its *pañcikā Chandosāratthavikāsinī* is attributed to Saddhammañāṇa, its

second *ṭīkā* also listed as belonging to the same author, its *navaṭīkā Vacanatthajotikā* and a secondary *ṭīkā* on the *ṭīkā* belong to Vepulla. There were other works such as *Kavisāra* and its *ṭīkā Saduddasavikāsinī*, *Chappaccayadīpaka*, *vivaraṇa*, *sannaya* and a *nissaya* on the *Vuttodaya*. The only known work on Pali poetics is Sangharakkhita's *Subodhālaṅkāra* whose *ṭīkā* was written by his contemporary Vācissara. There is also reference to a *navaṭīkā* and a *sannaya*.

Pāli Kāvya and Miscellaneous Literature

The term *kāvya* is generally applied to metrical compositions commencing with the medieval works around the Polonnaru period right down to the present day. *Kāvya* also includes works in ornate prose and prose and verse mixed compositions called *campu*. Canonical metrical works are not referred to by this name while the Pali chronicles both in metrical form and those written in prose are optionally called *kāvya*. Perhaps the earliest *kāvya* of this tradition is the *Telakaṭāhagāthā* described as running to 100 verses in the *Rasavāhinī* but actually consisting of 98 verses, of unknown authorship. It is referred to as a fine specimen of the literature of what might be called the Pali Renaissance period, before the language became contaminated by Sanskrit influences and lost its pristine purity of diction and simplicity.[25] As a result of the impact of Sanskrit learning immediately after the Cola occupation of the Anuradhapura kingdom and right through the Polonnaru period and continued for several centuries, a large number of works in new fields outside those connected with the exegesis of the *Buddhavacana* in the form of *ṭīkās* and other ancillary works came into existence. Pali scholarship reached a very high level under the patronage of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.). Mahākassapa of Udumbaragiri, his pupil Sāriputta and the six luminaries of the Jetavana monastery who were his pupils and other learned theras wrote a large number of Pali works. Moggallāna the grammarian belonged to this period. He was followed by the Cola monk Buddhappiya (also called Dīpaṅkara) who wrote the grammatical work *Rūpasiddhi* among other works. Sangharakkhita one of the alumni of the Jetavana Institute wrote the *Subodhālaṅkāra* on poetics and *Vuttodaya* on prosody. The lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā* was written by an Elder named Moggallāna during this period. Sariputta the greatest luminary of the period not only wrote a large number of *ṭīkas* commencing with *Sāratthadīpani* but was also the author of several works on the *Vinaya* and on Sanskrit grammar. Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti* was introduced from Myanmar to Sri Lanka and Chapaṭa also known as Saddhammajotipāla from the same country who mastered the Mahāvihāra tradition, wrote a large number of works on the *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma*. In addition to the usual fields of study that *theras* were accustomed to write on a new departure is seen in the writing of independent compositions on various topics associated with the Buddha. Such were the works like the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* of Dhammakitti, another pupil of Sāriputta, based on the story of the tooth relic and several poems on the life of Buddha and works on his bodhi, stupas and the sacred footprint. Vācissara, Sariputta's pupil, appointed by King Parākramabāhu II to be in charge of his religious library wrote several works including the *Thūpavaṃsa*. Buddharakkhita wrote the ornate poem *Jinālaṅkāra* (in 1156 A.C.) based on the life story of the Buddha. The Buddha biography formed the subject of two other poetical works: Medhaṅkara's *Jinacarita*[30] and Buddhappiya's *Pajjamadhu* (13th C.) The *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (*Mhvṭ*) antedates the *Thūpavaṃsa* which profusely quotes from it. Likewise the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* of Upatissa belongs to about the 10th century.[31] The Elder Vedeha (13th C.) pupil of Ananda wrote the *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*, re-wrote the *Rasavāhinī* which is said to be a translation from Sinhalese made by Raṭṭhapāla thera earlier based on *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, probably the source of the extant *Sīhalavatthu* and *Sahassavatthu*.[32] Buddhappiya, the author of *Pajjamadhu* was a contemporary of Vedeha as the colophon of the poem states that he was Ananda's pupil. *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa*, a *campu* attributed to a pupil of Anomadassi Sangharāja[33] belongs to the same period. Buddhappiya's pupil Siddhattha wrote the *Sārasaṅgaha*, a *pakaraṇa* in the tradition of the *Visuddhimagga*. The work is referred to in the *Moggallānapañcikāpadīpa* (1457 A.C.).[34] The *Saddhammasaṅgaha* a brief history of the *sāsana* from the time of the Councils to the 13th century was written by Dhammakitti Mahāsāmi, a monk from the Lankārāma in the city of Yodaya (Ayuthia in Thailand) towards the end of the 14th century.[35] Medhaṅkara, identified as the Sangharāja by that name[36] wrote the *Lokappadīpasāra* a work on Buddhist cosmology. Allied with it in content is *Pañcagatidīpanī*, a metrical work dealing with the five states of existence.[37] *Buddhaghosuppatti* written by an author called Mahāmaṅgala is assigned to the 14th century.[38] Two other works of the same period[39] are *Sādhucaritodaya* and *Anāpatti-dīpanī*. The former is a metrical work by thera called Sumedha

exalting the acts of piety of pious Buddhists based on earlier works such as *Rasavāhinī*. The latter is a short *Vinaya* tract by 'a pupil of Buvanekabāhu thera' dealing with conditions of non-guilt in the unintentional infringement of the *Pātimokkha* rules. Buvanekabāhu thera is mentioned in the *Vuttamālā* of the 15th century a poem in 102 stanzas by Upatapassi of Gatārā Parivena[40] composed during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI of Kotte (1412-67 A.C) to illustrate the various meters (*vutta*) employed in Pali verse. This was a period of Buddhist revival and great literary activity mainly in Sinhalese. The greatest Sinhalese author of the day Srī Rāhula wrote two treatises on Pāli grammar, the *Moggallānapañjikā-pradīpa* and *Pada-sādhana-ṭīkā*. After a lapse of over two centuries the next works of some importance are Saṅgharāja Saraṇaṅkara's (1778): *Rūpamālā* on the declension of Pāli nouns and his *Abhisambodhialaṅkāra*, a poem in 100 stanzas on the Buddha's story from his receiving the assurance from Dīpankara up to his birth as Siddhattha when he attained Enlightenment. His other works including a paraphrase of the *Bhesajjamañjusā* of Pañcapariveṇādhipati[41] in the reign of Parākramabāhu II, are in Sinhalese. Attaragama Baṇḍara pupil of Saranaṇkara wrote three works on Pāli grammar, *Sudhīramukhamaṇḍana* on Pāli *samāsas*, the *Kāraka-pupphamañjarī* on syntax and *Saddamālā*, a comprehensive Pali grammar based on the Kaccāyana and closely following the *Rūpasiddhi*.

From the 15th century the centre of Pali literary activity shifted to Myanmar. The special field of study is the *Abbidhamma*. Ariyavaṃsa of Ava who lived during the reign of Narapati (1442-68 A.C.) wrote (1) *Manisāramañjusā* an *anusaṃvaṇṇanā* on the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī* of Sumaṅgala (12th C. A.C.) (2) *Maṇidīpa* a *navaṭīkā* on *Atthasālinī*; and (3) *Jātakavisodhana*. Saddhammapāla wrote the *Hetuvibhāvinī* and Mahāsīlavaṃsa the *Buddhālaṅkāra* a metrical work dealing with the story of Sumedha in the *Jātakanidāna*. To another Sīlavaṃsa of the same period is assigned the *Rājavaṃsa*. Raṭṭhasāra rendered in verse several *jātakas*. *Kāyaviratigāthā* is a poem which examines the ills of rebirth (*jātidukkhavibhāga*). It has a *ṭīkā* and a *sanna* and is of anonymous authorship. Saddhammālaṅkāra of the 16th century wrote the *Paṭṭhānasāradīpani* as a study of the *Paṭṭhānappakaraṇa* and Mahānāma is the author of *Madhurasāratthadīpanī*; (a sub-commentary on Ananda's *Mūlaṭīkā*.) In the same century a monk named Buddhaghosa rewrote in Pali a Talaing work *Wagaru Dhammasattha* which formed the basis of subsequent *Dharmas'āstra* literature in Myanmar. In the 17th century the thera Tipiṭakālaṅkāra wrote 1. *Vīsativaṇṇanā* an exegesis on the 20 introductory verses of the *Atthasālinī* 2. *Yasavaḍḍhanavatthu* and 3. *Vinayālaṅkāraṭīkā* on *Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayasaṅgaha* of Sāriputta (12th C.). Tilokaguru wrote the *Dhātukathāṭīkāvaṇṇanā*, *Dhātukathāanuṭīkāvaṇṇanā*, *Yamakavaṇṇanāṭīkā* and *Paṭṭhānavaṇṇanāṭīkā* while Sāradassi wrote the *Dhātukathā(attha)yojanā*. In the 18th century Ñānabhivaṃsa Saṅgharāja wrote *Sādhujanavilāsinī (Svnt)* and *Peṭakālaṅkāra (NettAnṭ)* and several other works such as *Catusāmaneravatthu*, *Rājavādavatthu* and *Rājādhirājavilasinī*. Two works on the turn of the 18th century dealing with religious intercourse between Myanmar and Sri Lanka are *Sandesakathā* (1800 A.C. and *Sīmāviniccayakathā* (1801 A.C.). *Gandhavaṃsa* of Nandapañña is of bibliographical importance and Paññasāmi's *Sāsanavaṃsa* (1861 A.C.) is of importance regarding the history of the *Sāsana* while the *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* (1880 A.C.) of Vimalasāra Thera of Sri Lanka is of equal importance as regards the history of the *Sāsana*.

N.A. Jayawickrama

References

1. The Sanskrit form of the word (pāli) to designate the language is in accepted use though the form pāli is employed in naming canonical works e.g. *Mahavaggapāli*, *Jātakapāli* etc.

2. It consists of the three *Piṭakas*, *Vinaya*, *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* (q.v.) and v.Tipiṭaka.

3. The word *piṭaka* 'basket' is used in a specialized sense as a container (hence collection) of texts s.v. *PED*.

4. This phonological change is not attested in the language.

5. Rājagaha, Vesāli, and Pāṭaliputta respectively.

6. Discussed at length by scholars, see Appendix Winternitz Vol. II.

7. *VinA.p.* 76 cf. *Mhv.* xi 34 f.

8. *VinA.* p. 102 f.

9. Vinaya Piṭaka is described as: *Saubhatovibhaṅgakhandhakaparivāra*, consisting of the twofold Vibhaṅga (i.e. bhikkhu-, bhikkhunī -), the *Khandhakas* and the *Parivāra*' - VinA 15.

10. Abbreviations are given at the first occurrence of a text. Canonical texts are usually given the same abbreviations found in PED. Generally commentaries and sub-commentaries (ṭikā and anu ṭikā) are given the abbreviations in the *CPD* in the lists here and to follow.

11. They are enumerated differently in the mnemonic *Dhammasaṅgani-Vibhangan ca k'athāvatthu ca Puggalaṃ, Dhatu, yamaka-Paṭṭhānaṃ Abhidhammo ti vuccati.*

12. *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Migoda, 1946.

13. G.P. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, London,1928 Chapter IX.

14. *ibid.* p. 76 f.

15. See Helmer Smith, *Critical Pali Dictionary* Vol. I, Epilogomena,1948 pp. 37 ff.

16. *ibid* pp. 40 ff.

17. *ibid.* pp. 47 ff.

18. *ibid.* pp. 38 ff.

19. G.P. Malalasekera, *ibid.* Lily de Silva, *Dīghanikā yaṭṭhakathāṭīkā*, Vol. I, London 1970 (Introduction).

20. The seven Abhidhamma texts of the Pali canon are often given the name *sattapakaraṇa* The Nine Little Finger Manuals, several of which are listed in the section on the Abhidhamma here, also belong to this category . See also G. P. Malalasekera, *ibid.* p. 173 f.

21. See Helmer Smith *ibid.* pp. 38 ff. for a comprehensive list.

22. See W. Geiger, *Pali Literature and Language*, Calcutta, 1943 p. 36.

23. G.P. Malalasekera: *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, Pali Text Society, London, 1935, p. lviii.

24. G.P. Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, London 1928. ᵖ ¹⁴¹

25. *ibid.* p. 184; W. Geiger, *loc. Cit* p.37.

26. *ibid.*

27. G. P. Malalasekera , *ibid* p. 179.

28. Helmer Smith *ibid.* pp. 56 ff.

29. *Vide* G.P. Malalalasekera, *ibid.* p. 162 f.

30. W. Geiger, *ibid.* p. 42 suggests that he wrote this work between 1225-29 A.C. and was a contemporary of Vācissara.

31. G. P. Malalasekera *ibid.* p. 143.

32. The term *sahassa* is erroneously interpreted as 1000 whereas it is sa+hassa , 'with joy' cf. *PED S.V.* HASSA.

33. G.P. Malalasekera *ibid* . p. 219.

34. W. Geiger *ibid.* p. 45.

35. The identification of Yodaya with Ayodhya in India (G.P. Malalasekera, *ibid.* p. 245) is unacceptable.

36. University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon Vol. I. p. 754 but *Sasanavaṃsa* (p. 48) calls him a monk from Myanmar who had studied in Sri Lanka.

37. Viz. *Niraya* 'purgatory'.; *tiracchāna*, animal; *pettivisaya*, 'realm of the manes'; *manussaloka*, 'human existence' and *devaloka* ; heavens.

38. W. Geiger *ibid*,. p. 46.

39. G.P. Malalasekera *ibid.* p. 247.

40. *ibid.* p. 253.

41. Conjectured as Atthadassi in 1267 A.C. See G.P. Malalassekera *ibid.* p. 215.

PALIBODHA : 'Obstacle' or 'hindrance'. This term is used more as a technical term when discussing meditation, in Buddhism. *Visuddhimagga* enumerates and discusses ten obstacels (*palibodha*) that should be overcome by a person before he embarks on a course of meditation. They are : (1) *Āvāsa* or residence ; (2) *Kula* or family ; (3) *lābha* or gain ; (4) *Gaṇa* or the group ; (5) *kammam* or undertakings ; (6) *Addhāna* or the way ; (7) *Ñati* or relatives ; (8) *Ābādha* or ailments ; (9) *Gantha* or books ; (10) *Iddhi* or magical powers. The residence becomes an obstacle if the monk is too musch attached to it or if he has collected too many personal things for which he has a strong liking. The *Kula* or family is his own relatives or his supporters. If a monk is too much attached to them, then it becomes an obstacle again. *Lābha* or gain is a gift of the four requisites. There are some monks whose association is sought by many people and when they live in their monasteries people come to honour them and to engage in conversation with them. Such monks should go to a secluded place for meditation ; *Gaṇa* or the group is association, or being a member of the group specializing in *sutra* or *abhidharma*. Such a monk has always to help others in learning these fields and hence his time is taken by it. *Kamma* means repairing of buildings etc. A monk who has to supervise these activities has to busy himself in order to get the necessary workmen and material in time and hence it becomes an obstacle. *Addhāna* or the way becomes an obstacle for a monk who has gone to some place for meditation and who expects his relations or friends to bring his needs. Such a person always keeps on looking at the path expecting some one to come. *Ñati* or relations too become an obstacle if a monk goes to meditation knowing well that a close relation or a supporter is ill. So he should think of meditation only when there are no diseased persons in whom he has an interest. *Ābādha* or illness too is an impediment to meditation. So one should first free one's self from illness before taking to meditation. *Gantha* or books too are an impediment and hence one has to keep books aside when taking to meditation. *Iddhi* or magical powers becomes an impediment only to one who has taken to *Vipassana bhāvanā*. So one who has taken to *Vipassanā bhāvanā* should not think of developing magical powers. (*HOS*. Vol. 41, pp. 72 - 79).

Milindapañha enumerates sixteen obstacles to a religious life by having hair on head. The hair has to be decorated, ornamented, smeared with oil, shampooed, garlanded, scented, etc. All these are impediments and a man cuts off his hair when taking to a religious life (*Miln*. 11)

Visuddhimagga again speaks of some minor impediments to meditation, namely long hair, finger nails etc. So it advocates a monk to cut them short, repair old robes, wash the soiled ones, clean the alms bowl and clean the bed spreads etc. before taking to meditation. (*HOS*. Vol. 41. p. 99)

W. G. Weeraratne

PAMĀDA (Skt. *pramāda*) carelessness, negligence, indolence, remissness, heedlessness. Negligence caused due to any relaxation of mind, any repeated relaxation of mind (*cittassa vossaggo vossaggānuppadānaṃ*) in any misconduct by the body.... in words.... in mind or the Five Strands of Sense Pleasures (*pañcasu vā kāmaguṇesu*), any carelessness (*asakkaccakiriyatā*) towards the development of wholesome qualities of character, lack of persevering performance (*asātaccakiriyatā*), adhering to remissness (*olīnavuttitā*), not having a desire towards the development of wholesome qualities (*nikkhittachandatā*), not having any effort ....(*nikkhittadhuratā*), not having practice towards the development.......(*anāsevanā*), not developing the wholesome qualities (*abhāvanā*), not having continuous practice (*abahulīkammaṃ*), not having self-determination (*anadhiṭṭhānaṃ*) and not having application (*ananuyogo*) towards the development of wholesome qualities of character is described as *pamāda* (*Vbh*.p.350).

Pamāda is defined as absence of mindfulness (*sati vossagga*). *Pamāda* conduces to great loss. The Buddha says " Monks, I know not of any other single factor so conducive to great loss (*mahato anatthāya*) as negligence (*pamādo* – *A.I*.p.16). The Buddha has declared that there is no any other single factor of such power to cause the arising of evil states which are not arisen (*anuppannā vā akusalā dhammā uppajjanti*) or to cause the waning of good states, which are already arisen (*uppannā vā kusalā dhammā parihāyanti*) as negligence (*pamāda*). The Buddha further says that in the person who is activated in negligence , evil states

arise and the good states wane (*A.I.p.11*). The monk who is aware of the danger of negligence and who overcomes it, achieves the Goal (*nibbāna –A.II.p.40*).

The Buddha has declared that one cannot realize Arahantship without abandoning negligence (*abhabbo arahattaṃsaccikātuṃ- A.III.p.421.*) and by abandoning negligence (*pamāda*) along with sloth (*thīnaṃ*), torpor (*middhaṃ*), flurry (*uddhaccaṃ*), worry (*kukkuccaṃ*) and disbelief (*assaddhiyaṃ*), he is capable of realizing the Arahantship (*Ibid.p.422*). Further the Buddha has advised the *bhikkhūs* to get rid of *pamāda* and to cultivate *appamāda* (earnestness) – *Ibid.*p.449. For the person who wishes for the perfect understanding (*pariññeyya*) of *pamāda*, utter destruction (*parikkhayāya*) of *pamāda*, abandoning (*pahānāya*)of ....., Wearing out (*khayāya*).......and for the casting away of lust(*paṭinissaggāya*) of *pamāda* and other impurities(*kilesā*), it is essential to cultivate the ten qualities i.e. Right view (*sammā diṭṭhi*), Right thought (*sammā sankappa*), Right speech(*sammā vācā*), Right action (*sammā kammanta*), Right livelihood (*sammā ājīva*), Right effort (*sammā vāyāma*) , Right mindfulness (*sammā sati*), Right concentration (*sammā samādhi*), Right knowledge (*sammāñāṇaṃ*) and Right deliverance (*sammā vimutti*) – *A.V.*p.310.

The Buddha's advice is to strive zealously without being indolent; the Buddha's last exhortation is " Transient are all formations. Strive zealously" (........*appamādena sampādetha:D.II.156*) . In the *Appamāda vagga* (chapter on Zeal) of the *Dhammapada*, heedfulness (*appamāda*) is recommended in various ways while heedlessness is condemned. Heedfulness leads to immortality or *nibbāna* while heedlessness leads to death (i.e. rebirth and suffering in *saṃsāra – Dhp.v.*21). Foolish ignorant individuals spend their time unprofitably , heedless of perfection. But the wise man guards heedfulness (*appamāda*) as his greatest treasure – *Ibid.v.*26. The Buddha advises his followers not to indulge in heedlessness and says that the person who is meditative and heedful obtains great happiness – *Ibid.v.*27. When the wiseman avoids heedlessness by being heedful, he will ascend the palace of wisdom and will be free from sorrow - *Ibid.v.*28.The wise man who is heedful among the heedless , awake among the sleepy, leaves behind the heedless even as a swift horse runs past a weak horse – *Ibid.v.*29. Heedlessness is ever despised – *Ibid.v.*30. The *bhikkhū* who delights in heedfulness and sees danger in heedlessness proceeds forward like the fire burning all fetters small and big – *Ibid.v.*31. Such a *bhikkhū* will not degenerate for he is in the vicinity of *Nibbāna*.

D.Saddhasena

PAMṢUKŪLA (1). A word used in Pāli Buddhist literature to refer to the coarse robe material (*paṃsukūla-cīvara/ paṃsukūlacīvaraṃ nissāya pabbajjā*) worn by the Buddhist mendicants, i.e. those who have taken to a monastic life. There are four main items of basic sustenance for them referred to as *nissayā*. They are 1.food obtained through begging or *piṇḍiyālopabhojana*, 2. dust-heap robes or *paṃsukūla-cīvara*, 3. shelter under the foot of trees or *rukkhamūla-senāsana* and 4. cattle urine as medicaments or *pūtimutta-bhesajja*. See also NISSAYA.

These are indicated as minimum basic needs, which a mendicant may receive from the faithful lay devotees. He should strive to be satisfied with these and endeavour to live his religious life on these alone, even if he receives no more. But this is not made compulsory. A dissident disciple, Devadatta, wanted them to be made so. But the Buddha turned down this request. Under the name *nissayā*, these four are invariably made known to all Buddhist monks at the stage of their reaching senior status (*upasampadā*). On the other hand, everyone of these items has more or less semi-luxury items appended to them which a monk may receive as supplementary gifts (*atireka-lābho*) from generous lay devotees.

These bits of discarded material to be used for stitching together for making robes are to be generally picked up from cemeteries and garbage dumps. They would invariably be of diverse colours and varying quality and the resulting patched-robe was bound to

be aesthetically not very acceptable in the eyes of the public. To avoid this harshness, it was decided to dye the robe in a single colour. After considerable trial and error, earth pigments and natural dyes obtained through boiling in water wood and bark were decided upon. It is this process of dyeing which fixed the name *kâsâya* for the robe of the Buddhist monk. The word *kâsâva* is also freely used for the same. Note Pâli references like *kâsâyâni watthâni âcchâdetvâ* (donning dyed robes) or *anikkasâvo kâsâvaṃ yo vatthaṃ paridahessati* (whosoever dons a dyed robe, himself not being free from spiritual blemishes). The robe of the Buddhist monk is never referred to as being yellow in colour.

PAMṢUKŪLA (2) The word *Paṃsukūla* is also used today by the Buddhists (specially of Sri Lanka) to refer to the religious ceremony associated with the disposal of their dead, through burial or cremation. Before a dead body is disposed of, a solemn religious ritual is held either in the home or at the cemetery where Buddhist monks are offered a length of undyed white cotton cloth (symbolic of the *paṃsukūla*) to be used for making their robes. This is referred to, as *mataka-vattha* or garment material offered in memory of the dead. The merit acquired through this is transmitted to the credit of the dead, assuming that they are, even accidentally, in a state of want. Through association with the symbolic *Paṃsukūla* (robe material) that is offered, the entire funeral ritual has now come to be called *Paṃsukūla*.

Dhammavihâri

PAMṢUKŪLIKAṆGA See DHUTAṆGA

PAÑCA'NANTARIKA KAMMA *See* ANANTARIKA KAMMA

PAÑCANĪVARAṆA See **NĪVARAṆA**

PAÑCAPPAKARAṆAṬṬHAKATHĀ : The *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (the commentary of five treatises) is the collective name given to the commentaries of the last five treatises of the Theravāda *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. The commentaries of the first two treatises of the Theravada *Abhidhamma piṭaka* namely *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and *Vibhaṅga* are named *Atthasālini* and *Sammohavinodani* respectively. The exegesis of the remaining five treatises of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, *Dhāthukathā*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhana* have been collected as one volume for convenience and has been designated the *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*. Thus the commentary of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* comprises of three main volumes *Atthasālini*, *Sammohavinodani* and *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*. It is also observed that the above three volumes are almost equal in size. In the same way *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* and *Vibhaṅga* commentaries are named *Atthasālini* and *Sammohavinodani* *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* has been named *Paramatthadīpani*. But the name *Paramatthadīpani* is hardly used, perhaps because it can be easily confused with Dhammapala's commentaries bearing the same name *Paramatthadipani*. It is observed that the commentaries of the five treatises under reference are comparatively short being significantly shorter than the works they comment on which might be the reason behind arranging them as one volume. But for all practical purposes they are independent works each standing on its own merit. The tradition ascribes the authorship of Abhidhamma commentaries i.e. *Atthasālini*, *Sammohavinodani* as well as *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* to the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa, the author of *Visuddhimagga*, four *Āgama* commentaries and *Samantapāsādikā*, the *vinaya* commentary. But present day scholars are sceptic about the tradition that attribute the authorship of Abhidhamma commentaries to Buddhaghosa. It is also seen that the author of the Abhidhamma commentaries has a great respect for *Visuddhimagga* and had often quoted from it. In spite of this respect, the author of *Atthasālinī* the commentary to the *Dhammasanginippakaraṇa* of *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, in several instances disagrees with *Visuddhimagga*. Bapath[1] has identified 250 instances where *Atthasālinī* disagrees with *Visuddhimagga*. It is questioned if *Visuddhimagga* was his (*Atthasālinī* author's) own work he would have been expected to state that he was now revising his former view. As regards his quoting from *Visuddhimagga* in *Atthasālinī* Bapath poses the

question as to why a great master like Buddhaghosa should cite his own interpretation given in *Visuddhimagga* as a mere alternative in *Atthasālinī* if he had in fact been the author of the latter. It is also observed that in his references to *Visuddhimagga* and the four *Āgama* commentaries he does not state that they are his own works, whereas in all the *Āgama* commentaries, the authorship of *Visuddhimagga* is claimed by Buddhaghosa when he refers to that work. Therefore the scholars do not agree with the traditional claim that attribute the authorship of *Atthasālinī* *(DhsA) Sammohavinodani (VibhA)* and *Pañcappa ranaṭṭhakathā* to the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa.

The scholars are of the opinion that the stereotyped paragraph[2] indicating Buddhaghosa as the author which is found at the end of all the works undisputedly accepted as written by him has been added to the three Abhidhamma commentaries also at the end by a scribe of later date.

Nevertheless observing the uniformity of style and the pattern of exegesis in the three Abhidhamma commentaries *Atthasālinī*, *Sammohavinodani* and *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā* scholars have come to the conclusion that they are of the same author. Bapath concludes that the author of the Abhidhamma commentaries was a Sri Lankan monk, a junior contemporary of Buddhaghosa nurtured in the same tradition. Jayawickrama[3] points out that since all the great commentators like Buddhaghosa, Dhammapala and Upasena hailed from South India and all of them belonged to the first half of the 5th century, the author of the Abhidhamma commentaries too would have been of South Indian origin.

Incidentally, according to *Atthasālinī* the *Abhidhamma* commentary has been composed on the formal request made by a bhikkhu named Buddhaghosa. Bapath[4] is reluctant to identify him as the celebrated commentator Buddhaghosa, since the author of *Atthasālinī* has referred to him as monk Buddhaghosa (*Bhikkhunā Buddhagosena*). But Jayawickrama[5] opines that Buddhaghosa entered the order at a mature age and a younger monk who had kept a greater number of *Vassa* "rain residences" and has a greater seniority in the *sāsana* may refer to an older monk as a "bhikkhu". Hence he does not agree with Bapath. Judging from his sentiments about Buddhaghosa the author of the Abhidhamma commentaries seem to have had a profound respect for him for his virtue, intellect and scholarship. He questions, "Who else if not the great commentator himself would command such a respect from a fellow worker in the field". Thus Jayawickrama agrees with Mrs. Rhys David's[6] conclusion that the reference is to the great commentator Buddhaghosa and it was on the request of him that the Abhidhamma commentaries have been composed.

The *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā* is edited and published by *PTS*. in the Roman script but not as a separate volume. The commentaries of the constituent treatises of the *Pañcappakaraṇas* are either appended to the text at the end or published in the *PTS*. Journal. The commentaries of *Puggalapaññatti (Dhātukatha)* and *Paṭṭhāna* are appended to the texts at the end. The commentaries of *Kathāvatthu* and *Yamaka* are published in a Journal of the *PTS*. Subsequently the commentary to *Kathāvatthu* is published as a separate volume edited by Prof. N.A. Jayawickrama. In the Simon Hewavitarana Bequest edition (in Sinhala script) it is published as a separate volume in two parts.

K. Arunasiri.

References

1. Bhandarka Oriental Series No. 3 (*Dhammasangini* edited in Nagari Script by Pro. P.V. Bapath) 1943 Poona India.

2. "*Paramavisuddhasaddhābuddhiviriyap atimanditenasilācārajjavamaddavā digunasamudāya samaditena sakasamaya samayantara gahanajjhagahana samatthena............ mahaviharavāsānam vamsālankarabhutena vipulabuddhinā buddhaghosoti garuhi gahithanāma dheyyena......... katā ayam...*

3 Introduction to *Kathāvatthu* commentary edited by Prof.N.A.Jayawiickrama P.T.S. 1978 p.xii.

4. Bapath *op. cit.*

5. Jayawickrama *op. cit.*

6. *Manual of Buddhism* London 1922 p. 30.

PAÑCASIKHA – A heavenly musician (*gandhabba*) who resided in the Câtummahârâjika realm (*DA*.II. p.649). There is a *sutta* too assigned in his name in the *Saṃyutta Nikâya* (*S*.IV.103f). Herein it is shown that Pañcasikha visited the Buddha and questioned him about the condition, and due cause whereby in this world some beings are fully set free (*parinibbâyanti*) in this very life while some beings are not so. The Buddha enlightened him (*Ibid*). Pañcasikha the son of Gandhabba is mentioned as an attendant (*upaṭṭhako*) and a favourite of the Buddha, and is mentioned as a person who was in the habbit of going to see the Buddha whenever he wanted to question the Buddha and listen to the Dhamma (*DA*.III.p.699). Hence when Sakka wanted to question the Buddha on certain matters he used to send Pañcasikha in advance to obtain permission for the interview from the Buddha (*D*.III.*263ff. Sakkapañha sutta*). Pañcasikha's favourite instrument was the *Beluvapaṇḍuvîṇâ* (a yellow coloured lute) which originally belonged to Mâra. When Mâra, after wasting seven years (six years before the Enlightenment and one year after it)trying to discover some weakness in the Buddha, left the Buddha in disgust and weariness as his effort was in vain. The lute which he carried slung on his shoulder slipped and fell when he left. Sakka picked it up and gave it to Pañcasikha(*SnA*.393-394). According to the Buddhavaṃsa Commentary (*BuA*.p.239), it was 3 *gâvutas* in length. It had 50 trestles (*AA.I*.p.72). It was a powerful instrument and when it was plucked with the fingers, the music produced echoed for four months (*SnA*.II.*393f*). According to the *Sakkapañha sutta*, Sakka who wanted to visit the Buddha sent Pañcasikha in advance to the Buddha. Pañcasikha who carried his lute with him stood neither too far, nor too near to the Buddha, played his lute and recited the verses concerning the Buddha, *Dhamma*, *saṅgha* and love (the verses started with *Vande te pitaraṃ bhadde-Timbaru suriya-vaccase*..........-*D*.II.*265ff*). The verses were addressed to his beloved Bhaddâ Suriyavaccasâ who was the daughter of a *Gandhabba* named Timbaru. The Buddha who praised his music questioned him about the poem. He told the Buddha that his first encounter with her was at the time of the Buddha's stay under the Ajapâla -Nigrodha and that she was then going with her father to dance before Sakka. Though Pañcasikha fell in love with her, she favoured the suit of Sikhaṇḍi, son of Mâtali. Then Pañcasikha composed a song and sang to her, she was greatly pleased and consented to marry Pañcasikha. As Pañcasikha interceded with the Buddha on Sakka's behalf Sakka blessed this marriage.

Sometimes Brahmâ Sanankumâra used to assume the form of Pañcasikha when he wanted to appear before the assembly of gods of Tâvatiṃsa(*D.II*.p.211). Explaining this, the commentator Buddhaghosa says that, this was due to the love all the *devas* had for Pañcasikha. They all wished to resemble him(*DA.II*.p.640). Pañcasikha once conveyed a full report to the Buddha , of the happenings in the Assembly of *devas* where Sakka spoke in praise of the Buddha (*Mahâ Govinda sutta*-*D*.II.*220ff*).

According to details given in the *Dîghanikâyaṭṭhakathâ*, once Pañcasikha was born as a human being. As a boy wearing his hair in five knots (*pañca-cûlaka- dâraka-kâle*) he became chief of the boys who tended the calves. He took the other boys outside the village, made rest houses at the cross roads, lotus ponds, bridges and repaired the roads and dug wells for the use of the public with the help of the other boys. After his death he was reborn in the Câtummahârâjikâ world with a life span of 90,000 years; his body was 3 *gâvutas* in height. He wore 100 cartloads of ornaments on his person. He wore red robes and on his head a chaplet of red gold, round that his hair was arranged in 5 locks which fell back as in the case of a young boy (*pañca* –*cûlaka-dâraka parihâren'eva* – *DA.II*.p.647).

It is said that the reports of good deeds done by human beings submitted by the ministers of the 4 *deva* kings (*catunnam mahârâjânan amaccâ*) are handed over first to Pañcasikha who would pass them to Mâtalî to be given to Sakka (*DA*.II.p.650).

PAÑCASIKHA – A heavenly musician (*gandhabba*) who resided in the Cātummahārājika realm (*DA*.II. p.649). There is a *sutta* too assigned in his name in the *Saṃyutta Nikâya* (*S*.IV.103f). Herein it is shown that Pañcasikha visited the Buddha and questioned him about the condition, and due cause whereby in this world some beings are fully set free (*parinibbâyanti*) in this very life while some beings are not so. The Buddha enlightened him (*Ibid*). Pañcasikha the son of Gandhabba is mentioned as an attendant (*upaṭṭhako*) and a favourite of the Buddha, and is mentioned as a person who was in the habbit of going to see the Buddha whenever he wanted to question the Buddha and listen to the Dhamma (*DA*.III.p.699). Hence when Sakka wanted to question the Buddha on certain matters he used to send Pañcasikha in advance to obtain permission for the interview from the Buddha (*D*.III.*263ff. Sakkapañha sutta*). Pañcasikha's favourite instrument was the *Beluvapaṇḍuvîṇâ* (a yellow coloured lute) which originally belonged to Māra. When Mâra, after wasting seven years (six years before the Enlightenment and one year after it)trying to discover some weakness in the Buddha, left the Buddha in disgust and weariness as his effort was in vain. The lute which he carried slung on his shoulder slipped and fell when he left. Sakka picked it up and gave it to Pañcasikha(*SnA*.393-394). According to the Buddhavaṃsa Commentary (*BuA*.p.239), it was 3 *gâvutas* in length. It had 50 trestles (*AA.I*.p.72). It was a powerful instrument and when it was plucked with the fingers, the music produced echoed for four months (*SnA*.II.*393f*). According to the *Sakkapañha sutta*, Sakka who wanted to visit the Buddha sent Pañcasikha in advance to the Buddha. Pañcasikha who carried his lute with him stood neither too far, nor too near to the Buddha, played his lute and recited the verses concerning the Buddha, *Dhamma*, *saṅgha* and love (the verses started with *Vande te pitaraṃ bhadde-Timbaru suriya-vaccase*...........-D.II.*265ff*). The verses were addressed to his beloved Bhaddâ Suriyavaccasâ who was the daughter of a *Gandhabba* named Timbaru. The Buddha who praised his music questioned him about the poem. He told the Buddha that his first encounter with her was at the time of the Buddha's stay under the Ajapâla –Nigrodha and that she was then going with her father to dance before Sakka. Though Pañcasikha fell in love with her, she favoured the suit of Sikhaṇḍi, son of Mātali. Then Pañcasikha composed a song and sang to her, she was greatly pleased and consented to marry Pañcasikha. As Pañcasikha interceded with the Buddha on Sakka's behalf Sakka blessed this marriage.

Sometimes Brahmâ Sanankumâra used to assume the form of Pañcasikha when he wanted to appear before the assembly of gods of Tâvatiṃsa(*D.II*.p.211). Explaining this, the commentator Buddhaghosa says that, this was due to the love all the *devas* had for Pañcasikha. They all wished to resemble him(*DA.II*.p.640). Pañcasikha once conveyed a full report to the Buddha , of the happenings in the Assembly of *devas* where Sakka spoke in praise of the Buddha (*Mahâ Govinda sutta-D*.II.*220ff*).

According to details given in the *Dîghanikâyaṭṭhakathâ*, once Pañcasikha was born as a human being. As a boy wearing his hair in five knots (*pañca-cûlaka- dâraka-kâle*) he became chief of the boys who tended the calves. He took the other boys outside the village, made rest houses at the cross roads, lotus ponds, bridges and repaired the roads and dug wells for the use of the public with the help of the other boys. After his death he was reborn in the Câtummahârâjikâ world with a life span of 90,000 years; his body was 3 *gâvutas* in height. He wore 100 cartloads of ornaments on his person. He wore red robes, and on his head a chaplet of red gold, round that his hair was arranged in 5 locks which fell back as in the case of a young boy (*pañca –cûlaka-dâraka parihâren'eva* – *DA.II*.p.647).

It is said that the reports of good deeds done by human beings submitted by the ministers of the 4 *deva* kings (*catunnam mahârâjânan amaccâ*) are handed over first to Pañcasikha who would pass them to Mâtali to be given to Sakka (*DA*.II.p.650).

Dhammapadaṭṭhakathâ says that Pañcasikha was present to render honour to the Buddha, on the Buddha's return from Tâvatiṃsa after delivering *Abhidhamma* to *devas* (*DhA*.III.p.225). The Commentary further says that Pañcasikha was playing his lute (*beluwapaṇḍavīṇâ*) on the right of the Buddha while desending where Mâtalî was on the left (*Ibid*).*Visuddhimagga* too confirms that Pañcasikha with his lute was descending with the Buddha on his return from Tâvatiṃsa(*Vism*. p.392).

Bilârakosiya Jâtaka shows that Pañcasikha is not only the name of a person, but also is a designation like Sakka. Ananda has been born as Pañcasikha and helped Sakka and others to make of Bilârakosiya a generous man (*J*.IV.p.69). Likewise Anuruddha is identified with Pañcasikha in the *Sudhābhojana Jâtaka* (*J*.IV.p.412).

D.Saddhasena

PAÑCASĪLA : Five-fold Buddhist Lay Precepts: One would do well to begin a study of *pañcasīla* in Buddhism by referring to verses 246-7 of the *Dhammapada*. They run as follows:

Yo pâṇaṃ atipâteti musâvâdañ ca bhâsati
loke adinnaṃ âdiyati paradârañ ca gacchati
surâmerayapânañ ca yo naro anuyuñjati
idh 'ev' eso lokasmiṃ mûlaṃ khaṇati attano.

"Whosoever in this world destroys life of living things, utters what is untrue, takes possession of what is not given, resorts to the company of others' spouses, and is addicted to drugs and intoxicating drinks, such a person digs up his own root in this world itself."

From the literary point of view, we would venture to say, this listing of *pañcasīla* is both precise and comprehensive. This is how Buddhism seems to preserve it from very ancient times. We wish to make two preliminary observations at the very outset.

1. Many students of Buddhism, sometimes both of the higher and the less higher grades, question the validity of five items being in this listing, because the fifth item of *Surâmerayapâna* is not discovered in the listing of *sīla* in *suttas* like the *Sâmaññaphala* of the *Dīgha Nikâya* (*D*. I. 63f.). Inspite of this absence, it is all too well known how Buddhism is very conscientiously critical of this social malaise of alcoholism and drug addiction. Evils of this (*surâmeraya-majja-pamâdaṭṭhânânuyoge âdīnavâ*) are specially listed and studied in the *Sigâla Sutta* (*D*. III. 182f.). With regard to *surâmerayapâna* in Buddhist monastic discipline, see *Vinaya* IV. 108f. where it relates the story of Sâgata thera and the circumstances leading to the promulgation of the *Pâcittiya* rule No. 51 on the subject (*surâmeraya-pâne pācittiyam*). More details below.

2. These verses from the *Dhammapada* also assure us, without any hesitation, the real significance of the third precept of *kâmesu micchâcârâ veramaṇī*. We see absolutely no reason for writers on Buddhist Ethics to see this precept an allusion to vague and unspecified gratification of sense pleasures. To do so is no more than wishful thinking to be acceptable to a non-Buddhist oriented public. Such errors need serious and prompt correction if Buddhism's ethical tenor is to be safeguarded. This *Dhammapada* rendering of it as *paradârañ ca gacchati* makes its meaning crystal clear. It is in perfect agreement with other *sutta* references like in the *Sâleyyaka Sutta* at *M*. I. 286 where in a very clear analysis of what is acceptably good moral behaviour (*dhamma-cariyâ sama-cariyâ*), The Buddha explains to the inquiring residents of *Sâlâ* (*Sâleyyaka Brahmins*) what is *kâmesu micchâcârâ* or improper sexual behaviour is. The Commentaries are equally emphatic all the time when they explain it as *methuna-samâcâra* or sexual behaviour.

It is often said in Buddhist teachings that the doing of what is said in the *dhamma* is much more important than the mere learning of it (*Bahum 'pi ce sahitaṃ bhâsamâno na takkaro hoti naro pamatto Dhp*. v.19). It is with this orientation that the *Dhammapada* presents these two verses. Whosoever fails to keep the five-fold precepts inculcated therein are said to dig their own graves in this very life. That is what *idh 'ev' eso lokasmiṃ mûlaṃ khaṇati attano* means. The observance of the five-fold *pañca-sīla* precepts is an absolute guarantee for success in this very life. It arrests social decay and degeneration.

Viewing it from this down-to-earth angle, *pañcasīla* is also religiously evaluated from a socio-ethical angle in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* from two different points of view, namely from that of the individual and that of society. Or putting it differently, from that of one's self and that of the other. Any breach of the said five precepts by an individual in society is viewed as bringing dread and fear upon the rest of the community who are reacting to it. Therefore they are called *pañca-bhayāni* or five-fold dreads and are presented as the corrosive outcome or bye-products of the non-observance of *pañcasīla* (See *Aṅguttara Nikāya* III. 204 f.). This is its social dimension, with the impact of the misdeeds in their breach on society.

The same text views it from the angle of the doer who, in the very process of not respecting and not paying heed to the socially indispensable injunctions of the *pañcasīla* becomes inimical to or an enemy of the society. Therefore such behaviour patterns are called *pañca-verâni* or five-fold enmities. This we would consider to be the individual dimension in the breach of the injunctions of the *pañcasīla*. Buddhism is sensitively aware of this and in their breach such a miscreant is called a villain in society (*appahâya pañcaverâṇi dussīlo iti vuccati*. A. III. 205).

He is definitely described as being qualified to be born in a lower state of existence, lower than human, in his life after death (*kâyassa bhedâ duppañño nirayaṃ so upapajjati loc. cit.*). This is clearly part and parcel of the Buddhist pattern of thinking with regard to what we would legitimately call Buddhist social ethics. They are very much down-to-earth ethics, with their roots in human needs and their fulfillment, for which every human individual is answerable, with no more need to placate any other elsewhere, in fear of whom the humans are made to kneel in prayer.

Now to take up these injunctions one by one in their order of presentation, these items of *sīla* or *sikkhâpada* begin with the respect of the humans for all forms of life, both human and animal. For in the very definition of humans, the Buddhists, quoting traditional authority, speak of them as possessing, above all others, powers of reasoning and judgement (*Porâṇâ pana bhaṇanti manassa ussannatâya manussâ*. *VvA*. 18 & *KhpA*. 123). With a non-creationist theory in their religious thinking with regard to the world and everything therein, the Buddhists have no room to imagine that humans are higher grade products of creation for whose benefit everything else in the universe has been subsequently created by the same source of power who created them.

Therefore the Buddhists have to look upon the entire ecosystem as one assemblage of life, where the respect of one for the other is a vital ingredient for the survival of the whole. This is why the entire Buddhist grounding in morality or *sīla* begins with respect for life. We would think it illogical, as a product of the creation, for anyone to assume far greater power over other co-equal products of creation ; even if one accepts a theory of creation. It is this respect for and the spirit of friendship with the entire bio-diversity of the universe that requires the *pañcasīla* to begin with its first injuction on respect for all forms of life *pāṇātipātā veramaṇi*. This includes all grades of life (*sabba-pāṇa-bhūta-hitānukampi*), both human and animal.

This concept has a very wide coverage, including terrestrial and even extra-terrestrial, those seen and unseen (*diṭṭhā vā ye ca addiṭṭā*), near and far (*ye ca dure vasanti avidūre*), as well as those that have already come into existence and those yet seeking existence (*bhūtā vā sambhavesī vā*). One has to live in such a way and not merely pray for, that all beings may be well and happy (*sabbe sattā bhavantu sukhitattā*) all these quotes are from *Suttanipāta* verse 147 in the *Metta Sutta*).

This respect for life of *pāṇātipātā veramaṇi* does not merely require that one does not himself kill any living being. The *Dhammika Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* beautifully elaborates on these. Dwelling on *pāṇātipātā veramaṇi*, it points out three unmistakable areas : 1. One shall not oneself indulge in destruction of life (*pāṇam na hane*). 2. Nor shall he get another to do the killing (*na ghātayeyya*). It is equally important that 3. One shall not endorse or encourage such acts of destruction of life committed by others (*na c' ānujaññā hanatam paresam* - all at *Sn*. v. 394).

The tradition of the *Suttas* handles this concept with ease everywhere, laying their own stress on different areas of ethical consideration. That is how one has to come to observe this injunction with sincerity and seriousness. The Kosala *Samyukta* brings to the fore the self-example principle of *attūpanāyika* when it says, "In this manner, the self is dear to everyone. Therefore he who loves himself shall cause no injury to another (*Evam piyo puthu attā paresam tasmā na hiṃse paraṃ attakāmo S*. I. 751).

The *Veludvāreyyaka Sutta* (S. v. 353 f.) in like manner makes a delightful presentation of this idea where it says that those who love their own lives and do not wish their lives to be destroyed should not only abstain from such crimes themselves but also prevent others from indulging in such acts. Note here the very desirable collectivist participatory attitude to social ethics, which Buddhism endeavours to sponsor all the time (*parañ ca pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā samādapeti pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā vaṇṇam bhāsati*). The *Dhammapada* calls such non-violence and ethic of the Ariyan (noble) creed whereby they do not stoop so low as to destory life *Na tena ariyo hoti yena pāṇāni hiṃsati Ahiṃsā sabba-pāṇānaṃ ariyo 'ti pavuccati.* Dhp. v. 270).

The second injunction of the *pañcasīla*, i. e. *adinnā dānā veramaṇi*, forbids the dispossession from the owners of their legitimately owned possessions. One shall not appropriate for oneself (*ādiyati*) such property which are not voluntarily given (*adinnaṃ*). Even legally, this shall constitute an act of theft (*theyyasaṅkhāṃ*). There is no restriction whatsoever in Buddhism for legitimately owned private possession. Under Buddhist ethical considerations, this legitimacy is covered both by the state law and the approval by the conscientious wise people of the land. This injunction safeguarding the ownership of property is based on the understanding that one's property and possessions are the primary sources of one's pleasure in life (*Paravittūpakaraṇan 'ti tass 'eva parassa vittū pakaraṇaṃ tuṭṭhijananaṃ parikkhāra-bhaṇḍaṃ. MA.* II. 129). More than twenty-five centuries ago, Buddhism had provided for these basic human rights of security of life and security of possessions.

The third injunction of *Kāmaesu micchācārā veramaṇi* concerns itself with propriety of relationships between the sexes. As pointed out already, there is no possibility whatsoever about mistaking on the interpretation of this injunction. Perhaps ancient Indian institutional thinking brought sex relationships legitimately within the domain of marriage. Therefore both pre-marital sex and sex outside marriage came to be frowned upon as unacceptable. Knowing adequately all evils and social disasters associated with both, Buddhism appears to have fallen in line with this thinking. Besides, Buddhism's attitude to sexual eradication in the light of its transcendental aspirations would have necessitated a dignified and restrained attitude to sex within its fold. It goes without saying that Buddhist monastic life begins by eschewing sex at the very outset.

We have it on record that large numbers of teenage girls of diverse nationalities in North America, during the last decade of the twentieth century, came forward under the counselling of different denominations of the Christian church to declare in public that they were teenage girls, that they did not want sex and that sex was not worth waiting for. Their numbers indeed reached thousands. We applaud the move as wholesome thinking for the human community. It is so much in harmony with what the Buddha propounded more than twenty-five centuries ago. And what a delightful blending of new thinking with the old.

Any one who is not insensitive to the evils of wildly free sex gratification of today, unmindful of the proprieties of age or persons involved, personal relationships, of time and place cannot afford to place the telescope on the blind eye. Such disastrous consequences like unwanted pregnancies, unmarried mothers and fatherless homes, coupled with inevitable acts of bestial criminality like abortion, have undoubtedly been envisaged and reckoned with by the sober thinkers of the good old days.

Besides pre-marital sex, sex outside marriage was also deemed by Buddhists as something exceeding bounds of propriety (both social and religious). Conjugal fidelity, deriving out of a decent sense of honesty, was held by the Buddhists at a high premimum. Its breach was considered an act of grave social villainy. Harmony within the family, based on mutual trust between both partners in the home, both for its own sake and for the sake of healthy growth of children, was much sought after. So the third injunction of *kāmesu micchācārā* of *pañcasīla*, besides its attitude to gratification of sex desires, was a highly desirable social corrective, regulating harmony withn the family and maintaining social coherence among families in the community through trust and mutual respect. We need today to understand its meaning and appreciate its worth more than ever before for the emergence of a loving and mutually respectful society of the two sexes.

The fourth in the *pañcasīla* pentad concerns itself our behaviour through our words. When we say, what do we say and how do we say ? Our speech can and has always to be tested and judged in terms of four criteria. Honesty is the first priority, whether we speak what is really true or not (*musāvāda*). Thoush not directly included under this injunction in the *pañcasī la*, there are other sub-divisions of faulty speech against

which the Buddhists must guard themselves. The second of such speech is slander or tale-telling (*pisunā vācā*), i. e. speech which brings about discord and break up among friendly groups. The third is unfriendly and unkind harsh words (*pharusā vācā*). Finally comes empty, worthless frivolous speech (*samphappalāpā*).

Winding up the list of *pañcasīla sikkhāpada* comes the one relating to *surāmeraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇī*. This endeavours to prevent people from falling into lapses of judgement as a result of being under the effect of drugs or alcohol. The best explanation about being in such a situation is witnessed in the Buddha's words to the monks at the scene where the monk Sāgata was found by the Buddha to be in a state of complete drunkenness. He asks the monks whether one should partake of any drink having taken which one loses one's faculty of judgement (*Api nu kho bhikkhave tampātabbam yam pivitvā visaññī assā ti. Vin.* IV. 109f.) Based on this argument, *pācittiya* No. 15 (a relatively lesser offence) comes to be laid down in Buddhist monastic discipline.

This appears to us, both socially and religiously, the best criterion to decide one's attitude to the consumption of alcoholic drinks or use of drugs. In society, all crimes are presumably traceable to diverse sorts of errors of judgement. It would not be incorrect to say that a vast majority of these are alcohol related. Quite often it could be unmeditated, but one gets to know quite often at court proceedings that pre-planned drunkenness is not uncommon, because it provides the much-wanted Dutch courage for acts of violence. It robs the quality of mercy out of one's heart. It also robs the human mind of its restraints, which are implanted therein through such socially stabilizing factors like modesty and concerns of propriety and decency.

At this stage it is amazingly interesting to go back two thousand five hundred years in human history and take a peep into what the Buddha, as the wise human sage of ancient India, has said about the evils of drinking in the *Singālovāda Sutta* (*surāmeraya-majjapamādaṭṭhānānuyoge ādinava* at *D*. III. 182f). He has indicated six different items, which we can classify as follows : 1. ruining away one's financial resources here and now (*sandiṭṭhikā dhanañjani*), 2. increasing quarrels and strifes (*kalahappavaḍḍhani*), 3. generating a bad reputation (*akitti-sañjanani*) and 4. tearing away one's sense of modesty and shame through voluntary or involuntary display of one's nakedness (*kopina-niddaṃsani*). All these are socially corrosive in this very life. Let each society with its different cultural millieu, test their veracity and applicability, any time anywhere. Two more very revealing items, which are medically invaluable, complete the list. They are numbers 3. being a source of many diseases and ailments (*rogānam āyatanam*) and 5. weakening one's wisdom or reducing the functioning of the brain (*paññāya dubbalikaraṇī*).

The universal encyclopaedic value of these observations in the above *Sutta*, we believe, cannot be overrated. We wish to draw special attention to item No. 5 (*kopinaniddaṃsana*) of the above list which we have already translated as tearing away one's sense of modesty through display of one's nakedness. What this means in one's day to day life is only to be guessed in the *Sutta*, as to how and what happens. Probably many guesses can turn out to be correct. All other five items have unquestionable clarity.

On the other hand, the Commentary to this *Sutta* in the *Sumangalavilāsini*, recorded for us in Pāli by Venerable Buddhaghosa about the fifth century A. C. offers us a remarkably complete graphic picture of the situation contemplated. It tells that when people are drunk, i. e. are under the influence of alcohol, they do not know that parts of their bodies which are normally kept covered are laid bare. This means that they go about naked. Here is the text of the Commentary in Pali (*Kopīna-nidaṃsani 'ti guyha-ṭhānaṃ hi vivariyamānaṃ hiriṃ kopeti vināseti tasmā kopinan 'ti vuccati' Surā-mada-mattā ca taṃ taṃ angaṃ vivaritvā vicaranti. Tena tesaṃ sā surā kopīnassa nidaṃsanato kopīna-nidamsanī ti vuccati. DA* III. 945).

Not very long ago, we were fortunate enough to identify in the Musée Guimet in Paris a very small piece of Gandhāran sculpture, which totally depicts this scene referred to in Buddhaghosa's Commentary. The earliest written down version of the Commentary known to us and is in Pāli, goes back only to the 5th century. But this piece of sculpture which hails from Hadda in South Afghanistan dates back to a period several centuries earlier to Buddhaghosa. Did the Hellenistic artists who were undoubtely commissioned by the pious Buddhists of Afghanistan in these early centuries of the Christian era get all these details for their amazingly delightful sculpture from a written version of the Commentary much earlier to Buddhaghosa or from an equally old oral tradition in any other language, shared by many schools ?

Whatever it be, the existence in the early centuries of the Christian era of this true-to the-letter depiction of the Commentarial theme of the *Sigāla Sutta*, beautifully carved out in stone, impresses us very much in two ways. 1. At this very early stage in Buddhist history and in these lesser known areas of early Buddhist homelands, the vibrant ethics of early Buddhism with their down-to-earth realism had been enthusiastically received. They did want to warn their people against evils of drinking. This particular piece of sculpture was used to adorn a flight of steps leading to a stūpa, which is a public place of worship. 2. A vibrant living tradition of Buddhist teachings, together with an indispensably accompanying system of explanations, by whatever name they came to be called, seems to have walked over to many lands where Buddhism went. Remains of Buddhist sculptures, discovered today even as ruins in many places, testify to this.

In Buddhism, one of the surest guarantees of being assuredly on the path to liberation in Nirvāna is what is called *sotāpatti* or 'entry into the stream,' i. e. the stream leading to Nirvāna. To qualifty for this, the following pre-requisites are specified (*A.* V. 182 ff.). They fall into two groups. 1. First and foremost, oneself of the five dreads (*pañca bhayāni*) and five enmities (*pañca verāni*) which we have already discussed above. They provide for a basic correction of societal relationships. 2. Next come what are called the four pre-requisites or basic ingredients of *Sotāpatti* itself, i.e. *sotāpatti-anga*. They are firm faith (*avecca-pasā da*) in the Buddha, Dhamma and the Sangha and *ariyakanta-sīla*, which constitute the totally perfect higher-grade morality (*akhaṇḍehi acchiddehi asabalehi akammāsehi*) which the Commentary describes as *magga-phala-sīla* (*AA*. III. 304).

The grand finale in the process of developing the path to liberation in Nirvāna is presented as a thorough intellectual mastery and comprehension (*paññāya sudiṭṭho hoti suppaṭividdho*) of the correct knowledge or *ariyo ñāyo*. What does this refer to ? The same *Anguttara Nikāya* text quoted above (A. IV. 184) explains this *ariyo ñāyo* in no uncertain terms as what we call the basic and fundamental doctrine of the *Paticcasamuppāda* or Doctrine of Causal Genesis which explains no less and no more than the total phenomenon of Samsāra and the release or way out of it (*paccayā paccayā and nirodhā nirodhā*) for the beings who are caught in it. Please note that in our texts it is not general theory of causation but one that specifically applies to the samsāric continuance of humans and their accompanying mass of *dukkha*.

Being endowed with these various items of loyalty or dedication, perfections and comprehended knowledge, one is assured that one is undoubtedly going to make an end of *Samsara* by getting at total knowledge of the entire process. What we have endeavoured in this article is to point out the very role *sīla*-culture plays in this development process (note the role of *ariyakanta-sīla*, under the name of *pañca-bhayāni* and *pañca verāṇi* play their basic role of being social and religious correctives.

Dhammavihāri

PAÑCAVAGGIYĀ - *Pañcavaggiyā* or *Pañcavaggika bhikkhūs* are a group of five *bhikkhūs* who were coming from Brahmin families. The Buddha preached his first sermon *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta* to them at Migadāya in Isipatana on the Full moon day of *Āsalha* (*Vin*.I.*10f*.). The names of these 5 *bhikkhūs* are Koṇḍañña, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahânâma and Assaji. They were the Buddha's first disciples and were among the first 60 *bhikkhūs* who were sent on wandering for the welfare of *devas* and men. Koṇḍañña was the youngest of the 8 Brahmins who read the signs on Prince Siddhattha's body on the day of the name-giving Festival. Koṇḍañña was his family name . Though he was yet quite a novice, he declared definitely that Siddhattha would be a Buddha. The four others -Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahânâma and Assaji – were the children of other Brahmins who came to prognosticate on the name-giving Festival. Their fathers advised these children to watch Siddhattha's career and to join him should he renounce the world. After the Bodhisatta's renunciation Koṇḍañña left home with four others mentioned above (*J*.I.57). They all joined in the austerities of Siddhattha Gotama at Uruvelā. When the Bodhisatta abandoned his austerities and started to follow the Middle Way, *Pañcavaggiyā Bhikkhūs* left him in disappointment and proceeded to Isipatana (*Ibid*.p.68). After the Enlightenment, the Buddha visited them at Isipatana to preach his first sermon to them as they were of great assistance to him during the period of austerity(*Ibid*.p.81). At first they refused to pay attention to him and were reluctant to accept the Buddha's claim to Enlightenment. But gradually winning their hearts by his powers of persuasion, the Buddha got their consent to listen to him. When he preached the sermon, Koṇḍañña became a stream-winner(*Ibid*.p.82). He was the first human-being to realize the Buddha's discourse; hence the Buddha praised him saying "*aññāsi vata bho Koṇḍañño*" twice.

Vappa was the son of Vāseṭṭha, a Brahmin of Kapilavatthu. Assaji was responsible for the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna who became Chief Disciples of the Buddha. Sāriputta had a great veneration for Assaji so that from the day of his first meeting with Assaji, in whatever quarter he heard that Assaji was staying, he would extend his clasped hands in an attitude of reverent supplication in that direction and turn his head in that direction when he lay down to sleep (*DhA*.IV.150-1).

These five *bhikkhūs* attained Arahantship on hearing the *Anattalakkhaṇa sutta*, which was preached by the Buddha five days after the preaching of the *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta* (*Vin*.I.p.13-14; *J*.I.p.82).

D. Saddhasena

PAÑCINDRIYA See INDRIYA

PAÑÑĀ: The concept of *paññā* (Sk. *prajnā*), which signifies a distinguishable form the cognitive activity and belongs to the same conceptual family as other concepts expressed by terms derived from the common verbal root *jñā* (to know) occupies an important place in Buddhist sotereological theory. It is rendered into English as 'wisdom', 'gnosis', 'insight', understanding' or 'intuitive knowledge'. In pali the specific mode of cognition involved is differentiated by the use of the prefix *pa*-(Sk. *pra*) expressing a cognitive meaning which is distinguishable from that expressed by other terms like *viññāṇa, saññā, pariññā* and *abhiññā* where the respective prefixes are *vi-saṃ-pari-* and *abhi*. In early Buddhism the use of both the substantive form (*paññā*) and the verbal form (*pājānāti*) are frequent in a variety of contexts. The substantive usage could be analyzed in terms of the verbal usage implying that *paññā* signifies no static entity but a congnitive activity of a certain sort. A person may be called one possessed of *paññā* in the sense that he engages in the activity of cognizing in the particular mode of cognition called *paññā*. The commentator Buddhaghosa explains the term by saying that this mode of cognition is called *paññā* in the sense that it is the activity of cognizing in the *paññā* way.[1]

Paññā is recognized as one of the faculties (*paññindriya*) and one of the powers (*paññābala*)[2] to be cultivated for the attainment of the Buddhist goal of liberation. It is also the third and the highest requisite in the threefold path of training leading to the goal of liberation.[3] One has to be a person possessed of *paññā* (*sapañño* or *paññavā*) in order to liberate oneself from the miseries of existence.[4] The teaching of the Buddha is supposed to be for the benefit of those who are possessed of *paññā*, but not for those who are deficient in it.[5] *Paññā* is considered as a virtue that must be perfected by all beings who aspire to become fully enlightened Buddhas and is recognized by all Buddhist traditions as one of the perfections (*pāramitā*) for the attainment of Buddhahood. A large body of literature called *prajñāpāramitāsūtra* was composed in Buddhist Sanskrit at a later time the purpose of which was to characterize the Buddhist cognition of the nature of reality in terms of *prajñā*. The Buddha claimed that his teaching was not based on the holy and authoritative tradition of Vedic revelation (*anussava*), but that it contained what he had himself known and seen. The specific mode of knowing and seeing involved here is described as *paññā*. His disciples were also expected not to accept the teaching on mere faith but see it with right *paññā* (*yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya daṭṭhabbaṃ*). *Paññā* is therefore considered as essential for the realization of the liberating truths of Buddhism.

1 *Pajānāti pajānātīti kho āvuso tasmā paññavāti vuccati.* - *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 292. ; *Visuddhimagga* Chapter XIV. *Paññābhūminiddesa.*

2 The other faculties mentioned with *paññā* are *saddhā* (faith or confidence), *viriya* (effort), *sati*, (mindfulness) and *samādhi* (mental composure). The same list is given in connection with powers.

3 *Sīla* (wholesome practices) and *samādhi* (composure) are given as the two kinds of training that should be fulfilled by way of preparation for the cultivation of *paññā*.

4. *Sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño cittaṃ paññanca bhāvayaṃ ātāpī nipako bhikkhu so imaṃ vijaṭaye jaṭaṃ. Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. I, p. 13.

5 *Paññavantassa ayaṃ dhammo nāyaṃ dhammo duppaññassa. Dīghanikāya* Vol. III, p. 287.

A number of logical and epistemolgical issues can be raised about the Buddhist concept of *paññā*. Does *paññā* represent a kind of rational and intuitive knowledge, or is it a kind of empirical knowledge ? What is the relationship of the mode of cognition represented by *paññā* to sense experience ? Does it signify some form of supra-sensory and metaphysical mode of perception in terms of which sense experience is to be considered all illusory ? What are the objects of this mode of knowing ? Are they some eternal and mysterious entities representing ultimate metaphysical reality similar to Platonic Ideas or Forms ? In order to answer these questions appropriately one has to carefully examine the contexts in which terms such as *paññā* and *pajānāti* occur in the discourses of the Buddha.

It is clear that the use of differenct prefixes with the verbal root *jñā* that signifies an activity of knowing in general, modifies the cognitive meaning of the term and indicates in each respective case a different mode of knowing. The ways of knowing represented by *vijānāti* and *sañjānāti* are not considered as sufficient for the purpose of achieving the Buddhist goal of *Nibbāna*. *Paññā* (or the way of knowing expressed by *pajānati*) like two other terms *pariññā* and *abhiññā* is given a higher soteriological value over *viññaṇā* and *saññā*. The term *viññaṇa* has been used to refer to the cognitive experience produced by the contact of each sense faculty with its corresponding stimulus.[6] *Saññā* (or the cognitive activity expressed by *sañjānāti*) has been used to refer to the process of mental construction of the experience in terms of concepts and categories of thought inclusive of the emotional elements built into such constructions. The latter process may have its practical use in the ordinary life of the individual as well as in social interaction, but is likely to create bondage of one who grasps those constructs as if they were ultimate realities. The cognition of blue, yellow red etc. that we have in sense perception has been given as an example of the cognitive activity involved in the process of *saññā*.[7] The cognition of pleasure, pain or neutral sensation has been given as an example of the experience of *viññaṇa*.[8]

The term *pajānāti* is used in contexts where the cognitive activity is more reflective and penetrative. It involves not only a bare perception of the object but also a synthetic apprehension of its nature and composition inclusive of its various relational aspects. This implies that the cognitive activity involved in *paññā* is connected with the application of the intellectual capacity of the mind to analyze, synthesize and apprehend the underlying principles connected with whatever mental or material phenomenon to which the attention of the mind is directed. As an intellectual capacity it may be employed in quite ordinary situations as well. The *Saṅgīti Suttanta* for instance recognizes three kinds of *paññā* as that of the trainee (*sekhā paññā*) as that of the person who needs no further training (*asekhā paññā*) and as that of neither the trainee nor the person who needs no further training (*nevasekhā nāsekhā paññā*). The third obviously refers to the *paññā* of the ordinary person.[9] The Suttas sometimes use the term with reference to understanding that is produced by independent reflection (*cintāmayā paññā*) understanding that is produced by hearing (*sutamayā paññā*) and understanding that is consequent upon the cultivation of the mind (*bhāvanāmayā paññā*).[10] It is in this last sense that Buddhism considered *paññā* to be of the highest value. *Paññā* is used for the purpose of intensely examining, inquring into and scrutinizing something.[11] In the analysis of terms in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* an attempt is made to give as exhaustively as possible the whole range of the meaning of *paññā*. Here several related terms are listed and the term *paññā* is combined with other nouns in a figurative manner in order to make clear the different shades of its implicit meanings.[12] Rhys Davids has translated the passage into English as follows :

---

6 This is exemplified by the usage *cakkhuñca paṭicca rūpe ca uppajjati cakkhuviññāṇam*...... *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 111.

7 *Sañjānāti sañjānātīti kho āvuso tasmā saññāti vuccati. Kiñca sañjānāti ? Nīlakampi sañjānāti pītakampi sañjānāti* ...... *Ibid*. p. 293.

8 *Sukhanti pi vijānāti dukkhanti pi vijānāti adukkhamasukhanti pi vijānāti*. *Ibid*. P. 292.

9 *Dīghanikāya* Vol. III, p. 219.

10. *Ibid*.

11 *Paññāya taṃ dhammaṃ pavicinati paricarati parivīmaṃsamāpajjati*. *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. V., p. 68.

12 *Katamaṃ tasmiṃ samaye paññidriyaṃ hoti ? Yātasmiṃ Samaye paññā pajānanā vicayo pavicayo dhammavicayo sallakkhanā upalakkhanā paccupalakkhanā paṇḍiccaṃ kosallaṃ nepuññaṃ vebhavya cintā upaparikkhā bhurimedhā pariṇāyikā vipassanā sampajaññaṃ patodo paññā paññindriyaṃ paññābalaṃ paññāsatthaṃ paññāpāsādo paññā-āloko pañña-obhāso paññāpajjoto paññaratanaṃ amoho dhammavicayo sammādiṭṭhi*. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* p. 11.

What on that occasion is the faculty of wisdom (*paññindriyam*) ? The wisdom which there is on that occasion is understanding, search, research, searching the truth, discernment, discrimination, differetiation, erudition, proficiency, subtlety, criticism, reflection, analysis, breadth, sagacity, leading, insight, intelligence, incitement, wisdom as faculty, wisdom as power, wisdom as a sword, wisdom as a height, wisdom as light, wisdom as glory, wisdom as a splendour, wisdom as a precious stone, the absence of dullness, searching the truth, right views.[13]

The Pali commentaries attempt to highlight the special cognitive meaning of *paññā*, in contrast to the meaning of other cognitive terms in Buddhism by drawing attention to the modification of meaning implied by the use of the prefix *pra* (*pajānanatthena paññā*). In the *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā* the meaning of the term *paññā* is explained by including within its connotation *ñāṇaṃ* (knowledge), *dassanam* (insight), *abhisamayo* (higher realization), *paṭivedho* (penetrative understanding). *sangāhanā* (thorough understanding), *pariyogāhanā* (scrutiny) *samapekkhaṇā* (thorough discernment), *paccavekkhaṇā* (reflective consideration) and *sampajaññaṃ* (understanding with full awareness). *Viññāṇa* just provides the raw material through the respective senses and the mind orders and recognizes this material by means of the conceptual activity referred to as *saññā*. *Saññā* could, however, distort reality through the intrusion into experience of certain unwholesome emotive elements. *Paññā* as distinguished from *saññā* gives the ability to deal cognitively with the content of human experience without distortions or as it is often expressed "with proper *paññā* in the way things have really come to be" (*yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya*). It is a capacity of the human mind that can be systematically trained in order to understand the nature and characteristic of everything that comes within our experience in such a way that the mind gets liberated from unwholesome emotions produced by delusion. The Buddha qualified the kind of penetrative knowledge implied by his use of the term by calling it noble *paññā* (*ariyā paññā*)[14] or cultivated and developed *paññā*[15] that is directed to the goal of liberation. The noble *paññā* to be cultivated is distinguished in Buddhism with reference to the radical ethical transformation of the person that is effected by it. It eradicates the inner moral impurities, cuts off the bonds of the unending miserable process of becoming (*bhava*) and liberates the person from all suffering.[16] Such an application of *paññā* is in need of the fulfillment of certain preconditions such as the development of *sīla* (wholesome conduct) and *samādhi* (mental composure). The proper exercise of *paññā* is possible only when the mind is adequately freed from the hindrances[17] and the emotional biases that weaken its effective application. The mind has to be properly calmed (*samāhita*) and perfect alertness or mindfulness and equanimity (*upekkhāsatipārisuddhiṃ*) have to be established in order to exercise what the Buddha referred to as noble *paññā*. The noble *paññā* referred to in Buddhism is considered to dawn in typically contemplative situations, where the mind has been perfectly calmed and stilled. Such cognition cannot occur when the mind is under the influence of the hindrances that cloud its inherent capability of clear cognition. Insight into truths higherto unrealized regarding the problem of *dukkha*, resulting in the removal of all doubt is said to have occurred when the Buddha had known the dependent arising of things in the *paññā* mode of cognition.[18] This knowledge is evidently a consequence of mental culture and

13 *A Buddhist Mannual of psychological Ethics, Dhammasangaṇi*, Translated by C. A. F. Rhys Davids (Royal Asiatic Society. London 1900) p. 17-18.

14 *Esāhi bhikkhave paramā ariyā paññā yadidaṃ sabbadukkhakkhaye ñāṇam. Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 245.

15 *Paññā* is to be developed or cultivated and Buddhism conceives of *paññā* as a product of systematic training. The process of training is called *adhipaññā sikkhā* (training in the higher *paññā*) and is to be linked with *adhisīlasikkhā* and *adhicittasikkhā* (training in higher morality and higher consciousness). The distinction between *viññāṇa* and *paññā* is drawn by pointing out that *viññāṇa* must be comprehensively understood (perhaps because it in itself does not give us comprehensive understanding) and *paññā* should be cultivated (*paññā bhāvetabbā viññāṇaṃ pariññeyyaṃ*. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 293.

16 *yāyaṃ ariyā paññā kilesaṃ antarā saṃyojanaṃ antarā bandhanaṃ saṅkantati antarā sampakantati samparikantati*. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 275.

17 The hindrances identified in Buddhism as sensuous desire, maliciousness, flurry and worry, sloth and torpor and perplexity are viewed as mental states that weaken the capacity of *paññā* (*paññāya dubbalikaraṇe*).

18 *Yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā ātāpino jhāyato brāhmanassa athassa kaṅkhā vupayanti sabbā yato pajānāti sahetudhammaṃ*. *Vinaya* Vol. I, p. 2

contemplative development of the mind. As mentioned in sthe *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dighanikāya* that describes the fruits of the threefold training in recluseship, the higher *paññā* occurs when the mind has been thoroughly cleansed, made steady and pliable.[19] Some of the extraordinary cognitive abilities that emerge after the mind is made pure and immaculate are given as *iddhividha* (psychokinetic and other powers can be called instances of 'mind over matter'), *dibbacakkhu* (clairvoyance which includes the ability to verify the rebirth of other living beings), *dibbasota* (clairaudience), *pubbenivāsānussati* (recollection of experiences of one's previous lives) and *cetopariyañāṇa* (ability to know the states of mind of other persons). These are considered in early Buddhism as comprising the cultivated higher *paññā* .[20] The sixth and the most important of higher *paññā* is the knowledge involving the eradication of all cankers (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*). The ultimate objective of this systematically cultivated noble *paññā* in Buddhism is the effective freeing of the mind from all the unwholesome psychological tendencies that create suffering and misery.[21]

Thus according to Buddhism, *paññā* which is a cognitive capacity of mind which may be used to fulfill ordinary mundane objectives can be harnessed for the fulfillment of the noble objective of attaining perfect peace and freedom from cankers. The Buddha observes that there is a mutual relationship between *paññā* and the moral quality that is cultivated in a person. Where there is *paññā* there is *sīla* and where there is *sīla* there is *paññā*. According to the Buddha, *sīla* (good conduct) is purified by *paññā* and *paññā* is purified by good conduct.[22]

It was noted above that examples for the cognitive activity of *paññā* are provided by the cognition, of blue etc., and examples for the cognitive activity of *viññāṇa* are provided by the cognition, of pain etc. The kind of cognition involved in knowing the four noble truths, *dukkha* (unsatisfactorines), the origin of *dukkha*, its cessation and the path to its cessation is invariably referred to by the use of the term *pajānāti*. The Buddha's understanding on various matters relating to the human predicament are referred to as a product of *paññā*. The Buddha, for instance, understood by means of *paññā* all the different philosophical theories about existence presented by *samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* who lived during his time. He also understood the exact consequences of those theories on the destiny of people who held them.[23] The term *pajānāti* occurs also in connection with the cognition of the moral quality or moral nature of things. What things are morally unwholesome, what things ought to be avoided or not avoided, what practices one should cultivate or not cultivate, what things are morally superior or inferior etc. are to be known by means of *paññā*.[24] All the elements of empirical reality consisting of mind and matter such as the five aggregates (*pañcakkhandhā*) the twelve spheres of sense (*dvādasāyatanāni*) and the eighteen elements are to be known by means of *paññā* . The three characteristics of all compounded things, namely, their transient nature (*anicca*), unsatisfactoriness (*dukkha*) and soullessness (*anattā*) have to be known by means of *paññā*. All factors of the twelve-fold formula of dependent arising the factors of the noble eight-fold path and the seven factors of enlightenment are other examples of what is to be known in the same way.

An attempt to explain the distinctive meaning of *paññā* in comparison with two other terms used with cognitive import in Buddhism, *saññā* and *viññāṇa* occurs in the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa. According to this explanation *paññā* is to be distinguished from the modes of knowing involved in *sañjānana* and *vijānana* (*sañjānanavijānanākā ravisiṭṭham*). It is also explained as knowing in many ways (*nānappakārato ñāṇam*). This explanation suggests that the cognition involved in *paññā* goes beyond the limitations imposed upon ordinary cognitive activity by the immaturity of the understanding and the constraints imposed by pure mudane concerns of

19 *Evaṃ samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte anaṅgane vigatūpakkilese mudubhūte kammaniye ṭhite...* Dighanikāya Vol. I, p. 76.

20 Ibid. p. 124.

21 *Paññāparibhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammadeva āsavehi vimuccati.* Dighanikāya Vol. II, p. 81.

22 *Sīlaparidhotā paññā paññā paridhotam sīlaṃ yattha sīlaṃ tattha paññā yattha paññā tattha sīlaṃ.* Ibid. Vol. I, . 123.

23 *Tayidam bhikkhave pajānāti ime diṭṭhiṭṭhānā evaṃ gahitā evaṃ parāmaṭṭhā evaṃ gatikā bhavissanti evaṃ abhisamparāyā ti.* Ibid. Vol. I, p. 24.

24 Ibid. Vol. II, p. 215.

the individual. Going beyond these limitations *paññā* makes a person capable of producing the progressive attainments of the path of liberation through endeavour.[25] In this context Buddhaghosa uses the simile of the difference in understanding that three persons of different levels in maturity and understanding will have in respect of the same gold coin. *Saññā*, according to this explanation is like the understanding of an immature child whose intellect is still not developed (*ajātabuddhidārakassa*). He will grasp the mere mode of its appearance as blue etc. *Viññāṇa* is like the understanding of a village adult (*gāmikapurisassa*) who will be capable of grasping its appearance as blue etc. and also understand some of its other characteristics. The moneychanger's (*heraññikassa*) understanding is however more complete than that of the other two, and such understanding leads to the most productive achievements.[26] This mode of cognition is also qualified as insightful comprehension (*vipassanā paññā*) productive of the special consequence of liberating the individual from suffering. Adopting the typical commentarial method of exegesis, Buddhaghosa says that *paññā* has penetrative understanding of the inherent nature of phenomena (*dhammasabhāvapaṭivedhalakkhaṇā*) as its characteristic, dispelling the darkness of ignorance that conceals the inherent nature of phenomena as its function, (*dhammānaṃ sabhāvapaṭicchādakamohāndhakāraviddhaṃsanarasā*), non-delusion as its manifestation (*asammohapaccupaṭṭhāna*) and a composed mind (*samādhipadaṭṭhānaṃ*) as its proximate cause.[27]

The content of the knowledge expressed by the cognitive mode called *paññā* was not understood in the early teachings as any supra-sensory being or object. Epistemologically, the Buddhist concept of *paññā* does not imply a special supra-sensory world of objects to be apprehended by rational or mystical intuition. A difference in objects is not recognized when the early Buddhist teachings refer to what is known by means of *viññāṇa* and what is known by means of *paññā*. *Viññāṇa* and *paññā* involve two different ways of cognizing rather than the cognition of two different realms of being or reality. In terms of the objects known, no difference is recognized. The difference pertains to the way the objective existence is cognized. This has been recognized in the canonical as well as the commentarial period of Theravāda Buddhism. In a canonical discussion of the relationship between *viññāṇa* and *paññā*, it is maintained that these two taken as states of mind are intertwined and that it is not possible to show a distinction between them by analyzing the content of the cognitive experience. What is cognized in the way of *paññā* is the same as what is cognized in the way of *viññāna*.[28] Buddhaghosa notes that *paññā* is not always to be found where *saññā* and *viññāṇa* are. As explained by Buddhaghosa :

> However it is not always to be found where perception (*saññā*) and consciousness (*viññāna*) are. But when it is, it is not disconnected from these states. And because it cannot be taken as disconnected thus 'This is perception, this is consciousness, this is understanding' (*paññā*), its difference is consequently subtle and hard to see. Hence the Venerable Nāgasena said "A difficult thing or King, has been done by the Blessed One." "What, venerable Nāgasena, is the difficult thing that has been done by the Blessed One ?" - "the difficult thing, O king, done by the Blessed One was the defining of the immaterial states of consciousness and its concomitants which occur with a single object and which he declared thus : 'This is contact, this is feeling, this is perception, this is volition, this is consciousness".[29]

The Buddha is represented in the Pali Nikāyas as rejecting all dogmatic opinions about the ultimate nature of existence. The *Aṭṭhakavagga of the Suttanipāta* consists of a critique of persons who attempted to establish an absolute truth. The mode of understanding that *paññā* provides is explained in early Buddhism as having the important practical consequence of releasing

25 *Ussakkitvā maggapātubhāvampāpeti. Visuddhimagga, Paññābhūminiddesa* (Chapter XIV)

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 *Yācāvuso paññā yanca viññanaṃ ime dhammā saṃsaṭṭhā no visaṃsaṭṭhā. Na ca labbhā imesaṃ dhammānaṃ vinibbhujitvā vinibbhujitvā nānākaranaṃ paññapetuṃ. Yaṃ hi āvuso pajānāti taṃ vijānāti, yaṃ vijanati taṃ pajānāti.* (*Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 292).

29 *Visuddhimagga* Ch. XIV, *Paññābhūminiddesa*, translated by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, (R. Semage, Colombo 1956), p. 480-481. Also note that Bhikkhu Ñānaponika translates *saññā* as perception, *viññāna* as consciousness and *paññā* as understanding.

people from suffering. The Buddha explains the diversity of truths resulting from clinging to subjective conceptual constructions of reality.[30] He considers ideological conflicts as a product of such clinging and maintains that there is one truth that puts an end to all ideological conflict when understood by the *paññā* mode of cognition.[31] This is the truth about the destruction of all cankers or the realization of the peace of *nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is not understood in early Buddhism as a transcendental entity which is apprehended by means of rational intuition. What *paññā* helps in cognizing is merely the conditioned nature of phenomena. This cognition produces the elimination of all *āsava* (cankers)[32], ensuring the attainment of peace of mind and liberation from all ills of existence. These statements imply that *paññā* consists not in the cognition of a supra-sensory realm of being, but in seeing the very phenomena that come within our sense perception in such a way that it releases the mind from all unwholesome emotive responses to the world. An accurate interpretation of the role of *paññā* needs to guard against the misconception that it involves the cognition of some metaphysical entity or a noumenal substance like *Nibbā na* or *Suññatā*.

Some later schools of Buddhism seem to have held the view that *prajñā* cognizes the entities that are ultimately real, the *paramārthadharma*. In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya prajñā* is considered as the discernment of *dharmas*, the ultimates of Abhidharma analysis (*dharmapravicayah*). It is mainly as a response in terms of the philosophical stance of the teachings of early Buddhism that the early Mahāyāna introduced the concept of *śūnyatā* (emptiness). At this stage of the development of Buddhist philosophy *prajñā* came to be considered as a state of consciousness which understands the emptiness of all *dharmas*. Thus *prajñā* became the principal concern of the *prajñāpāramitā* (perfection of wisdom) *sūtras*. The *prajñā* of the Abhidharma schools was considered as imperfect in that they recognized only the absence of *ātman* in individuals (*pudgalanairātmya*), but did not go as far as recognizing the absence of any essence even in the ultimates of *Abhidharma* analysis (*dharmanairātmya* or *sarvadhamaśūnyatā*). In the *Prajnāpāramitā Sūtra* such as *Vajracchedikā* the perfection of *prajñā* involves freeing the mind from all notions of duality and discrimination. They explicitly proclaim the identity of contradictory opposites resulting in paradoxical assertions. Perfection of *prajñā* consists in seeing what is essential nature as no essential nature, what is practice as no practice, a mass of merit as no mass of merit and so on.[33] Nāgārjuna in his *Mādhyamika Kārikā* also attempts to reaffirm the early Buddhist non-substantialist position, by rejecting all the ultimate categories of the *Abhidharma* as conceptual constructions that cannot be ultimately valid.

In some Mahāyāna texts *Prajñā* came to be identified with the content of meditative absorption. It is awareness of the ultimate truth, of the way things really are. The *Mahāyānasamgraha* refers to the perfection of wisdom as 'non-conceptual awareness' (*nirvikalpajñāna*). According to the Vijñānavāda *prajñā* stands beyond all mental categories and constructions. Early Buddhism does not seem to have associated *prajñā* with any particular experience of meditative absorption. Insightful understanding of the three characteristics, impermanence, unsatisfactoriness and soullessness of everything that is experienced beginning from the grossest to the subtlest, amounts to *paññā* in the early Buddhist teachings. Perhaps it is the same notion that later Buddhist philosophers attempted to express in terms of the notion of *śūnyatā* , *tathatā*, *bhūtatathatā* or *nirvikalpajnāṇa*. However, some Later Buddhist expressions of this have *themselves led to absolutistic and essentialist interpretations of the content of *paññā*, resulting in ontological positions that early Buddhism consistently tried to avoid.

The Mahāyāna tradition developed the concept of *prajñā* introducing diverse forms of religious imagery. Perfection of *prajñā* came to be proclaimed as the mother of all the Buddhas and personified as the goddess *prajñāpāramitā*. A much broader and imaginatively deeper interpretation is given of the notion of *prajñā* in the newly construed concepts of universal Buddhahood, the doctrine of the three bodies of the Buddha and the philosophical exposition of the

30 *Na heva saccāni bahūni nānā aññatra saññāya niccāni loke. Suttanipāta*, Verse 886.
31 *Ekam hi saccam na dutiyamatthi yasmim pajāno vivade pajānam.* Ibid. Verse 884.
32 *Paññāya cassa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇāhonti. Majjimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 160.
33 See Edward Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London 1962) part III, Chapter 4; Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism* (Routledge, London 1989) p. 42f

doctrine of emptiness in the later Mahāyāna sources. Bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara have been considered as manifestations of *prajñā*.

The Buddhist term *paññā* is evidently one adopted from the common language of the time. However its congitive meaning has been modified and expanded in Buddhism to suit its soteriological aims. In the early Buddhist scriptures it was used in the sense of comprehensive understanding of the nature of all phenomena leading to a lasting ethical transformation of the individual. It was not considered as a rational intuition into some monistic, non-dual reality conceived as the ultimate truth and source of all existence. Some later attempts in the Buddhist tradition moved in the direction of identifying some ultimate essence or essences as the object of *paññā*. The teachings of early Buddhism however, clearly imply that *paññā* is merely a way of knowing things rather than a kind of rational intuition involved in seeing or experiencing something unique, metaphysical and transcendental.

P. D. Premasiri

PAÑÑĀSĪHA, MADIHE: an erudite Mahā thera of the Amarapura Sri Dharmarakshita Nikāya, who passed away on 8th September 2003 having performed a very distinguished service to the *Sāsana* which spanned for over six decades.

He was born in the village of Madihe within the four gravets of the Matara District in the ancient Ruhuna. His father was a Sinhala school teacher named James Carolis Pūjita Gunawardhana, better known as *Madihe Mahā Iskole Mahatmaya* descending from the Pūjita Gunawardhana family which had produced several distinguished scholars of repute.

James Carolis Pūjita Gunawardhana married Bella Angelina Dhīrasekara, a daughter of Disneris Dias Dhirasekara who was the store-keeper of the salterns at Hambantota, Kirinda and Bundala.

Although Pūjita Gunawardhana and Dhirasekara families were devoted Buddhists, James Carolis Pūjita Gunawardhana, Head teacher of the Methodist Mission School, Paramulla, Matara, happened to be a Christian. The Methodist father spent his full time for his teaching profession while the Buddhist mother was engaged in bringing up her children according to the Buddhist way of life.

The happy parents produced 2 sons and 3 daughters and according to the father's wishes named them Charlotte Stella, Charles Lindon, Thames Sansi, Aarlot Kinsor and the Youngest, Benson Wilmot who was born on June 21, 1913.

Benson Wilmot started his education in the English medium at St. Thomas, Girls' High School, Matara till 10 years of age and received admission to St. Thomas' Boys High School, Matara. Arrangements were made to send him to Mahinda College, Galle, where his elder brother was attending, but owing to a sudden sickness he could not enter Mahinda College and remained at St. Thomas' Matara.

At the age of 13 years he showed an interest to enter the Buddhist order of bhikkhus. When the news spread several leading Buddhist priests evinced interest to ordain him under them. It became a problem to the mother, who was anxious to give him over and rushed to Devagiri Vihāra, Kamburugamuwa and explained her problem to Ven'ble Weragampita Revata Maha Thera, the Guru Deva of Ven'ble Pālāne Siri Vajirag-āna Nayake thera, who stated that Devagiri Vihāra was founded by Ven'ble Madihe Siri Sumitta Dhammakkhanda Maha Thera, descendant of the Pu jita Gunawardhana family and as such the only place to which the boy should be entrusted was the Devagiri Vihāra and not any other place. The mother agreed remembering the forecast of the astrologer, who cast the boys horoscope that one day this boy would be a renowned leader, either as a Buddhist priest or a lay man.

There was another problem for the mother, to obtain the consent of the father, which was given promptly without any hesitation.

Ordination: The ordination of Benson Wilmot was held at Devagiri Vihāra, Kamburugamuwa on June 24, 1926 in the presence of a gathering of relations and well wishers. The noted absentees were the father and the elder brother, Charles Linden who was sick at the time. He was named Madihe Paññāsīha at the ordination.

At Vajirārāma: A few months after his ordination, Ven'ble Pälāne Siri Vajiragñāna Maha Nāyaka thera had visited his Guru to pay his periodical respects and finding a *sāmanera* and questioning him, decided to remove the *sāmanera* to Vajirārāma, Bambalapitiya, where he received his Buddhist education, appropriate to lead a life of a true disciple of the Buddha. He had the good fortune to listen to the discussions Ven. Nārada Thera, had with local and foreign scholars and also the deliberations of Pälāne Siri Vajiragñāna Maha Nayake Thera had with dignitaries such as W.A. Silva, the novelist, Prof. Gunapala Malalasekara, the Oriental Scholar, Prof. Senarath Paranavithana, Sir Baron Jayatilaka, and D.S. Senanayaka. He received the higher ordination at Polwatuganga Seemā Mālāka near Gangārāmaya, Pälāne, on June 09th 1933, under the tutelage of Pälāne Vajiragñāna Nayake thera.

Vidyā Visārada Title: The Colombo University College opened a course of training for the degree of Vidyā Visārada. All those who had followed the course were holders of the title "*Rājakeeya Panditha*" and Ven'ble Madihe Paññāsīha thera happened to be an exception. However, at the final examination he fared better than some of his colleagues in the class.

Elected Mahā Nāyaka: An election by secret ballot was held on November 27, 1955 at Vajirārāma, Bambalapitiya, to elect a Thera to succeed Ven'ble Pälāne Vajiragñāna Nayake thera. At the election Ven'ble Madihe Paññāsīha received 109 votes, and the other contender 32 votes. Accordingly, Ven'ble Madihe Paññāsīha Thera was elected the Mahā Nāyaka of the Amarapura Sri Dharmarakshita Nikāya by a clear majority vote.

The act of appointment of Mahā Nāyaka was handed over by the most elderly Mahā Thera of the said Nikāya at Vajirārāmaya Bambalapitiya, in the presence of a very large gathering of Nāyaka Theras of 3 Nikāyas, Viz: Siam, Amarapura and Ramañña and leaders of the Buddhist laity, presided over by Ven'ble Kiriwattuduwe Pragñasāra Mahā Nayaka thera.

A few days after the appointment, Sir Cyril de Soysa and Mr. R. Premadasa the late President of Sri Lanka, a M.M.C. Colombo at that time, had called on the Mahā Nāyaka Thera individually and after conferring their good wishes had made a request, which has come to effect and that was to unite all sects of the Amarapura Nikaya. The first *Vinaya Karma* was held at Maharagama on 13th July 1969. Paññāsīha thero was elected as the head of the unified Amarapura nikāya.

Buddhist Committee of Inquiry.

In April 1954 a committee was appointed by the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress consisting of members from the Buddhist clergy and the laity in order to ascertain salient facts about the condition and way of Buddhist life. Ven'ble Madihe Paññāsīha thera was one of the members of that committee which issued its report on 4th February 1956.

Buddha Sāsana Committee.

Sir Oliver Goonetilake, Governor – General appointed a Buddha Sāsana Commission on March 04, 1957 under the Chairmanship of Ven'ble Kalukondayāwe Pangnasekera Mahā Nāyaka Thera and Ven'ble Madihe Paññāsīha was also a member of that Commission, which issued its report after visiting Buddhist Countries abroad.

After this report was issued it was Ven'ble Madihe Paññāsīha Mahā Nāyaka Thera, who took up the issues such as taking over all assisted schools to the government and declaring all *poya* days as Public Holidays instead of Sundays. Both these issues were given effect to on December 1st, 1960 & January 1st 1961 respectively.

On National Issues : Regional Council or Raṭa Sabhā.

After the agreement arrived at between Mr.Dudley Senanayake the Prime Minister and Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, an act to enforce the terms of the agreement being scrutinized, Ven'ble Mahā Nāyaka Thera published an open letter on the proposed act in the press and Mr. Dudley Senanayake, after reading the letter of the Mahā Nāyaka Thera decided to abolish it after a discussion with Madihe Mahanayaka Thera.

Propagation of Buddhism

The Thera visited China in 1946 for the propagation of Theravāda Buddhism. He had to return after a stay of 9 months owing to internal disturbances in China.

He also visited Kathmandu in Nepal for higher ordination of Bhikkhus in 1951 and in 1954 to establish a Seema Mālaka in Lalith Pura, Nepal and renamed the Buddhist Vihāra there from "Young Sumangala Vihāra" to "Sri Sumangala Vihāra". Ven. Thera visited Burma on 4th January, 1954 and attended the *Dharma Sangāyanāwa* and in 1956 during the 2500 Buddha Jayanti took part in the establishment of *Seema Mālaka* there. The Mahā Nāyaka Thera left for America on 27th March, 1964 on an invitation from the Asia Foundation to give an idea of the educational training prevailing there and ways and means of rural development, and also for the propagation of Theravā da Buddhism in America. He spent 5 months there and signed an agreement to establish a Vihāra in Washington in 1964. Other places he visited were England, West Indies, Scotland, Denmark, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, Vietnam, Hong Kong and Singapore.

On his return to the homeland, he established the Buddhist Information Centre at Greenpath, Colombo, the first of its kind, in order to furnish information to any one interested in Buddhism. The world Buddhist Directory is published by this Information Centre.

Sāsana Sevaka Samitiya.

This society was established by the Mahā Nāyaka Thera on 21st July, 1957 at Barnes Place, Colombo 07, with the able assistance of Ven'ble Ampitiye Sri Rahula Mahā thera in order to;

1. Train Buddhist Monks.
2. Propagate Buddha Dhamma all over the world.
3. Get the laity to accustom with the Buddhist way of life.
4. Endeavour to make Sri Lanka a *dharma Deepa* once again. The work carried out by the society is incomparable.

Thuruṇu Saviya

After returning from U.S.A. the Maha Nayake Thera organized the "Thuruṇu Saviya" at Maharagama to organize and train the youth of this country. The Mahā Nāyaka Thera considered that the younger generation in Sri Lanka should be directed in the correct lines. This movement attracted many youths and this resulted in a society called "*Sammā djeeva Sangamaya*" in 1974, this became necessary to counter the increasing rate of drug addiction and alcoholism among the youths of this country. The Ven'ble Mahā Nāyakathera played an important role in the rehabilitation of youths after the insurrection of 1971.

Dharma Vijaya Foundation.

The Dharma Vijaya Foundation established in 1979 under the patronage of the Mahā Nāyaka Thera has noble objectives. To make Sri Lanka a *Dharma Deepa* or a country where righteous people live, to develop the economy and the culture of the country simultaneously and also to serve the poor in their social needs and education.

Temperance Movement.

He succeeded the Ven'ble Kalukondayāwe Pragnasekera Maha Nāyaka Thera as the president of the Sri Lanka Temperance Movement, to carry out the good work commenced during the early part of the 20th century.

Honorary degree and titles received.

"*Sri Vajiragnāna Dharmakirthi Sri*" – 1955 (by Amarapura Dhamma Rakshita Nikaya)

"*Pravachana Vishārada*" (by Buddha Shrāvaka Dharma Peeṭaya – 1983)

Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.)

"*Mahopādyāya*" – 1987 (by Sri Lanka Amarapura Mahā Sangha Sabhā)

"*Paṇḍitha*" – 1987 (by Sri Lanka Oriental Society)

"*Sāhitya Chakravartti*" – 1991 (Buddhist and Pali University of Sri Lanka)

"*Agga Mahā Paṇḍitha*" – 1996 (by Miyanmar)

The Mahā Nāyaka Thera was a popular preacher and also a prolific writer who has enlightened many hearts. He has many publications and articles which are thought provoking and contain a mine of information. His fearlessness in expressing views on national matters and his devotion to a cause has made him a respected personality by many in Sri Lanka and abroad.

Publications.

Bauddha Gedera, Sīla Bhāvanā and Vandanā, Ānāpānasathiya, Sinhala Samagiya Jātika Samagiye Padanamai, Sansun Manasa, Eelam rājjaya, Sanwardanaya Pilimbada Bauddha Ākalpaya, Niwan Maga – Karmaya and Punaruthpattiya, editor, - Tripiṭaka Dictionary, Pali Dictionary, Sri Vajiragñāna Sahityaya, Sammā ājīva Samājaya, Turuṇu Saviya, a Hand book, Turuṇu Uddva, Dharma Vijaya, (Magazine), Confused Society, Buddhism in Pictures, Eelam the Truth.

While preparations were being made to organize a discussion to find out ways and means of controlling conversions of Buddhists to other religious sects, the Nāyaka Thera had a fall and was injured. The thera survived a major brain operation. However, never regained consciousness.

Madihe Paññāsīha Mahā Nāyaka Thera passed away on 8th September 2003, aged 90 years.

K.D.G. Wimalaratne

PAPAÑCA : The term *papañca* occurs in a number of instances in the *Suttas*, mainly in the context of psychological analysis. It occurs as a noun (*papañcam*), a verb or a verbal derivative (*papañceti, papañcayantā , papañcita*), and as a compound (*papañcasaññā, papañcasaññāsaṅkhā*). The Pāli Text Society Dictionary says that it is uncertain whether the Pāli meaning of the term is identical with the meaning of Sanskrit *prapañca* (*pra+pañc* to spread out, meaning "expansion, diffuseness, manifoldness"). Among the contextual meanings proposed in the dictionary are, obstacle, impediment, burden which causes delay, hindrance, illusion, hindrance to spiritual progress, and obsession.[1] The term is conspicuously absent in the Abhidhamma literature. The numerous uses of the term *papañca* in the *Suttas* show that it has profound psychological import and that understanding the nature of *papañca* and eliminating it is a necessary requirement for the attainment of the final goal of liberation in Buddhism.

The psychological significance of the term becomes most evident in the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* where reference is made to the Buddha's response to a person named Daṇḍapāni who questioned the Buddha about his world-view.[2] The Buddha's answer in this instance was that what he propounded and what he declared is such that it enables a person to be free from coming into conflict with anyone in the world inhabited by numerous classes of living beings. It also enables a person living without being tied to sensuous desires *(kāmehi visaṃyuttaṃ)*, who has abandoned the craving for numerous forms of "becoming" *(bhavābhave vītataṇhaṃ)* and is free from perplexity *(akathaṃkathiṃ)*, has cut off worry *(chinnakukkuccaṃ)*, to remain unaffected by the latent tendencies produced by concepts *(saññā na anusenti)*.[3] Although the questioner did not show any interest in the Buddha's response, a disciple of the Buddha who listened to this conversation requests the Buddha to give further clarification regarding his response. In this instance the Buddha explains his position as follows:

As a consequence of which a person becomes overwhelmed by thoughts of *papañca*, if there is nothing there to take excessive delight in, to excessively welcome, to excessively cleave to, that indeed is the end of all latent tendencies to lust, ... hatred, ... dogmatic views, ... doubt, ... conceit, ... attachment to becoming, ... delusion; that indeed is the end of arming oneself with rods, arming oneself with weapons, and the end of quarrels, disputes, dissentions, abusive, slanderous and deceptive talk.[4]

The above explanation mentions only the consequences of *papañca* but not what *papañca* itself is. In the same *Sutta* a disciple of the Buddha named Mahākaccāna who was reputed for analyzing in detail what the Buddha taught briefly gives a detailed analysis of the sequence of the process of sense perception that produces *papañca*. It is possible on the basis of this analysis which, according to the Sutta, won immediate

approval of the Buddha, to understand the psychological significance of the concept of *papañca* in the Buddha's teaching. Mahākaccāna's analysis is as follows:

> Visual consciousness, brethren, arises because of eye and material shapes; the meeting of the three is sensory impingement; because of sensory impingement arises feeling; what one feels one perceives; what one perceives, one reasons about; what one reasons about, one turns into *'papañca' (papañceti)*; what one turns into *'papañca'*, due to that *'papañcasaññāsaṅkhā'* assail him in regard to material shapes cognizable by the eye belonging to the past, the future and the present. And, Brethren, auditory consciousness arises because of ear and sounds...olfactory consciousness arises because of nose and smell...gustatory consciousness arises because of tongue and tastes...bodily consciousness arises because of body and touches...mental consciousness arises because of mind and mental objects...belonging to the past, the future and present.[5]

The above explanation shows that the unsatisfactoriness that people experience is a dependently arisen product of a mechanical sensory process. *Papañcasaññasaṅkhā* are a very crucial stage in it. The whole psychological training in Buddhism is aimed at gaining mastery over the process. Buddhism maintains that people become victims to the afflictions of *papañca* due to their inability to deal with the sensory process in an insightful manner. It is a fact that people are born with faculties of sense through which they interact with the stimuli of the world. This interaction arouses the consciousness or the sensitivity of the sense faculties. Thus when a given sense faculty, a given sense object and the sensitivity of the sense faculty come together there arises feeling (*vedanā*). Feeling becomes the basis for the construction of one's sense experience in terms of ideas or concepts. When the mind is equipped with ideas or concepts it is able to engage in the activity of ratiocination (*vitakka*). It is at this point that one becomes a victim to the prolific flood of unwholesome thoughts in relation to the sensory objects of the past present and the future (*atītānā gatapaccuppannesu*) unless one has developed the capacity to check the mechanical flow of such thoughts. It is the state of mind which dependently arises in this manner that produces quarrels disputes etc. as mentioned in the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta*.

The Buddha describes in the *Sakkapañha Sutta* a sequence of events similar to that mentioned in the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* except that the relationship between *vitakka* and *papañca* is in this instance reversed[6]. What is common to both *Suttas* is that conflicts among various classes of beings are traced to *Papañcasaññāsaṅkhā*. Explaining the discrepancy in the two *Suttas* Bhikkhu Ñāṇananda says that the two Suttas taken together should not be seen as involving a contradiction but as showing the reciprocity between the two activities *vitakka* (ratiocination) and *papañca* (conceptual proliferation).[7] Both *vitakka* and *papañca* are products of the sensory process. What is suggested is that a vicious circle of *vitakka* and *Papañcasaññā saṅkhā* is generated when a person is incapable of gaining mastery over the mechanical sensory process. In the *Sakkapañha Sutta* the Buddha indicates an effective way of bringing about the cessation of thoughts associated with the proliferation concepts (*Papañcasaññāsaṅkhānirodhasāruppagāminipaṭipadā*). This involves dealing wisely with the emotive reactions of happiness (*somanassa*), unhappiness (*domanassa*) and neutrality (*upekkhā*) that may be mechanical outcome of the sensory process. According to the Buddha's instruction *papañca* is likely to grow in intensity if one does not take precaution to recognize the distinction between the emotive reactions of happiness, unhappiness and neutrality that produce unwholesome states of mind and those that produce wholesome states of mind. One should associate oneself with (*sevitabbam*) happiness, unhappiness and neutrality of mind that produce wholesome states, and dissociate oneself from (*na sevitabbam*) those that produce unwholesome states. What is wholesome or unwholesome is also to be determined by reflective awareness of one's own experience. The Buddha refers here to a mode of training that progressively reduces *vitakka* and *vicāra*. The sequence of psychological events that proceed from *Papañcasaññāsaṅkhā* as expounded in the *Sakkapañha Sutta*, is *vitakka* (ratiocination), *chanda* (desire), *piyāppiya* (like and dislike), and *issāmacchariya* (envy and miserliness). Envy and miserliness are given as the proximate psychological causes of all conflict.

Another discourse of the Buddha that affirms the same sequence of events is the *Kalahavivāda Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*. In this *Sutta* the Buddha traces quarrels

and disputes (*kalahā vivādā*), lamentations and sorrows (*parideva sokā*) miserliness (*maccharā*), pride and conceit (*mānātimānā*), and slandering (*pesuṇā*) to the likes or attachments that one develops (*piyā pahūtā*). Likes are explained as a product of desire (*chanda*). Desire is grounded on what is sensed as pleasant and unpleasant (*sātaṃ asātaṃ*). The sensations of pleasantness and unpleasantness are produced by sensory impingement or sense contact (*phassa*). It is the interaction of mind and matter that produces sensory impingement or sense contact. The dependent arising relationship that is referred to here draws attention to the interaction of the psychophysical organism with the world of external objects thereby producing sense contact, sensation and conceptual activity which proliferates into an obsessive process of thoughts of *papañca*. The *Kalahavivāda Sutta*, like the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* emphasizes the relationship between *saññā* (concepts) and *Papañcasaṅkhā* (thoughts of conceptual proliferation).[8]

The *Sutta* teachings show that the *nibbāna* state of mind is the psychological antithesis of the *papañca* state of mind. The goal and purpose for which the Buddha's teaching is followed can be fulfilled by a person of few wants but not of excessive wants (*appicchassāyaṃ dhammo na mahicchassa*), by a person who is contented but not discontented (*santuṭṭhassa...na asantuṭṭhassa*), by a person who is secluded, but not who delights in company (*pavivittassa...na saṅganikārāmassa*), by a person who has put forth effort, but not lethargic (*ā raddhaviriyassa.. na kusītassa*), by a person whose mindfulness is established, but not whose mindfulness is lost (*upaṭṭhitasatissa...na muṭṭhasatissa*), by a person who is composed, but not lacking in composure (*samā hitassa..na asamāhitassa*) by a person who is wise, but not unwise (*paññavato na duppaññassa*), by a person who takes delight in non-*papañca*, but not in *papañca* (*nippapañcārāmassa no papañcārāmassa*). Here not delighting in *papañca* is placed last suggesting that it is a requirement to be fulfilled in the higher stages of training in the Buddha's path of liberation. The *papañca* state of mind is associated with the mentality of the ordinary untrained persons. It is a quality of mind common to those who are attached to the pleasures of the household (*manomayaṃ gehasitaṃ*) which the seeker of the final goal of Buddhist liberation should abandon.[9] Delighting in *papañca* is considered as a characteristic of those who deviate from the Buddhist path. Persons who delight in excessive work (*kammārāmā*), in excessive talk (*bhassārāmā*), excessive sleep (*niddārāmā*), excessive company (*saṅgaṇikārāmā*), excessive intercourse (*saṃsaggāra mā*) and excessive *papañca* (*papañcārāmā*) are supposed to move away from the Buddhist goal.[10] *Papanca* is altogether put to an end by the liberated person.[11] The foolish person who is tied to *papañca* and is excessively attached to *papañca* is one who has missed the opportunity to attain the peace of *nibbāna*, whereas one who abandons *papañca* and delights in the path free from *papañca* is capable of attaining it.[12]

A dialogue between Mahākoṭṭhita and Sāriputta in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* shows that the range of *papañca* is co-extensive with the six spheres of sense contact (*yāvatā āvuso channaṃ phassāyatanānaṃ gati tāvatā papañcassa gati. Yavatā papañcassa gati tāvatā channaṃ phassāyatanānaṃ gati*). What this discussion shows is that there is a tendency to engage in conceptual thought even beyond the range of the six spheres of sense contact. Such proliferation of thought is found in speculative metaphysics that engages in constructing theories about things that go beyond the range of sense experience. The Buddha considered this as a totally illegitimate exercise. Accordingly, when the question is raised whether after the complete cessation of the six spheres of sense contact through detachment there is something left, or there is not something left, or there is and is not something left or there neither is nor is not something left, Sāriputta responds that in raising these questions one is illegitimately indulging in *papañca* (*appapañcaṃ papañceti*). When there is complete cessation of the five spheres of sense contact with detachment, there is the cessation and calming of *papañca* (*Channaṃ āvuso phassāyatanānaṃ asesavirā ganirodhā papañcanirodho papañcavūpasamo*).[13]

The *Niddsa* explains thoughts of *papañca* as *papañca* itself (*papañcā yeva papañcasaṅkhā*) and enumerates three types of it as *taṇha* (craving), *diṭṭhi* (dogmatic views) and *māna* (conceit).[14] A similar explanation of *papañca* is given by Buddhaghosa also. He says that *papañcasaṅkhā* refer to the three *papañcas*, *taṇhāpapañca*, *mānapapañca* and *diṭṭhipapañca*.[15] These commentarial remarks do not provide us with the meaning of the term *papañca*, but only provide us with its instances. What may be inferred from all these instances is that *papañca* denotes in early Buddhism prolific conceptual activity which

is charged with unwholesome emotions characterized by craving, conceit and dogmatism. *Papañca* ordinarily means expansion or diffusion of thought and its overt expression involves verbosity or circumlocution. Conceptual activity presupposes sensation and mental constructs based on sensation (*yaṃ vedeti taṃ sañjānāti yaṃ sañjānāti taṃ vitakketi*). The stage of *papañca* can be understood as an obsessive process of being inundated with thoughts characterized by unwholesome emotions. Explaining the complex term *papañcasaññāsaṅkhā* Bhikkhu Ñaṇananda observes that "*papañcasaññāsaṅkhā* can mean concepts, reckonings, designations or linguistic conventions characterised by the prolific conceptualising tendency of the mind."[16] To this explanation should be added the emotional tone of this tendency as well, and it is probably in view of this that the *Niddesa* and the commentaries of Buddhaghosa explained *papañcasaṅkhā* in terms of craving, dogmatic views and conceit.

A verse in the *Sabhiya Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* also throws much light on the significance of the term *paañca*. Here a connection is drawn between *nāmarūpa* (the psychophysical personality) and *papañca*. *Papañca* is also referred to here as the root cause of the internal and external sickness (*ajjhattaṃ bahiddhā ca rogamūlaṃ*). A person who comprehends *papañca* is released from the bondage of all the root causes of sickness (*sabbarogamūlabandhanā pamutto*).[17] The internal sickness referred to in the verse is interpreted by Sarathchandra to mean the belief that the normal thinking consciousness constitutes the real individual. The external sickness is interpreted by him as the idea of the external world. According to Sarathchandra *papañca* is the general term for the dual relationship of consciousness as the perceiving individual, which is the subjective aspect and the world of perception, which is the objective aspect. Bhikkhu Ñanananda is right in rejecting this explanation and pointing out that the internal sickness referred to here is that which manifests in the individual in the form of unsettling and disturbing unwholesome emotions, and the external sickness is that which manifests itself in society in the form of social conflicts.

Unwholesome thoughts associated with ego identification or the imagination of an ego are described as thoughts involving the activity of *papoñca*. In the *Vepacitti Sutta* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* a series of such thoughts of ego assertion are mentioned. They are thoughts such as 'I am' (*asmi*), 'This am I' (*ayam aham asmi*), 'I shall be' (*bhavissaṃ*), 'I shall not be' (*na bhavissaṃ*), 'embodied shall I be' (*rūpī bhavissaṃ*), 'formless shall I be' (*arūpī bhavissaṃ*), 'I shall be conscious (*saññībhavissaṃ*) 'unconscious shall I be' (*asaññī bhavissaṃ*), 'neither conscious nor unconscious shall I be' (*nevasaññī nāsaññī bhavissaṃ*). Such thoughts are considered as *maññita* (imagined), *iñjita* (attached), *phanita* (associated with palpitation) *papañcita* (associated with the proliferation of unwholesome thoughts) and *mānagata* (associated with measurement in terms of conceit). The Buddha speaks in similar terms with reference to speculations regarding the four undetermined questions connected with the destiny of the perfected person. He says that such thoughts are but ways of craving (*taṇhāgataṃ*), ways of conceptualizing (*saññāgataṃ*), imaginings (*maññitaṃ*) conceptual proliferations (*papañcitaṃ*) ways of clinging (*upādānagataṃ*) and a source of remorse (*vippaṭisāro*).[18]

Taking into account all the instances in which the term *papañca* is used in the Sutta sources, it may be interpreted as a psychological term that signifies the internal sub-vocal chatter that goes on in the mind using the prolific conceptual constructions based on sense perception. This internal chatter feeds and is fed by unwholesome emotions such as craving, conceit and dogmatism and produces the tensions, anxieties and sorrows of the individual. The overt expression of this psychological condition is witnessed in the conflicts and disputes that manifest in society. *Papañca* may be understood as the psychological turmoil to which a person becomes a victim due to the lack of awareness and insight into the realities of the sensory process to which all beings constituted of a psychophysical organism are exposed.

P.D. Premasiri

References

1. Ed.T.W. Rhys Davids, Luzac & Company, Ltd. London, 1959, p. 412.
2. Daṇḍapāṇi's question "*kiṃ vādi samaṇo kimakkhāyī*" (What does this recluse propound? What do you declare ?) *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 109.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *Yatonidānaṃbhikkhu purisampapañcasaññāsaṅkhā samudācaranti ettha ce natthi abhinanditabbaṃ abhivaditabbaṃ ajjhositabbaṃ esevanto rāgā*

nusayānam ...paṭighānusayānam.. diṭṭhānusayā nam.. vicikicchānusayānam.. mānānusayā nam..bhavarāgā nusayānam ...avijjānusayānam ...daṇḍādāna... satthādāna... kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-pesuñña-musāvāsānam Ibid.

5. *Ibid.* p. 111 translated by Ñanananda in *Concept and Reality,* Buddhist Publication Society Kandy, Sri Lanka 1986, p. 3.
6. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. II, p. 276f.
7. *Concept and Reality* p.25.
8. *Suttanipāta*, verses 862-874.
9. *Papañcasaññā itarī tarā narā papañcayantā upayanti saññino Manomayaṃ gehasitam ca sabbaṃ panujja nekkhammasitaṃ irī yati- Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol., IV p. 71.
10. *Aṅguttaranikāya* Vol. III, p. 293.
11. *Sabbamatthagamā inampapañcam*
12. *Yo papañcamanuyutto papañcābhirato mago virā dhayī so nibbānaṃ yogakkemaṃ anuttaraṃ Yo papañcaṃ hitvāna nippapañcapathe rato ārā dhayī so nibbānaṃ yogakkhemaṃ anuttaraṃ - Theragāthā,* p. 89.
13. *Aṅguttatanikaya* Vol. II., p. 161.
14. *Niddesa* Vol. I, p. 280.
15. *papañcasaññāsaṅkhāti tayo papañca taṇhā papañco mānapapañco diṭṭhipapañco-Dīghanikā ya Aṭṭhakathā* Vol. II, p. 721. See also *Majjhimanikaya Aṭṭhakathā* Vol. II, p. 10 and *Aṅguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakathā* Vol. III, p. 151.
16. *Concept and Reality* p. 5.
17. *Suttanipāta* Verse 530; See also *Concept and Reality* p. 35 and E. R. Sarathchandra, *Buddhist Psychology of Perception* p. 5
18. *Aṅguttaranikāya* Vol. IV, p. 68.

PAPAÑCASŪDANI: *Papañcasūdani* (Expeller of Hindrances to spiritual progress) is the Pāli commentary to the *Majjhima Nikāya* written by the Great Commentator Buddhaghosa. Buddhaghosa, in the colophon, says that he composed it on an invitation made by Ven. Buddhamitta Thera with whom he was staying at the Mayurapaṭṭana. In the *Samantapāsādikā* Buddhaghosa says that he studied *Sīhala* Commentaries with Ven. Buddhamitta. It is not clear whether the *Papañcasūdani* and the *Samantapāsādikā* refer to the same Thera. However, Buddhaghosa, in the *Papañcasūdani* says that Buddhamitta referred to therein stayed with him at the Mayurapaṭṭana, he might have been a different personality from the Thera referred to in the *Samantapāsādikā.*

The *Papañcasūdani* provides valuable information as regards the *Majjhimanikāya* on which it comments. Accordingly it is called *Majjhima Nikāya* because it consists of middle size *Suttas* (*Majjhimappamāṇa suttaṅkitassa majjhimāgamāgamavarassa*). Again *Majjhimanikāya* is described as the "Destroyer of the heretical views (*Paravādaviddhaṃsanassa majjhimanikāya seṭṭhassa*). Further it is said that the *Majjhimanikaya* has eighty thousand five hundred and twenty three words and seven hundred forty thousand and fifty three syllables and eighty and half *bānavāras* (sections).

Buddhaghosa has an immense trust and respect for the dwellers of the Mahvihāra and at the very beginning of the *Papañcasūdani* he assures that he would not go against the views of the celebrated Mahā theras of Mahāvihāra who illuminate the lineage of the Theras.

Samayaṃ avilomento therānaṃ theravaṃsadīpā nanṃ
Sunipuna vinicchayānaṃ mahā vihāra vāsinam
(*MA*.I.p.1)

Buddhaghosa says that he composed it having taken the essence of the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* the chief among the Sinhala commentaries (*Mahāaṭṭhakathā sāramādā ya*). Thus it is clear that *Papañcasūdani* is not a transliteration of the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. He took the essence of the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* and prepared the *Papañcasūdani.*

Buddhaghosa makes a significant statement in his preface of the *Papañcasūdani* as well as in his other *nikāya* commentaries which runs as follows:

majjhe visuddhi maggo esa catunnampi āgamānam hi
Ṭhatvā pakāsayissati tattha yathābhāsitaṃ atthaṃ
(*MA* I. p. 2)

(*Visuddhimagga* stands in the middle of the Four *āgamas* and explains the meaning contained in them.) Thus it is clear that it is necessary to combine the *Visuddhimagga* with the relevant *Nikāya/āgama* commentary to understand the meaning of all the four *nikāyas/āgamas*. Also Buddhaghosa says that what he has fully explained in the *Visuddhimagga* he does not

wish to explain again. One should combine the commentary (*Papañcasūdani*) with the *Visuddhimagga* to understand the meanings of the *Majjhimanikāya*. This statement is made in the commentaries to the rest of the *āgamas* also. It should be clear that the *Visuddhimagga* is considered as a common commentary to all the four *nikāyas*. That has been done to avoid repetition and save time and energy for Buddhaghosa has undertaken the mammoth task of compiling commentaries to all the major four *nikāyas/āgamas*.

It is said that the *Papañcasūdani* has one hundred and seven *bānavāras*. Together with fifty nine *bānavāras* of the *Visuddhimagga*, it is further said that the *Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakathā* has one hundred and sixty six *bānavāras*. At the beginning of the *Papañcasūdani*, Buddhaghosa has used the same obeisance gāthās he used at the beginning of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, the commentary to the *Dīghanikāya*. Unlike in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* where Buddhaghosa has described the proceedings of the First Council held at Rājagaha and the classification of the Buddha's teachings such as *Navaṅgasatthusāsana*, *Papañcasūdani* commences the exegetical process immediately after the obeisance *gāthās*.

The one hundred and fifty two *suttas* that the *Majjhimanikāya* comprise of, represent the core of the Buddha's teachings. The most important *suttas* that could be considered as the cream of the Buddha's teachings are found embodied there. Therefore the *Majjhimanikāya* occupies a unique position in the Theravāda Buddhist literature. Similarly *Papañcasūdani* which comments on deep and subtle *suttas* is equally important to the student of Buddhist Philosophy. Apart from its doctrinal value, it is of immense value to historians too. Buddhaghosa has cited many stories that are supposed to have taken place in ancient Sri Lanka in the course of explaining a doctrinal point, which contain valuable data on social economic and religious conditions of the Anuradhapura period.

Papañcasūdani is edited by I.B. Horner in the Roman Script and published by the *PTS*. in five parts. Under the Simon Hewavitarana Bequest Series it is edited and published in the Sinhala Script in four parts in Sri Lanka.

K. Arunasiri.

PARĀJIKĀ : The four major offences in Buddhist monastic discipline involving Defeat. In Buddhist monastic discipline, the *Pārājikā* rank among the most serious offences for the senior-status monks, bringing in their wake immediate expulsion from the Order. The word *pārājikā* means defeat. That means the catastrophic termination of one's monastic career, when the rest of the community of monks would have nothing to do with the miscreant thereafter (*pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso. Vin.* III. p. 23). For he ceases thereby to be a member of the monastic order of Sākyamuni (*Asamaṇo hoti asakyaputtiyo. Tena vuccati pārājiko hotī 'ti. Ibid.* p. 28).

These are four in number. 1. *methuna-dhamma* or sexual relations with a female, even of the animal order (*tiracchānagatāyā' pi*). 2. *adinnādāna* or stealthily taking over of what is not given, the value of the stolen article being fixed in conformity with the state law under which a person may be punished for theft. 3. *manussa-viggaha* or manslaughter, together with diverse forms of aiding and abetting suicide, and 4. *uttarī-manussa-dhamma* or false claims to super human spiritual attainments and accomplishments.

Even a cursory glance at these reveals an unmistakable inter-relatedness between the first three of the *Pārājikā* and what are known to the Buddhists as items of good moral behaviour, namely *sīla*, even of the layman and laywoman in the household. Let us first remind ourselves of these in order. They start with No. 1 which deals with respect for all forms of life, including that towards animals; (*pāṇātipātā veramaṇī*). Next comes 2. respect for the right of ownership of possessions of others (*adinnādānā veramaṇī*). We have as No.3 propriety of sex relationships between the genders.

These deal with primary areas of human interests and relations, namely security of one's own life, one's possessions and the process of healthy and wholesome procreation. No disruption of or imbalance in any of these can be entertained, in the life of the householder, without disaster to the totality of the human community. On the other hand, it should be clear to any sensible student of Buddhism, whether he knows it *via* its original sources in the Pāli language or otherwise, that the monastic life (not priesthood) in Buddhism is a total and uncompromising departure from and a renunciation of the life in the household. Does it then

need much tutoring to educate both Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist students of Buddhism about the vital and integral relationship between these items of down-to-earth moral rectitude of the layman and their legally fortified injunctions in the form of *Pârâjikâ* in the life of the monk of senior status in the monastic community?

Renunciation or the acceptance of a life of *pabbajjâ* implies a total polarized change in life, from one type to another. Likes and dislikes attitudes and aspirations which are customary with the life of the lay community are set aside in pursuit of those of a higher order. Polarization is most pronounced in the area of the convert's (i.e. of the seeker after the Nirvânic goal), attitude to the gratification of the senses. In fact, the basic change in the life of a Buddhist, as against a non-Buddhist, necessarily begins here. That is why, we believe, the second successive stage in the Buddhist Ariyan Path of the *Ariya Aṭṭhaṅgika Magga* introduces first, under its three-fold re-structured thought patterns or (*sammâ saṅkappa*) a group called *nekkhamma - saṅkappa*. This is made to stand in marked contrast to *kâma - saṅkappa* or proneness to gratification of sense desires. *Nekkhamma* here means reduction or elimination of the desire for the gratification of sensory delights. This marks the real beginning of Buddhist religious life. It is in the higher reaches of its spiralling that we become conscious of renunciation in its true spirit.

It needs no superhuman elucidation to show why in the change over from lay life to a monastic way, eschewal of the desire for sex gratification gains precedence even over the general respect for life. Even in the destruction of life, as far as the monastic community of *upasmpannas* go, monks and nuns, legal requirements seek a division between human and animal life. But the proneness to sexual gratification (or indulgence in sexuality = *methuna*) is specifically regarded as challenging or being contradictory to the very spirit of renunciation involved in *pabbajja*. It defeats its very purpose. So says the *Suttanipâtâ* in *Tissametteyya Sutta* at verse No. 815. *Methunaṃ anuyuttassa Metteyyâ 'ti Bhagavâ. Mussat' evâpi sâsanam. Micchâ ca paṭipajjati. Etaṃ tasmim anâriyam.* This is the spirit of the *Dhamma* with regard to the pursuit of *Nirvâna*. On the other hand, the *Vinaya* has to play many other tunes and we must know to place each in its correct slot.

It is with considerable dismay that we bring to light a few distorted attempts at assessing or re-assessing the role and relative position of *Pârâjikas* in Buddhist monastic life, which we have discovered.

This is what Dr Nagai has to say regarding the first *Pârâjikâ*: 'With regard to the problem of inhibitions for priests, one that will remain perplexing for a long time to come is the inhibition concerning sexual relations. To me it appears that the problem of inhibitions for the Buddhist priests of the present day (except those belonging to the Shinshu Sect) depends upon the manner of interpretation of this particular inhibition. If it is interpreted as one requiring all Buddhist priests to observe celibacy, I fear that very few priests will be found living in Japan who are really worthy of the name bhikkhu (*Buddhistic Studies*, ed. B.C. Law, p. 381 Dr. M. Nagai on Buddhist Vinaya Discipline).

Let us carefully examine Dr. Nagai's above statement if it is interpreted as one requiring all Buddhist priests to observe celibacy... Does a lapse of time and change of place justify Japanese Buddhist scholarship of today to interpret Buddhist ecclesiastical law of more than twenty-five centuries ago to suit local conditions of today? Proliferation of Buddhist sub-sects, both in and outside India is readily admitted. But surely not all the fanciful slack habits and the rebellious new patterns of thinking of the dissenting groups need to be fathered on the founder of the original creed. If this is the line of argument, we would only say the old creed is dead. May the newborn ones live long.

In the evaluation of *Pârâjikâ*, the fourth seems to have confronted Miss. I.B. Horner with some serious difficulty. For she says: "The curious fourth *Pârâjikâ*, concerned with the offence of 'claiming a state or quality of further-men' (*uttarimanussadhamma*) seems to have been fashioned in some different mould and to belong to some contrasting realm of values." (I. B. Horner, *Book of the Discipline*. Vol. I. p. XXIV). This attitude towards the fourth *Pârâjikâ* has made her evaluate the four *Pârâjikâs* from a new angle. She remarks: "For I think it possible that **the *Pârâjikâs* are arranged in an ascending scale of gravity, in which the offence held to be the worst morally, though not legally, is placed last**" (*Ibid*. p. xxv. Emphasis mine).

We totally disagree with Miss Horner on this. In an attempt to regard the fourth *Pârâjikâ* as supremely important in her opinion, it is hardly possible to consider the first *Pârâjikâ* as being the least offensive morally. We would regard the first *Pârâjikâ* to be undoubtedly the worst, for it runs contrary to the basic teachings of Buddhism whose main theme is *virâga* (detachment), *visamyoga* (disengagement) etc.

The fourth *Pârâjikâ* incidentally happens to be, as we see it, more cautious about a monk's gaining cheap popularity, and thereby winning favours through claims to higher spiritual attainments. To us this sort of behaviour is more peripheral to the spirit of Buddhism than a monk's reckless challenge of his own avowed eschewal of sexual gratification. That is what the *Suttanipâta* quoted above referred to as fails in his mission or *Mussat evapi sâsaam*. (For further details See *Buddhist Monastic discipline* by Jotiya Dheerasekera, 1982, pp. 84ff. Ph D. Thesis written in 1964 by the present author while he was a layman).

Finally, we have one last observation to make about the interpretation of one of the *Pârâjikâ* which, we believe, is going to be epoch making. It pertains to *Pârâjikâ* No. 3 which deals with *manussaviggaha* or manslaughter. Among the many sub-sections discussed under this heading, the *Suttavibhaṅga* under its *Pârâjikâ* section (*Vin.* III. p. 82) refers to the story of a monk who, dissatisfied with his monk life, climbed the Gijjhakûṭa mountain and leapt down there from (*papâtaṃ papatanto*), undoubtedly with the intention of killing himself. He fell upon a man who was making baskets on the ground below (*aññataraṃ vilîvakâraṃ ottharitvâ mâresi.*).

During a recent research we undertook on suicide, we discovered to our utter dismay a gross howler in the translation of a sub-section of this *Pârâjikâ* No. 3. Its Pâli reads as follows. *Na ca bhikkhave attânaṃ pâtetabbaṃ Yo pâteyya âpatti dukkaṭassa* (*loc. cit*). We would translate the Pâli here as "O monks, you should not jump off from (or more literally 'let yourselves fall off from') heights. Whoever does so is guilty of a minor offence of wrong-doing or *dukkaṭa* (= *dukuḷâ ävät* in Sinhala).

The howler in the translation of this Pâli text was first discovered by us in the Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tripiṭaka Series, Vol. I. (1959) p. 181. The Sri Lankan Sinhala translation given for *attânaṃ pâtetabbaṃ* and *Yo pâteyya* is killing of oneself, i.e. suicide *âtma ghâtanaya* in Sinhala). Further international researches carried out at personal level have revealed that both Myanmar and Cambodia uphold this same Sri Lankan tradition. We have not been able so far to ascertain the direction of the flow, from which country to which country. On the other hand it has been our great delight to discover Thailand alone preserving what we firmly believe to be the correct translation of the Pâli as we have given above. It reads -

"O monks, you should not jump off from (or more literally ' let yourselves fall off from') heights. Whoever does so is guilty of a minor offence of wrong doing (*dukkaṭa*)."

The vital point at issue here is whether the sub-clause of *Pârâjikâ* 3 when it says *Na ca bhikkhave attânaṃ pâtetabbaṃ* brings up at all the question of killing oneself (*âtma-ghâtanaya* in Sinhala, i.e. suicide). We definitely say NO. We agree with the Thai tradition, which translates *pâtetabbaṃ* as meaning only causes to fall (= jump off from). It is no more than the Causative form of the verb *patati*, which means falls. One cannot afford to forget that the meaning of kill or destroy is derived from the root *pat* > *patati* only with the addition of the prefix *ati* - to the Causative base *pâte* - producing the verbal form *pâteti*, yielding *atipâteti* which means kills as in *yo pâṇaṃ atipâteti* (*Dhp. v.* 246). In the above *Pârâjikâ* context, we maintain that the *Vinaya* injunction only endeavours to prevent such frivolous and reckless behaviour like unguarded jumping off from heights.

But what of this error in translation? It makes what unmistakably is an act of suicide to be only a minor offence. In terms of both the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* this is unacceptable. But it has crept into the *Vinaya* traditions of Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Cambodia. And this error has gone far too long unsuspected.

It is also reasonably clear to us that the Commentarial tradition of Buddhaghosa does not lend any support to the suicide interpretation of *attânaṃ pâtetabbaṃ* which Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Cambodia have chosen to adopt. The first explicit acceptance of this interpretation in Sri Lanka is witnessed in a Sri Lankan *Vinaya* manual in Sinhala by the name of *Sikhavalanda/ Sikhavalandavinisa* of about the late

Anuradhapura period (i.e. *circa* ninth to the eleventh centuries).

In a chapter named Miscellaneous or *Pakiṇṇaka*, this text includes two items under suicide, of killing oneself or getting oneself killed, and grade them under the minor offence of *dukkaṭa* or *dukulâ* in Sinhala (*Sikhavalandavinisa Pradīpaya* by Medauyangoda Vimalakitti Thera 1950, p.8 item 48: *tamâ marâ naṃ maravânaṃ* and again at p. 79 item 48: *miyaṭi sitin tamâ marâ naṃ dukulâ ve. anun lavâ tamâ maravâ naṃ dukulâ ve.*).

But it is clear that Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law in early *Vinaya* literature does not take into reckonning incidence of suicide. We presume the reason for this is that in case of suicide, the offender being no more existent in the world of the living there is no possibility of posthumous prosecution or punishment being carried out. Nor is there any real need to contemplate on the same.

We are inclined to believe that this attempt at reducing the gravity of suicide in Buddhist Ecclesiastic law is a post-Commentarial intrusion. Whether this happened through an involuntary misunderstanding of the original Pâli text of *Na ca bhikkave attânaṃ pâtetabbaṃ* or otherwise we are not in a position to comment at the moment. But it has come to stay well established in the Sri Lanka Monastic tradition as is evident from the *Sikhavalanda / Sikhavalandavinisa* of about the late Anuradhapura period (i.e. *circa* ninth to the eleventh centuries), which we have quoted above.

Dhammavihâri.

PARAMATTHADĪPANĪ : *Paramatthadīpani* (Elucidator of the Highest Meaning) is the common name given to the commentaries written to the seven treatises, *Thera-Theri Gāthā, Udāna, Vimānavatthu Petavatthu, Itivuttaka* and *Cariyapiṭaka* included in the *Khuddakanikāya* the fifth division of the *Sutta Piṭaka* of the Theravāda school of Buddhism. Accordingly the seven commentaries are named as follows:

Paramatthadīpanī nāmaTheragāthā aṭṭhakathā
Paramatthadīpanī nāma Therigāthā aṭṭhakathā
Paramatthadīpanī nāma Udāna aṭṭhakathā
Paramatthadīpanī nāma Vimānavatthu aṭṭhakathā
Paramatthadīpanī nāma Petavatthu aṭṭhakathā
Paramatthadīpanī nāma Itivuttaka aṭṭhakathā
Paramatthadīpanī nāma Cariyāpiṭaka aṭṭhakathā

It is noteworthy that the Burmese work the *Gandhavaṃsa* (History of Books) apparently was not aware of the name *Paramatthadīpanī* given to the above commentaries. But the *Gandhavaṃsa* has used the name "*Vimalavilāsinī*" for the commentaries of *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu* (*JPTS*. 1886 p. 60). It is also seen that the *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakathā* the commentary written for the last five treatises of the Theravāda *Abhidhamma piṭaka* is also named *Paramatthadīpanī*. But this name is hardly being used for the *Pañcappakaranaṭṭhakatha*, perhaps due to the possibility to get confused with the above commentaries of the *Khuddakanikāya*.

Author: There is no dispute over the authorship of the seven commentaries named *Paramatthadīpanī*, as the books themselves have preserved the name of the author. At the end of all the commentaries under reference, it is said that they were composed by Ācā rya Dhammapāla resident at the "Badaratittha Vihāra" (*Badaratitthavihāravāsinā Acariya Dhammapālena katā...*).The *Sāsanavaṃsa* (a Burmese chronicle written in 1861) says that the Badaratittha is in the Tamil Kingdom near Sri Lanka. It has been identified that Badaratittha is on the south east coast of India, south of Madras (Chennai). According to his works he was a native of Kāñcipura (Conjivaram). Hiuen Tsang who visited Kāñcipura the capital of the Tamil country in 640 A.C. learnt from the monks there, that Dhammapāla was born at Kāñcipura. But this Dhammapāla is supposed to have become the Chancellor of the Mahāyāna seat of learning Nalanda. later and the reference may not be to the commentator Dhammapāla who was a Theravādin. The exact period Dhammapāla flourished is not known. As he has written a sub commentary (*ṭīka*) to Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, he should be posterior to Buddhaghosa.

Dhammapāla and the Mahāvihāra: It is clear from the commentaries of Dhammapala that he followed the

Mahavihara tradition. Possibly he had the opportunity to study the commentaries maintained at Mahāvihara. He has an immense respect and trust for the Mahā vihara. In the prologue to the all seven commentaries under reference he has assured that he would not stray away from the Mahāvihara interpretations thus:

"suvisuddhaṃ asaṅkiṇṇaṃ nipunatthavinicchayaṃ
Mahāviharavāsinaṃ samayaṃ avilomayaṃ"

"Without disputing pure uncomplicated expert decisions and the vision of the dwellers of the Mahā vihāra" (I will compose....). He has repeated the same assurance at the beginning of the commentaries of the *Petavatthu, Vimānavatthu, Theragātha, Udāna* and *Itivuttaka*. In the commentary to the *Cariyāpiṭaka* Dhammapāla has put the same idea in slightly different words thus:

"nissitam vācanamaggaṃ suvisuddhaṃ anākulaṃ
Mahavihāravāsinaṃ nipunattha vinicchayaṃ"

(I will keep to the extremely pure uncomplicated explanations of the Mahavihara dwellers ....)

Therefore it is clear that though apparently he composed his commentaries in South India, he was a follower of the Mahavihāra tradition and was always faithful to it.

Dhammapāla and Buddhaghosa: Dhammapāla is considered as a follower and successor of Buddhaghosa. Dhammapāla started from the point Buddhaghosa stopped. He accomplished what Buddhaghosa could not finish, probably due to his failing health. Namely the completing the writing of commentaries to the entire *sutta piṭaka*. Dhammapā la's works show great learning, much exegetical skill and a good deal of sound judgment. There are many resemblances between Dhammapāla and Buddhaghosa. Rhys Davids, in reference to the relation of Dhammapā la to Buddhaghosa remarks "Dhammapāla was educated in the same university as Buddhaghosa." As regards the similarity of the two commentators Rhys Davids further adds:

"They have very similar views, they appeal to the same authorities, they have the same method of exegesis, they have reached the same stage in philological and etymological science (a stage far beyond that reached at that time in Europe."

Malalasekera G.P. while assessing the merits of the two great commentators observes "Dhammapāla shows much individuality in the treatment of his subject. He confines himself rigidly either to questions or meaning of words or discussion of ethical imports in his texts, he is however, not so ethically insistent as Buddhaghosa; his style is simple, less garrulous, less diffuse and shows more of the grammarian and the academician than of the exegetical compiler and fanciful etymologist. His explanation of terms is quite clear and shows an advance over Buddhaghosa, though he was evidently well-read and quite informed. Buddhaghosa's knowledge was more widely diffused and more encyclopaedic...."

Buddhaghosa has included in his commentaries many stories, which were supposed to have taken place in ancient Sri Lanka as examples when explaining a doctrinal point. These stories contain historically useful information pertaining to the social religious and economic conditions of ancient Sri Lanka. It is presumed that those episodes were contained in the *Sī hala Aṭṭhakathās* from where Buddhaghosa obtained. But unfortunately Dhammapāla's commentaries are very poor in this respect. Especially *Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* commentaries contain no incident supposed to have happened in Sri Lanka.

In the preface Buddhaghosa always mentions on whose invitation the particular commentary was written and where he was residing, when he was writing and the name of the person who built the particular *vihāra* or *pirivena*. But Dhammapāla has not followed it. In the seven *Paramatthadī panī* commentaries he has not mentioned who invited him to write them, neither the place where he was residing at the time.[1] But at the end of all the seven commentaries Dhammapāla describes himself as a resident at Badaratittha Vihāra from which it may be surmised that he was residing there, when he wrote those seven commentaries. It is also seen that Dhammapāla has repeated the same preface, obeisance *gāthās* to the Triple Gem and his allegiance to the Mahāvihāra in all the seven commentaries under reference. The colophon too, it is the same he has repeated in all the seven commentaries.

A special word is needed for the commentary of the *Theragāthā* "*Paramatthadīpanī nāma Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā*". At present *Thera Therī Gāthās* are considered as two separate books. But the commentator Dhammapāla has apparently considered them as one work. He has not written a separate preface for the *Therīgāthā* section. Also at the end of the *Theragāthā* he has not included a colophon. The colophon is coming at the end of the *Therīgāthā* exegesis. It is observed that the *Theragāthā* commentary does not have a 15th *Nipāta* and at the end of the 14th *Nipāta* the 16th begins. When checked with the text the *Theragā thā* too, the 15th *Nipāta* is missing. In preface (English preface of Hewawitarana Bequest Edition) it is said that *Nipātas* from the 16th *Nipāta* up to the end of the *Theragāthā* commentary was not found in the *Theragā thā* commentary manuscripts available in Sri Lanka and they had to get those *Nipātas* from Burma. *Paramatthadīpanī* the *Theragāthāaṭṭhakathā* alone (even without the commentary of the *Therīgāthā*) is the biggest among the seven *Paramatthadīpanī* commentaries under reference. It is double the size of each of the remaining commentaries. This had happened due to the commentator incorporating the relevant *Therāpadāna* from *Apadāna* under each *Thera*. The commentator has done the same in respect of *Therīgāthā* exegesis also. Pali Text Society has edited and published the *Theragāthā* commentary in three volumes in the Roman script and the *Therīgāthā* commentary separately. Simon Hewawitharana Bequest has published the *Theragāthā* commentary in two volumes and the *Therīgāthā* commentary in separate volumes in the Sinhala script.

K. Arunasiri

Reference

[1] But in the *Nettippakaranaṭṭhakathā*, Dhammapala has mentioned that he composed it on the invitation of Ven. Dhammarakkhita and he composed it while he was residing at Dhammasoka Viharaya in the Nagapaṭṭana.

PARAMATTHAJOTIKĀ : *Paramatthajotikā* (Illuminator of the Highest Meaning) is the common name given to two commentaries of the *Khuddakapā ṭha* and the *Suttanipata*, two of the fifteen texts of the *Khuddakanikāya*, the fifth division of the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Theravada school of Buddhism. The tradition attributes the authorship of both the commentaries to the great commentator Buddhaghosa.

Paramatthajotika the commentary of the Khuddakapāṭha: The *Khuddakapāṭha* as the very name implies is a small work intended as a hand book for the novices to be used by them during the period of induction to the monk hood. *Khuddakapāṭha* is not a homogeneous work, its contents, almost all, are taken from the other books of the canon. Although the tradition attributes its authorship to Buddhaghosa, as already said, there are conspicuous differences between the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary and the Buddhaghosa's other commentaries such as those of the first four *nikāyas*. The perusal of the commentaries of the first four *nikāyas*, reveal that Buddhaghosa has written them on an invitation by another monk whose name he has always mentioned. But in the commentary to *Khuddakapāṭha* no such invitation is found recorded. In the prologue to his commentaries, Buddhaghosa would never forget to express his respects to the great Theras of the Mahavihara and his reliance on the *Sihala Aṭṭhakathās*. But this prominent landmark of Buddhaghosa's commentaries is not seen in the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary. Moreover following declaration found in the prologue of the *Khuddakapā ṭha* commentary poses a serious problem to the scholars which attributes the authorship of the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary to Buddhaghosa. *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (Vol. II. p. 154) includes *Jātaka* commentary and *Dhammapada* commentary also among the commentaries that bear the name *Paramatthajotikā*. But the source is not given where *Jātaka* and *Dhammapada* commentaries are named *Paramatthajotikā*. It is not possible to locate a place where the two commentaries are given the name *Paramatthajotikā*. Apparently it is an oversight on the part of the compilers of the Dictionary.

Khuddakānam gambhiratthā kincāpi atidukkharā
vaṇṇanā mādisenesā abhodantena sāsanaṃ

Here the author of the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary says that the *Khuddakapāṭha* is so deep and he confesses that how difficult it is for a person such as himself who cannot understand the teachings (of the Buddha), to comment upon. Similar confession is never heard on the part of the great commentator Buddhaghosa. It is incredible and ridiculous that Buddhaghosa who was capable of composing encyclopedic *Visuddhimagga* and the commentaries to four *nikāyas* would make such a timid declaration. On the other hand *Khuddakapāṭha* does not contain subtle

deep doctrine difficult to comprehend. It contains basic things novices should learn at the very beginning. Further Buddhaghosa is described at the end of all his commentaries as an elder "in whom are grouped together the immaculate and gentle virtues of precepts and conduct, adored by pure and exalted faith... who is capable of diving into the depth of his own and other doctrines, endowed with keen intellect, replete with the ability of unhindered knowledge in the Buddha's doctrine......" The expression of his weakness supposed to have been made by Buddhaghosa above referred to nullifies the statement coming at the end of his commentaries. Therefore scholars entertain serious doubts about the attributed authorship of *Khuddakapā ṭha* commentary to Buddhaghosa.

Oliver Abenayake holds the view that it was Buddhaghosa who included *Khuddakapāṭha* in the *Khuddakanikāya* for the first time. He wrote its commentary under the same name as that of the *Suttanipāta* to elevate its position i.e. to show that the *Khuddakapāṭha* is of the same position as *Suttanipā ta*. Similarly the statement about the deepness of the contents of *Khuddakapāṭha* and inability to comment upon by a person such as him etc. are the deliberate attempt on the part of Buddhaghosa to upgrade *Khuddakapāṭha*. (Abenayake Oliver *A Textual and Historical Analysis of Khuddakanikāya*, Colombo 1984 pp. 44-45)

Paramavisuddha saddhā viriya gunapatimanditena sīlācārajjavamaddavādi gunasamudayasamuditena sakasamaya samayantara gahanajjho gahanasamatthena paññāveyyattiya samannāgatena tipiṭaka pariyattipabhede sātthakathe sathusāsane appatihatañāṇa prabhavena

The above traditional statement that attributes the authorship to Buddhaghosa (which is repeated at the end of all the commentaries of Buddhaghosa) is thought to be a later interpolation in the case of the *Khuddakapā ṭha* commentary. The motive behind the attribution of the authorship of *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary to Buddhaghosa would have been probably to enhance the position of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the latest addition to the canon which might have effected in Sri Lanka.

Paramatthajotikā, the Suttanipāta commentary: The commentary of the *Suttanipāta* is also named *Paramatthajotikā*, the authorship of which is traditionally attributed to Buddhaghosa. *Suttanipāta* the fifth book of the *Khuddakanikāya* (as per the Buddhaghosa's list) consists of five *vaggas* as *Uraga, Cūla, Mahā, Aṭṭhaka*, and *Pārāyana*. Out of which *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vagga* and *Khaggavisāna sutta* appear to have existed as isolated poems prior to their being incorporated into the *Suttanipāta*. *Niddesa* is an ancient commentary written for the *Aṭṭhakavagga, Pārāyana vagga* and the *Khaggavisāna sutta*, which is given the canonical status. It is clear that when the *Niddesa* was written *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vaggas* and the *Khaggavisāna sutta* existed as isolated poems. However, *Paramatthajotikā* the *Suttanipāta* commentary contains a fresh exegesis of *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vaggas* and the *Khaggavisāna sutta*.

Although the Authorship of the *Suttanipāta* commentary is attributed to Buddhaghosa there are explicit differences between the commentaries where Buddhaghosa's authorship is undisputed and the *Suttanipāta* commentary *Paramatthajotikā*. *Suttanipā ta* commentary does not say on whose invitations it was composed which Buddhaghosa never failed to mention in his commentaries. In the prologue of the *Suttanipāta* commentary it is not mentioned that the exegesis is based on the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* or has followed the Mahavihāra tradition and this is a deviation from the usual practice of Buddhaghosa who declared his adherence to Mahavihāra and the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās* in his prologues. Nevertheless in the body of the *Suttanipāta* commentary there is evidence that the author has consulted *Sīhala aṭṭhakathās* such as *Mahā aṭṭhakathā*.

A quick look at the two *Paramatthajotikās* (*KhuA. and SnA*) attributed to the same author by a tradition reveal that both the commentaries contain the exegesis of *Maṅgala, Ratana* and *Metta suttas*. If it was the work of the same author, this repetition would not have been there. The author of the *Khuddkapāṭha* commentary says that some teachers say that whole of *Ratana sutta* was preached by the Buddha, while the others maintain that the Buddha preached only the first five *gāthās*. But the *Suttanipāta* commentary is silent on this controversy. The *Suttanipāta* commentary has highlighted several important information pertaining to the text (*Suttanipāta*) in particular and also Pali literature in general.

According to *Suttanipāta Aṭṭhakathā*, *Mahā aṭṭhakathā* (which contained expositions of all the three

piṭakas) did not contain the comments on the last two verses of the *Kokālika sutta*. Though the commentator does not say anything further, it is clear that they are subsequent additions. Adikaram. E.W. in this respect observes:

"The fact recorded here is significant because it points with more or less certainty to a specific instance of an addition, however small, made to Pali canon, a considerable time after it was brought to Ceylon and probably after it was committed to writing at the Mā tula Janapada" (Adikaram E.W. *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* 1946 Colombo pp. 11-12).

The short poems in the *Pārāyana vagga* are named in the *Suttanipāta* commentary as "*suttas*". But in the *Suttanipāta* text they are called *pucchā* (questions). In the meantime in *Aṅguttaranikāya* (A.I. p. 133, II p. 45, 46) they are named *Pañha*. *Paramatthajotikā*, the *Suttanipāta* commentary attributes the thirteenth stanza of the *Dhaniya Sutta* the last two lines of the twenty-sixth stanza of *Dhammika sutta* the last two lines of the *Āmagandha sutta*, the last two lines of the fifth stanza of the *Padhāna sutta* , introductory stanzas of the *Nālakasutta*, *Vatthugāthās* of the *Pārayāna vagga* and the concluding prose passage and the stanzas of the same vagga to *Saṅgītikārakas*. The author of the *Paramatthajotikā* further says that in his explanation of the *Vaṅgisa sutta* the phrases : *iti bhagavā, iti brahmano* are inserted by *saṅgītikārakas* (reciters) . The commentator also adds in the case of that the last stanza of the *Padhāna sutta* some teachers hold the view that it was uttered by *saṅgītikārakas*.

The commentator (*Paramatthajotikā*'s author) reveals another peculiarity as regards the titles of the *suttas*. Namely some *suttas* were having more than one title. *Aggikabhāradvaja Suttta* is also called *Vasala sutta* , *Hemavata sutta* is also called *Sātāgira sutta*. *Vinaya sutta* is also called *Kāyavicchandika sutta*. *Vangīsa* is also called *Nigrodhakappa sutta*. *Sundarikabhāradvaja sutta* is called *Puralāsa sutta*. Thus it is clear that the author of the *Paramatthajotikā* , the commentary to the *Sutta nipāta* has been a keen observer who noted the minute details of the text while he wrote the commentary.

Unlike some of the other commentaries of the *Khuddaka nikāya Paramatthajotikā* the *Sutta nipāta* commentary contains episodes supposed to have originatned in the *Sīhaladīpa* or *Tambapaṇṇi dīpa* (Sri Lanka). Among such stories of Sri Lanka origin is the story of a young novice and a female novice. As the story goes during the consecration of the Maricavaṭṭi Thūpa the king Duṭṭhagāmini provided alms to very large number of monks and nuns who attended the ceremony. A *sāmanera* (novice) of seven years of age was carrying a hot bowl of gruel and it was too hot for him to handle. He had to keep it on the floor off and on. Another novice (female novice) of the same age witnessed his plight and gave him a receptacle to keep the hot bowl and take it. During the *Bāminitiyā* famine the monks as well as nuns fled to other countries (India) due to shortage of food. The novice and the female novice too were among those who were abroad. There, they recognized each other and recalled the incident at the Maricavaṭṭi festival. It is said even after sixty years of age they developed an affection and they disrobed and lived together.

K. Arunasiri

PARAMATTHAMAÑJUSĀ : *Paramatthamañjusā* (Casket of Philosophy) is the sub commentary (*ṭikā*) on Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, by Ven. Dhammapāla resident at the Badaratitthavihāra (*Badaratitthavihāra vāsinā ācariya Dhammapālena katā...*). It is also called *Mahāṭikā*. As it is an exegesis on the *Visuddhimagga*, it is clear that it should be posterior to *Visuddhimagga*. In the colophon it is said that it was written on a formal invitation made by Ven. Dāṭhānāga Thera of Sitthagāma Pirivena. It is necessary to identify Ven. Dāṭhanāga in order to ascertain the period of composition of this *ṭikā*. The *Mahāvaṃsa* provides a vital clue in this context. *Mahā vaṃsa* (*Mhv.* Ch. Iiv. verse No. 6) says that king Sena IV (973-976 A.C.) built a *pirivena* at Sitthagāma, where he formerly lived (as a monk). In the same chapter verse No. 36 the *Mahāvaṃsa* says that the king Sena's successor Mahinda IV (976-92 A.C.) got Dā ṭhānāga Thera, the Forest Dweller to preach *Abbidhamma*. Buddhadatta' says that a monk formerly resident at a pirivena could later become a Forest Dweller. Therefore he tries to identify Dāṭhānāga who invited Dhammapāla to write *Paramatthamañjusā* as Dāṭhānāga mentioned in the above context. Therefore it is possible to assume roughly that the *Paramatthamañjusā* was written in the latter half of the 10th century A.C.

The *Paramatthamañjusâ* is a voluminous work, double the size of the *Visuddhimagga* on which it comments. It is stated in the book that it contains 88 *Bhânavâras* (sections). The scholars consider it as a work of very high standard. It is hardly in Sri Lanka. But in Burma it is extensively used. It is not yet published under the *PTS*. Hence the modern scholars have no access to it. In Sri Lanka a part of it (up to chapter VII) is published in Sinhala characters in 1928 edited by Ven. Morontuduve Dhammananda. The temple libraries in Sri Lanka have over 50 manuscripts of *Paramatthamañjusâ*. In Burma and Siam (present Myanmar and Thailand) it is already published in the Burmese and Thai characters.

K. Arunasiri

Reference

[1] Buddhadatta A.P. *Pali Literature* (Sinhala script) 1966, Colombo p. 217-218)

PĀRAMITĀ – completeness, perfection, highest state. In later literature there is mentioned a group of 10 Perfections as the perfect exercise of the 10 virtues of a *Bodhisatta*. Accordingly Perfect Enlightenment or the discovery of Four Noble Truths (*Sammâ-sambuddhahood*) is not a unique and unrepeatable event in the world. It is an achievement open to anyone who earnestly strives for perfect purity and wisdom, and with inexorable will cultivates the *pâramitâs* – the Perfections which are the requisites of Buddhahood. These *pâramitâs* are: (1) generosity (*dâna*), (2) morality (*sîla*), (3) renunciation (*nekkhamma*) (4). Wisdom (*paññâ*), (5) energy (*viriya*), (6) patience (*khanti*), (7) truthfulness (*sacca*), (8) resolution or determination (*adhiṭṭhâna*), loving-kindness (*mettâ*) and (10) equanimity (*upekkhâ*). These qualities were developed and matured by the *Bodhisatta* in previous existences and how they were practiced are described in many of the *Jâtaka*-stories.

The *Visuddhimagga* describes that through developing 4 Sublime states(four *Brhma-vihâras*) – loving kindness (*mettâ*), compassion (*karuṇâ*), altruistic joy (*muditâ*) and equanimity (*upekkhâ*) – one may reach these 10 perfections. It says that the *Mahâsattas* (*Bodhisattas*) who are concerned about the welfare of beings not tolerating the suffering of beings, wishing long duration for the various success achieved by the beings, and being impartial to all beings. (1) They give alms(*dâna*) to all beings without discriminating their worthiness so that they may be happy , (2) In order to avoid doing harm to all beings (*tesaṃ upaghâtaṃ parivajjayantâ*) they observe morality (*sîla*), (3) They practise renunciation (*nekkhamma*) to bring morality to perfection (*sîlaparipûraṇatthaṃ*), (4) They purify their wisdom (*paññampariyodapenti*) for the purpose to understand clearly what is beneficial and injurious to living-beings, (5) They constantly arouse their energy (*viriyaṃ ârabhati*) for the welfare and happiness of living-beings(*sattânaṃ hitasukhatthâya*), (6) Though they have become heroes through supreme energy, they are full of forbearance (*khanti*) towards many kinds of faults of living-beings (*nânappakkâraṃ aparâdhaṃ khamanti*), (7) Once they promise to give or do something they do not deceive(*sacca*), (8) For the welfare and happiness of others they work with unshakeable resolution (*aviccalâdhiṭṭhânâ*), (9) Through unshakeable loving-kindness (*mettâ*) they help all living-beings and (10) Through equanimity (*upekkhâ*) they do not expect any thing in return (*paccupakâraṃ nâsiṃsanti*) – *Vsm.* p.325.

Commentary to the *Cariyâpiṭaka* gives a long and methodical exposition of the *pâramitâs*. Accordingly *pâramitâs* are those virtues which are cultivated with compassion as a means to acquire proficiency (*cariyâpiṭakaṭṭhakathâ* .p.266-267). As these qualities are completed and controlled by the *Bodhisatta*, he is known as superior (*parama*)- *Ibid*.p.277. Hence the *pâramitâs* may be described as those virtues which are cultivated with compassion towards all living-beings guided by reason, uninfluenced by selfish motives and unsullied by misbelief and all feelings of craving (*taṇhâ*), self-conceit (*mâna*) and wrong opinions(*diṭṭhi*)etc., The *Bodhisatta* who practises these *pâramitâs* throughout the series of his countless lives strives to diminish suffering, to elevate to greater honour the poor and the lowly, and to help the needy in every possible way; his heart is full of compassion and he is not actuated by a desire for power or worldly possessions. He knows that fame comes to him unsought as he is worthy of it.

Out of these Perfections first *pâramitâ* (Perfection) is the *Dâna* or generosity. It confers upon the giver two blessings i.e. inhibiting immoral thoughts of selfishness and developing pure thoughts of selflessness. A *Bodhisatta* who perfects *pâramitâ* must give more

difficult gifts than material goods to fulfil the highest form of perfection of generosity. A *Bodhisatta* must freely give, his children, his wife and even the parts of his body. Gotama *Bodhisatta* , when he was born as Prince Vessantara gave the auspicious, powerful royal elephant to the people of another kingdom merely because they had requested. Consequently he and his wife and two children were banished to a remote area. While living in a forest Vessantara gave his children away to Jûjaka a man who came to him asking his children to be given to him as servants. Later he gave his wife too to Sakka who was disguised as a brâhmin (*Vessantara Jâtaka. Jâtaka No.*547).

Cariyâpiṭaka commentary gives an interesting account dealing with the *Bodhisatta*'s mode of practising *Dâna*: In giving food he intends to endow the recipient with long life(*âyu*), beauty(*vaṇṇa*), happiness(*sukha*),strength(*bala*) and wisdom(*paññâ*) thereby. He gives thirsty people to drink (*pâna*) for him to quench the thirst of passion.; garments to obtain moral dread; conveyances to cultivate psychic powers; odours for the scent of morality (*sîla*); garlands and cosmetics etc., to gain the glory pertaining to the Buddha's virtues; seat to win the seat of Enlightenment; lodging with the expectation of serving as a refuge to the world; lights to obtain the five kinds of eyes (physical eye or the *mâṃsa cakkhu*, the eye of wisdom or the *ñâṇa cakkhu*, the divine eye or the *dibba cakkhu*, the Buddha eye or the *Buddha cakkhu* and the eye of omniscience or the *samanta cakkhu*); forms to posess the Buddha aura ; sounds to cultivate a sweet voice like that of Brahmâ's ; tastes to be pleasing to all..................medicine for the sake of deathlessness (*nibbâna*). The *Bodhisatta* emancipates slaves for the purpose of delivering men from the thraldom of passions; renounces children to develop the paternal feeling towards all; renounces wives to become the master of the world; renounces kingdoms to gain the kingdom of righteousness (*Cariyâpiṭaka ṭṭakathâ -Pakiṇṇakakathâ* p.306).

Combined with the supernormal generosity an aspirant to Buddhahood (*Bodhisatva*) should have a virtuous conduct (*sîla*). He refrains from evil and does good to the best of his ability. The great importance of this perfection is described in the *Sîlavimaṃsa Jâtaka* (*Jâtaka* No.363) where the *Bodhisatta* says "Apart from virtue wisdom is worthless".

The third *pâramitâ* is *nekkhamma* (renunciation). Herein the renunciation is twofold i.e. renunciation of worldly pleasures by adopting the ascetic life and the temporary inhibition of hindrances (*nîvaraṇa*) by *jhânas*(ecatasies). Realising the vanity of impermanent material pleasures *Bodhisatta* voluntarily leaves his earthly possessions and goes to homelessness to lead the holy life.

Then comes the fourth perfection of a *Bodhisatta* ; it is *paññâ* (wisdom). Herein the right understanding of the nature of the world as transiency, (*anicca*), sorrowfulness(*dukkha*) and soullessness are considered and meditated upon.

Viriya or the energy is the next *pâramitâ*. Here the mental vigour or strength of character is meant instead of physical strength .It is defined as the continuous effort to work for the welfare of others, both in thought and deed. He views failures as steps to success, dangers increase his courage. A *Bodhisatta* who is perfecting *Viriya* cuts his way through difficulties and looks straight towards the goal and never stops until it is reached.

Khanti (patience) is the endurance of suffering inflicted upon oneself by others and the forbearance of faults of the others. A *Bodhisatta* practises patience to such an extent that he is not provoked even when his limbs are cut off. *Khantivâdi Jâtaka* illustrates *Bodhisatta*'s endurance regarding the tortures inflicted by a drunkard king, who mercilessly ordered to cut off *Bodhisatta*'s limbs. Lying on the ground in a deep pool of his own blood, with mutilated limbs he said " Long live the king, whose cruel hand my body thus has marred".

Sacca (Truthfulness) is the seventh Perfection. Fulfilment of one's promise is meant here. This is one of the very important characteristics of a *Bodhisatta* who is no breaker of his word. He acts as he speaks, he speaks as he acts. Though a *Bodhisatta* may violate the other four precepts he never utters an untruth during the course of his life's wanderings (*Hârita Jâtaka – Jâtaka number 431*). He advises to keep the promises and not to promise if they are unable to fulfil (*Hiri Jâtaka . Jâtka No.363*). There is no difference between a *Bodhisatta*'s inner self and outward utterence.

Adhiṭṭhāna (Resolute Determination) is the eighth Perfection. Without a firm determination the other perfections cannot be fulfilled. The *Bodhisatta* who is endowed with *Adhiṭṭhāna* never forgets his goal in the face of obstructions like sickness, grief or disaster.

Mettā (Loving-kindness) is the ninth Perfection. A *Bodhisatta* is prompted by this quality to renounce personal deliverance for the sake of others. He is permeated with boundless *mettā* towards all beings irrespective of caste, creed, colour or sex. *Mettā* is not the personal affection or ordinary carnal love. From affection arise fear and grief, but not from *mettā*. To a *Bodhisatta* there is no far and near, no enemy or foreigner, no renegade or untouchable as universal love, realised through understanding, has established the brotherhood of all beings.

The last Perfection is *upekkhā* (equanimity). The etymological meaning of *upekkhā* is discerning rightly, viewing justly, or looking impartially, i.e. without attachment or aversion, without favour or disfavour. Amidst all vicissitudes such as praise and blame, loss and gain, pain and happiness a *Bodhisatta* tries to stand unmoved like a firm rock, exercising perfect equanimity. Like a lotus that is unsoiled by the mud from which it springs, the *Bodhisatta* lives unaffected by worldly temptations. He practices *upekkhā* and metes out justice to all without being influenced by desire (*chanda*), hatred (*dosa*) fear (*bhaya*) and ignorance (*moha*).

D.Saddhasena

PĀRĀYANAVAGGA: The *Pārāyanavagga* [1] is the fifth section (*vagga*) of the *Suttanipāta*, the fifth book of the *Khuddakanikāya*, the fifth *Nikāya* (division) of the *Suttapiṭaka*, of the Theravāda School of Buddhism. *Pārāyanavagga* consists of fifteen short *suttas* all in the metrical form. Due to the high philosophical nature of its contents and also its archaic language *Pārāyana vagga* (also the *Aṭṭhakavagga* the 4th *vagga)* occupies a very important place in the Theravāda canon.

According to the *Vatthugāthās* (prologue) and the commentary the learned Brahmin Bāvari was the chief chaplain (*Purohita*) of the father of king Pasenadi Kosala. After the death of the father he became the *Purohita* to the King Pasenadi also. Later he retired from service to the king and became an ascetic along with his 16 pupils and was living in the king's Park. Afterwards desirous of solitude they migrated southwards. The king made necessary arrangements to provide them with a hermitage, whereever they wished to stay. A hermitage was put up for them on the banks of the river Godhāvari in a spot in between the kingdoms of the two kings Assaka and Ālaka.The ascetic Bāvari and his sixteen pupils named Ajita, Tissametteyya, Puṇṇaka, Mettagu, Dhotaka, Upasiva, Nanda, Hemaka, Todeyya kappa, Chatukaṇṇi, Bhadrā uda, Udaya, Posāla, Mogharāja, and Piṅgiya who had thousand pupils each were staying in the hermitage on the banks of the river Godhāvari.

There Bāvari heard about the Buddha from a devotee and he was highly taken up by what the devotee said about the Buddha. He dispatched his 16 pupils northwards to meet the Buddha and the kingdoms they passed through their march northwards to meet the Buddha are given in detail in the *Vatthugāthas*. They met the Buddha at the Pāsānacetiya in Magadha.

Each of the sixteen Brahmins had subtle questions to put to the Buddha. The Buddha answered all and the Brahmins were highly satisfied with the explanations given by the Buddha and entered the Order and attained Arahanthood. Piṅgiya who was a nephew of Bāvari became an Anāgāmin, returned to Bāvari, and reported about the mission they accomplished. After hearing from Piṅgiya, Bāvari became an *anāgāmin* and Piṅgiya subsequently attained Arahanthood.

The questions presented to the Buddha by the sixteen Brahmins and the answers given by the Buddha all in metrical form constitute the contents of the *Pārā yanavagga*. All the sixteen discourses are short and are named after the name of the Brahmin youth who presented the problem to the Buddha. *Pārāyanavagga* is among the earliest discourses of the Buddha and contains most deep and subtle stratum of the Buddha's teachings in the original form of the Pali language akin to Prakrit. Hence scholars reckon *Pārāyanavagga* as a unique part of *Theravāda* Buddhism with reference to Buddhist philosophy as well as the Pali language.

It is of vital importance that the *Pārāyana vagga* is mentioned in the *Samyutta Nikāya* and the *Anguttara Nikāya* and it shows its antiquity. In the *Anguttara Nikā*

ya Tikanipāta Devaduta vagga, the Buddha is reported to have referred to his own teachings in the *Pārāyana vagga*.

Idañca pana me taṃ Ānanda sandhāya
Bhāsitam pārāyane puṇṇakapañhe :-

Saṅkhāya lokasmim parovarāni
Yass'iñjitam n'atthi kuhiñci loke
Santo vidhūmo anigho nirāso
Atāri so jati jaranti brūmi

(*A*. I p. 133)

Again in the *Anguttara Nikāya Catukkanipāta Rohitassa vagga* a reference is made to the same verse of the *Pārāyanavagga*. *Mahāyāññavagga Aṭṭhaka Nipāta, Anguttara Nikāya* (*A*. IV p. 63) reports when the Buddha was living how an *upāsikā* named Velukantaki Nandamātā, got up early in the morning was reciting *Pārāyana*[2] musically which was appreciated by *Vessavana*. In the *Nidānasamyutta* of the *Samyutta Nikāya* (*S*. II p. 49) a reference is made to *Ajitapañha* of the *Pārāyanavagga*.

Although at present *Pārāyana Vagga* and the *Aṭṭhakavagga* are found incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*, it is seen that prior to their inclusion in the *Suttanipāta* they existed as independent poems. *Niddesa*, an ancient commentary on the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana vaggas* which is given canonical status, testifies that they were existing as independent poems at the beginning. The present *Pārāyanavagga* found in the *Suttanipāta* contains 55 introductory verses (*Vatthugāthās*). But *Niddesa (Cūla Niddesa)* which contains the exegesis of the *Pārāyanavagga* is not aware of the *Vatthugāthās*. It is a clear evidence that when the *Niddesa* was written *Pārāyanavagga* has had no *Vatthugāthās* and *Pārāyana vagga* has not gone into the *Suttanipāta*.

The antiquity of the *Pārāyanavagga* is further confirmed as it is mentioned in the literature of the northern school of Buddhism. In one passage *Mahāsanghika vinaya* speaks of the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana vaggas*. Sarvastivāda vinaya also speaks of the *Pārāyanavagga* . Dharmaguptika Vinaya includes *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana vaggas* in their lists. The *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyanavaggas* occur in the Chinese Tripiṭaka while the *Suttanipāta* as a whole has not been translated into Chinese. So do the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāsā* and Vinaya *Matṛkā*. Fragments of the Sanskrit version of *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyanavaggas* have been found in Eastern Turkestan. All these evidence confirm that the origin of the *Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vaggas* could be safely traced to the period before the division of the Mahasangha into various sects after the second Buddhist Council.

It is interesting to note that the names of the 16 metrical discourses contained in the *Pārāyana Vagga* have undergone change during the various periods of the Pali literature. During the canonical period they were known as *pañha* (questions) i.e. *Aṅguttaranikāya* refer to them as *Puṇṇakapañha Ajitapañha* etc. During the period *Suttanipāta* emerged they came to be known as "*Pucchā*" (inquiries) i.e. *Ajitamāṇavakapucchā*, *Tissametteyya Mānava pucchā* . During the period *Paramatthajotikā*, the *Suttanipāta* commentary was written they were termed *sutta* i.e. *Puṇṇakasutta, Dhotaka Sutta* etc.

Paramatthajotikā, the *Suttanipāta* commentary says that Ven. Ananda recited the *Vatthugāthās* as an introduction at the First Buddhist Council. However, in the second stanza of the *Vatthugāthās*, a mention has been made to the River Godhāvari in South India, where Buddhism reached later. Buddhism was confined to the Madhyadesa during the Buddha's life time and no mention of Godhāvari in South India is found in the early stratum of the Buddhist canon. The reference to Godhāvari in the *Vatthugāthās* is an indication that it does not belong to the older stratum of the canon. It is thought that the *Vatthugāthās* were added to the *Pārāyanavagga* when the *Pārāyanavagga* was incorporated in the *Suttanipāta*.

In the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv*. XXX Verse 84) it is said that *Pārāyanasamiti*, probably the meeting of 16 Brahmin youths, were represented in the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa.

Pārāyanavagga is included in the *Suttanipāta* edited (by Dines Anderson and Hellmer Smith) and published by *PTS*. The exegesis on the *Pārāyanavagga* is found in the *Cullaniddesa* an ancient commentary elevated to canonical status. Again Buddhaghosa's *Paramatthajotikā* the commentary of *Suttanipāta* also contains comments on the *Pārāyanavagga*.

K. Arunasiri

Reference

1 Buddhaghosa has explained the *Pārāyana* as "Dhamma that leads to Nibbāna, the thither shore". (*Nibbāna saṅkhātaṃ pāraṃ ayanto pārāyanti laddhavohāraṃ dhammam* (*AA* IV p. 35)

2 The explanation of the commentary in this context is puzzling. According to which she was reciting *Pārāyana Sutta* with 250 *gathas* (*aḍḍhateyyagāthāsataparimānam Pārāyanasuttam AA.* I p. 35) The *Pārāyanasutta* found in the *Saṃyutta nikāya* (S. IV. 373) is a short sutta in prose whereas the *Pārāyanavagga* in the *Sutta Nipāta* contains 173 stanzas including 55 *Vatthugāthās* . It is conjectured whether the *Pārāyanavagga* originally had 250 *gāthās*.

PARENTS. It is a very distinguished characteristic in oriental culture that parents, referred to in Pali as *Mā tāpitā* and in Sanskrit as *Matr-pitr* are held in very high esteem and veneration by the children. Duties of children towards their parents were specifically stated and stressed from very old times, much before the time of the Buddha and the Buddha, too, further emphasized the importance of this. The relationship between the parents and children comprised of love and affection on the part of former towards the latter, and love, affection and utmost veneration on the part of the latter towards the former.

The Buddha giving a new interpretation to the ancient brahmanic tradition of worshipping the six quarters of the universe identify the eastern quarter with the parents. This symbolism is deliberately born, for as the day begins with the rise of the sun in the eastern quarter so begins the life of children from parents (*D.*III, p. 188). The duty of supporting the parents is included among the three noble things enjoined by the good and the wise. The Buddha says: Monks,, these three things have been enjoined by the wise and good. What three? Charity, going forth from the home to the homeless life, support of mother and father (*A*. I, p. 151).

Again, the Buddha declares: monks, those families where mother and father are worshipped in the home are reckoned like unto Brahmā. These families where mother and father are worshipped in the home are ranked with teachers of old. These families where mother and father are worshipped in the home are ranked with the *devas* of old worthy of offerings. "Brahmā", monk, is a term for mother and father. "Teachers of old" (*pubbā cariyā*) monks, is a term for mother and father. "Devas of old" (*pubbadevatā*) monks, is a term for mother and father. "Worthy of offerings (*āhuneyya*), monks, is a term for mother and father. Why so? Because mother and father do much for children, they bring them up, nourish and introduce them to the world (*A.*I, p. 70; cf. *A.*I, p.132; *It.*p.109, *Taittiriya Upanisad* 1, 11, 1; cf. also *J.*No.523). The Buddha says that the children can never repay those affectionate services rendered by their parents. Even if one should carry about his mother on one shoulder and his father on the other, and so doing should live a hundred years, attain a hundred years; and if he should support them anointing them with unguent, kneading, bathing and rubbing their limbs, and they meanwhile should even void their excrements upon him-even so could he not repay his parents. Moreover, monks, if he should establish his parents in supreme authority, in the absolute rule over this mighty earth abounding in seven treasures, not even this could be repaying his parents. But the Buddha adds: whosoever incites his unbelieving parents, settles and establishes them in faith, incites his stingy parents and establishes them in liberality, incites his foolish parents and establishes them in wisdom, such an one, just by so doing, does more than repay what he owes to his parents (*A.*I.p. 62).

The Buddha enumerates five ways in which a child should minister his parents.. A child should resolve and act thus: once supported by them I will now be their support; I will perform duties incumbent on them; I will keep up the live tradition of my family; I will make myself worthy of my heritage and I will also perform the rites connected with the departed beings. When thus ministered the parents show their love by restraining the child from vice, by exhorting him to virtue, by training him to a profession, by contracting a suitable marriage and by handing over in due time his inheritance (*D.* III, p. 189; cf. also *Upāsakajanālankā ra* (*PTS*., p. 270; *A.*I. p. 61 f). Maintenance of one's parents is one of the seven rules of conduct that help one to attain even celestial sovereignty. (*S.*I. p. 228).

In Buddhist literature there are numerous episodes that illustrate the children's love and respect to their parents. The potter of Natikara was one who maintains his parents (*M*. II, p. 52). Then there was another poor brahman who supported his mother and consequently earned the nickname, 'supporter of the mother' (*mā tuposaka*). The Buddha praised his conduct (*S*.I. p. 181). The renowned physician 'Jīvaka' presents a substantial portion of his earnings to his foster-father in gratitude for having nourished him (*Vin*. I, p. 272).

There are also instances referred to in Buddhist literature, which shows that children did not always conform to the accepted rules of conduct and ethics. The Brahman Mānatthadda did not show any respect to his parents (*S*.I, p. 177 f.). The *Samyutta Nikāya* narrates another episode of a Mahāsāla brahman who was driven out of the house by his sons. But later acting on the advice of the Buddha this brahman managed to convince his sons of their misconduct (*S*. I, p.175 f.). Then there is the glaring instance of Ajātasattu killing his father in order to acquire the kingdom (*D*. I, p. 85).

It appears that the ancient Indians who were nurtured in the brahmanic tradition preferred a son to a daughter. A daughter was regarded as a burden whereas a son was considered to be an addition to the family possession. It is the son who could perform the family duties perform the five-fold sacrifices, perpetuate the lineage and protect the inheritance. The succession was from father to son: The Buddha, however, attempted to raise the position of the daughter in the eyes of her parents. Thus, addressing king Pasenadi the Buddha says that a daughter may prove an even better offspring than a son for she may grow wise and virtuous, and she will honour her in laws and be faithful to her husband. The boy that she may bear may do great deeds (*S*.I. p. 86).

King Asoka, too, tried to perpetuate this rule of conduct by stressing its importance. In Rock edict, Girnar III, it is stated that 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father'. Again it is said that "Right conduct to mother and father is obedience.' (Rock Edict, Girnar, XI,). The Pillar Edict, Delhi Topra, VII , says, 'Listen to mother and father'.

S.K. Nanayakkara

PARIBBĀJAKA (*pari*+✓*vraj*) gives the meaning of a wandering mendicant, one who has renounced household life, is celibate and is pursuing his religious goal assiduously.

It is well known that during the time of the Buddha, the middle Gangetic valley presented a lively scenario agog with thinkers and philosophers propounding their own views amidst debate and discussion. There were also among them *Samaṇas* (ascetics) and *munis* (silent ascetics or sages.) The *paribbājaka* community consisted mainly of dissidents from the mainstream Brahmaṇa religion. They ranged from those adhering to some *Sassatavāda* (eternalist) doctrines to those who held downright *Ucchedavāda* (annihilationist) views. Though there were exceptions, most of them rejected Vedic rites and rituals such as fire worship and sacrifice. Among the *paribbājaka*(s) were *Cārvākas* whose perception was that events were pre-determined and therefore preached a fatalistic doctrine and *Amarā vikkhepikas* who were skeptics and many other non-conformists. Buddhism was also a dissentient doctrine. The Buddhist texts refer to *añña titthiya*(s), i.e. other heretical teachers (other than the Buddha). There were six of them, seven with the Buddha. The *Brahmajāla sutta* (*D*.I.) discusses sixty-two philosophic views that were prevalent during the time of the Buddha.

The *paribbājaka* tradition, it seems, had its roots in the Indus valley civilization evidenced in the figure of a proto-śiva in his representation of Mahāyogi drawn on a miniature seal. The ascetic tradition is thought to be non-Aryan in origin as confirmed in the *Keśi sukta* of the *Ṛgveda* which expresses awe at the alien sight of a *muni*. Apparently, this indigenous ascetic tradition was assimilated into the invading culture in its gradual process of ariyanisation which went on a-pace in the Gangetic valley during the time of the Brahmaṇas.

D.J.Kalupahana (see *Buddhist Philosophy, A Historical Analysis*, pp. 3-4) suggests that the mundane Aryan culture was unable to suppress the indigenous which surfaced during the time of the Buddha.

The institution of wandering mendicants was held in great respect in India. Rhys Davids says (see *Buddhist India*, pp. 140-1; 246-7) "They were teachers

and sophists who spend eight or nine months of every year wandering about precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussion on matters of ethics, philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism."

'Paribbājaka' was probably a blanket term applied to all types of religieux going about the country alone or in groups under the guidance of a religious teacher or a teacher of a particular philosophy. However, the term did not include Buddhist monks, the word applied to them being *bhikkhu*, which also had a wide range.

A descriptive passage concerning *paribbājaka* is found in the *Jacchanda Vagga* in the *Udāna*:

"Sambahulā nānātitthiyā samaṇabrāhmanā paribbājakā....... nānādiṭṭikā nānākhantikā nānā rucikā nānādiṭṭhinissayanissitā."

"Numerous mendicants, both Samaṇa(s) and Brahmaṇa(s) of various denominations – of various views, opinions, inclinations, doctrines and doxies."

An interesting thesis put forward by Sukumar Dutt (see *Early Buddhist Monachism,* (London, 1924) New Delhi, 1984 pp. 54-6) is that whereas the Aryan invaders had systematized their religion by means of their Brahmaṇa priests, through their clannish academies, residential teaching by *ācārya*(s) and a few universities like the famous one at Takṡilā, the indigenous inhabitants had no repositories of learning whereby they could acquaint themselves of the new Aryan teaching. It is suggested that the *paribbājaka* communities with its miscellaneous *gaṇa*(s) and respective doctrines were the repositories of learning, the medium through which the new knowledge was transmitted among the non-Aryan or imperfectly aryanized population.

"They had probably no conservative or corporate centers of learning, no academies or universities, where speculative ideas are moulded into philosophic systems. The impact of Aryan thoughts, ideas and speculations of philosophy on the imperfectly aryanised communities, without the characteristic Aryan institutions seems therefore to have given birth, some three centuries before the birth of Buddhism itself (if an approximate chronology were needed) to a class of men answering to the Brahmaṇas in Aryan society who went about in a missionary spirit, dealing in philosophic speculations, teaching the uninstructed and gaining honour and reputation wherever they went........"

This comment, however, does not invalidate the theory that the *paribbājaka* community existed from even remoter times.

There is an interesting passage in the Pali texts (S.I. 78) which recounts how a number of *paribbājaka* (s) passed by not far from where the Buddha and king Pasenadi Kosala were in conversation together. They were seated in the Eastern Park at the terraced house of Visākhā , the lay benefactress. Apparently, they were seated in a loggia outside the Eastern door.

"Now just then passed by not far from the Exalted One, seven ascetics of those who wore the hair matted, seven of the Niganthas, seven naked ascetics, seven of the single vested class and seven wanderers, all with hairy bodies and long nails, carrying friars' kit."

"Tena kho pana samayena, satta ca jaṭilā satta ca nigaṇṭhā, satta ca acelā, satta ca ekaṡāṭikā, satta ca paribbājakā paruḷha-kaccha-nakha-loma khārividham ādāya Bhagavato avidūre atikkamanti."

King Pasenadhi Kosala, having paid respects to the passing *paribbājaka*(s), asked the Buddha whether there could be *arahants* among them. The Buddha replied that it is difficult for a householder like the king to distinguish *arahants* from ordinary people and that it is by living in the company of a person for a long time that one is able to form an opinion about that person's moral character, if one is intelligent and pays careful attention; likewise, it is in conversation with a person that one gathers whether that person has wisdom or not and there again one should pay careful attention to what the person says. As to his fortitude, one has to observe a person under various situations to come to a correct conclusion in that respect.

King Pasenadi Kosala, while admiring the Buddha's sagacious reply, divulged that he had placed spies and

informants among the *paribbājaka*(s) and that when they returned after investigating a district they would present their reports from which the king formed his own conclusions. He further added that "............ when they have cleaned themselves of dust and dirt, are well bathed and anointed, trimmed as to hair and head, and arrayed in white garments, will be waited upon and provided and surrounded with every kind of enjoyment."

From these remarks we may gather that *paribbājaka*(s) were wandering religious men among whom there may have been some who were pretending to be what they were not and depending on the gullibility of the laity for their alms.

The above passage (*S.*I. 78) mentions specific religious communities such as Jaṭila, Nigaṇṭha, Acela and Ekasāṭika, followed by the word *paribbājakā*. We know that the texts refer to Sanjaya Belaṭṭhiputta as a *paribbājaka* (*Vin*. I. 39) though he was an *añña titthiya* (a teacher of a specific sect, the skeptics known as *Amarāvikkhepikā*), so we may surmise that *paribbājaka* was a generic term for all sorts of ascetics.

The *paribbājaka*(s) had among them followers of various doctrines. The Jaṭilas, for instance, were fire worshippers and performed brahmanical sacrificial rites. When the Jaṭila, Acela Kassapa, with his five hundred followers, Nadî Kassapa, with his three hundred followers and Gayā Kassapa with his two hundred followers came over to the Buddha's Saṅgha, they cut off their matted hair, braids, beards, and threw them into the river with their bundles on carrying poles and implements of fire worship.

"Atha kho te jaṭilā kesamissaṃ jatāmissaṃ khārikājamissaṃ aggihuttamissaṃ udake pavāhetvā yena bhagavā tena upasaṃkamiṃsu.........." (*Vin*. I. 33).

We learn also that Sariputta and Moggallana, when they were under the tutelage of Sanjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, who was a renowned teacher of skepticism, they were referred to as *paribbājakā*. However, in the same passage (*Vin*. I. 41), Assaji who had become a disciple of the Buddha was referred to as Assaji bhikkhu. When Sariputta and Moggallana joined the Buddha's Saṅgha they were no longer referred as *paribbājakā* but *bhikkhū*.

Many *paribbājaka*(s) are mentioned in the Buddhist texts such as Bhaggavagotta, Nirodha, Cunda, Vacchagotta, Timbaruka, Susîma, Moliya-Sivaka, Jambukhādaka, Subhadda, etc. Some of them visited the Buddha to engage in discussion on philosophic matters and to have their questions clarified. Some are visited by the Buddha in their "*paribbājakānam arāmaṃ*" or parks. The Buddha's visit to Bhaggavagotta is related at *D* III. 1.

"Atha kho Bhagavā yena Bhaggava-gottassa paribbājakassa ārāmo yena Bhaggava-gotto paribbājako ten'upasaṃkami."

Such parks were given to *paribbājaka*(s) to reside in or where they could gather together and meet to engage in discussion. The fact that the Buddha went out of his way to meet and speak to *paribbājaka*(s) in their own parks without standing on ceremony shows that Samaṇas also could as *paribbājaka*(s) make use of those parks in order to interact with each other. It shows that they who assembled at those *paribbājaka* parks all belonged to one and the same institution of wandering ascetics. The Buddha, it appears, was a very special *paribbājaka* for he was refered to as 'Samaṇa Gotamo' and 'Sakyamuni', which epithets set him apart from the common-or-garden *paribbājaka*(s). Samaṇa and Muni, therefore, would have been specific ascetic categories within the larger community of *paribbājaka*(s).

The *Cūlasihanādasutta* (*M*. I. 63-4) gives an explanation with regard to the difference between the words Samaṇa and *paribbājaka* who were *parappavādi* (holders of views contrary to those of Buddhists).

"Monks, thinking "just here is a recluse, here a second recluse, here a third recluse, here a fourth recluse; void of recluses are other (systems of teaching) alien views." It is thus, monks, that you may rightly roar a lion's roar."

"Idha'eva bhikkhave samaṇo, idha dutiyo samaṇo, idha tatiyo samaṇo, idha catuttho samaṇo suññā parappavādā samaṇehi aññā ti, evam bhikkhave sammā sîhanādam nadatha."

An explanation of this passage is found at *A* II p. 238. It states that the first *samaṇa* is a stream winner (*Sotāpatti*), the second, a once-returner (*Sakadāgami*) the third, a non-returner (*Anāgami*) referred to in the

Culasihanādasutta as "... *anāvattidhammo tasmā lokā* ." and the fourth is an *arahant*.

The Buddhists evidently, considered themselves true recluses or ascetics (*Samaṇa*). This was because they followed a system of rigorous training which took them towards a specific goal (*niṭṭha*), the goal of emancipation.

A *paribbājaka* community which did not have a teaching with such a goal in view, according to the Buddha, was void of *Samaṇa*(s).

The distinction between a Buddhist *Samaṇa* and a *paribbājaka* is a highly technical one which entails going into the details of the Buddhist theory of emancipation and the way to it (see *Culasihanādasutta*, *M.* I. 64). The discussion shows that the distinction was drawn sharply between the Buddha's bhikkhu Sangha and the *paribbājaka* community only in so far as doctrinal matters were concerned but that the external aspects of their conduct and way of life were the same. Society had come to recognize and acknowledge their outward forms of conduct for the purpose of giving support to those who practised the recluse's life.

It is difficult at this point in time, far removed from the religious milieu of the Buddha's day, to isolate the exact difference in terminology, the exact distinction between *paribbājaka, samaṇa, bhikkhu, muni, yati, yogi*, etc. They were all renouncers of the household life (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito*) who practised celibacy (*brahmacariya*) lived on alms (*bhikkha*) observed the customary practises pertaining to the full moon day (*uposatha*) and the Rains Retreat (*vassāvāsa*). The word Samaṇa meant ascetic and was also used as a blanket term to include all kinds of ascetics. It was often used as an epithet for the Buddha as mentioned earlier. The Buddha often addressed members of his Saṅgha in the Magadhan expression of the vocative, namely, "*bhikkhave*." Samaṇa-Brahmaṇa was yet another blanket term which included every type of religieux, heratical as well as the orthodox Brahmaṇa mainstream. It is possible that the word Samaṇa bore a more respectful connotation than *paribbājaka*. In short, the distinction between genus and species could be applied to *paribājaka* as against its many constituent sects.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

PARIKKHĀRA : (Sk.*pariṣkāra*) gives the meanings requisite, accessory equipment, utensil, and apparatus etc., In a special sense and in very early use it refers to the set of necessities of a Buddhist monk and comprises the 4 indispensable *instruments* of a *bhikkhu* enumerated in a stock phrase "*cīvara-piṇḍapāta-senâsana-gilānapaccaya-bhesajja parikkhāra* (robe, alms-bowl, seat and bed, medicine as help in illness)-*Vin*.III.132. In the *Vanapattha sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikâya* we find the principles which should guide a monk's life wherever he lives – in the forest, village, town, or with another person. Herein the monk is advised to quit his dwelling-place only if he fails to develop mindfulness, steadfastness of heart etc., and not because he finds it difficult to procure the *jīvita parikkhâra*(necessities of life) i.e. the requisites such as robe-material(*cîvara*), almsfood (*piṇḍapāta*), lodgings (*senâsana*) medicines for the sick (*gilânapaccayabhesajjaparikkhārā*) – *M.*I.p.104. At a later stage we find another set of monks' requisites known as *Aṭṭha parikkhâra* – the 8 requirements. They are *ticīvaraṃ*(3 robes), *patto* (the bowl), *vâsi* (a razor), *sûcī* (a needle), *kâya-bandhanaṃ* (the girdle) and *parissâvana* (a water-strainer) – *DA*.I.206.

The *Dîgha Nikâya* Commentary gives additional four items to make these 8 to 12. Therein (1). *paccattharaṇaṃ* or *kuñcikâ* (a cushion or carpet to sit on or bedding of a couch), (2) *nisîdana-cammakhaṇḍaṃ* (an animal's skin used to spread when sitting), (3) *kattara yaṭṭhiṃ* or *tela nâlikâ* (a walking stick or a reed used for keeping oil) and (4) *upâhanâ* (sandals) are added - *DA*.II.p.207. In the *Sâmaññaphala sutta* we find a proclamation made by the Buddha that the *bhikkhû* is satisfied with sufficient robes to cover his body, with sufficient food to quench his hunger. Wherever he goes, he takes these with him just like a bird with his wings wherever he may fly, carries his wings with him. Thus the *bhikkhû* becomes content – *D*.I.p.71. It further says that each of the 8 requisites are for the tending or the cherish of the body and the belly- *Ibid*.p.206.

D.Saddhasena

PARIÑÑĀ – accurate or exact knowledge, comprehension, full understanding or full comprehension. According to the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vsm*.p.606) there are three kinds of mundane full understanding (*lokiyapariññā*) i.e. (I) full understanding as the known (*ñātapariññā*), (II) full understanding as investigating (*tīraṇapariññā*) and (III) full understanding as abandoning (*pahānapariññā*). Herein the knowledge consisting in the discernment of the specific characteristics of such and such phenomena, as : Corporeality has the characteristic of being oppressed; feeling has the characteristic of being felt (*vedayitalakkhṇā vedanā ti*) etc., are named as *ñātapariññā* (full understanding as the known). The insight wisdom (*vipassanā-paññā*) which has the three general characteristics – impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*) and not-self (*anatta*) – as its object that occurs in attributing a general characteristic to physical and mental phenomena, in the way beginning 'materiality is impermanent (*rūpaṃ aniccaṃ*), feeling is impermanent (*vedanā aniccaṃ*)etc., is called *tīraṇapariññā*(full understanding as investigating). The understanding consisting in insight with the characteristics as its object that occurs as the abandoning of the perception of permanence (*niccasaññādi pajahanavasena pavattā lakkhaṇārammaṇika vipassanā*) etc., in those physical and mental phenomena is called *pahānapariññā* (full understanding as abandoning or overcoming) – *Ibid.*

In the *Visuddhimagga*, full understanding as the known is summarized thus : " Understanding that is direct knowledge is knowledge in the sense of the known ". It is given in detail such as " *Bhikkhûs*, all is to be directly known, and what is all (*kiṃ ca bhikkhave sabbaṃ abhiññeyyaṃ*), Eye is to be directly known..............(*Vsm*.p.693). likewise Full-understanding as investigating or judging (*tīraṇapaññā*) is summarized thus : "Understanding that is full understanding is knowledge in the sense of investigating(judging)". It is briefly stated thus : "Whatever states are fully understood are investigated". It is given in detail in the way beginning " *Bhikkhûs*, all is to be fully understood (*sabbaṃ bhikkhave pariññeyyaṃ*), and what is all that is to be fully understood......The eye is to be fully understood -(*Ibid*). Full understanding as abandoning (*pahānapariññā*) is explained thus: "Understanding that is abandoning is knowledge in the sense of giving up...." It occurs in the way beginning: " Through the contemplation of impermanence he abandons the perception of permanence (*aniccānupassanāya niccasaññaṃ pajahati*) –*Ibid*.

The Commentaries very often describe the term *pariññāya* as *parijānāya*. The term *Parijānāti* gives the meanings such as ' to know accurately or for certain' , 'to comprehend' , 'to recognize' and 'find out ' etc., (see *AA*.II.166). The wanderers belonging to other Sects (*paribbājakā*) had admitted that the Buddha has laid down the full understanding of sense-pleasures (*samaṇo āvuso Gotamo kāmānaṃ pariññaṃ paññāpeti* – *M*.I.84)

D. Saddhasena

PARITTA: Composed of the suffix *pari*, meaning complete, all round + √*trā* to protect, the word in pāli means complete, all round protection. It has been used in Buddhism to describe, (a) the religious ritual performed to provide protection from all evil and for blessing and, (b) the set of texts used for this religious ritual. Although the corresponding Sanskrit word is *paritrāṇa*, meaning, deliverance from, protection, it does not refer to the Hindu religious ritual which was performed for protection, which probably was the *Rakṣā -mantra*. *Rakṣā -mantra* is explained by Monier William as, the name of a collection of Vedic hymns chanted at weddings in order to protect the bridal pair from evil influences (*s.v.* Monier Williams, *Sanskrit – English Dictionary*). Commentarial references to type of ritual known to them as *yakkhaparitta, nā gamaṇḍalaparitta*, etc., seems to suggest that such *parittas* were known to the commentators at the time of the commentaries. As the word has no Vedic ancestry, the commentarial references may perhaps be taken as indicating its source into Buddhist usage.

While the majority of the important *suttas* selected for the *paritta* ritual are canonical, the ritual itself does not have as long a history as these ancient texts. "The earliest occurrence of the word *paritta* is to be met with in the *Vinaya Cullavagga* and the *Anguttaranika ya*. A monk is said to have died of snake bite, and when the matter was reported, Buddha says that such an unfortunate incident would not have happened if the monk had practised *mettā* towards all snakes. He

then enjoins that monks should practise *mettā* towards all clans of snakes and suffuse themselves with benevolent thoughts for the sake of self-protection (*atta-parittāya*)" (Lily de Silva, *Paritta*, 1981, II).

The Buddha's admonition to the monks in the above quoted textual contexts was for the active cultivation of *mettā* which was capable of making even the most ferocious opponent ineffective and impotent, against the person cultivating *mettā*. It certainly is not subduing as suggested by Lily de Silva (*op.cit*), it makes those powers, if they are there, ineffective and powerless. This is different. According to the text, it is quiet clear that it is the cultivation of *mettā*, which by its cultivation itself provides the protection required. The two words used in the text to describe the result of the cultivation of *mettā* are *rakkha* and *paritta*, both words used as synonyms in their past participle forms as *katā me rakkhā, katā me parittā*. According to this, the cultivation of *mettā* in itself is the actual accomplishment of the *rakkha* and *paritta*.

This emphasis in the text, i.e. on the cultivation of the spiritual quality of *mettā* which by its very cultivation itself accomplishes the requisite protection, poses an important problem to a meaningful discussion on the ritual of *paritta*. It points to a conceptual gap between the ritual and the contents of the important texts of the *paritta* collection. This is because these *suttas* do not contain the slightest reference to the use of ritual to ward off danger or disaster. That the same *suttas* have been included in collection for the performance of the *paritta* ritual at a later date perhaps, is not an excuse for confusion and overlook the conceptual gap which exists between the contents of these *suttas* and the acceptance of the ritual *paritta*. This conceptual gap is further widened when we come to the *Ātānāṭiya Sutta* as we shall see later on.

While as we have already seen the *Khandaparitta* as the *Anguttara sutta* is titled in the *paritta* text, emphasizes the cultivation of *mettā* (unbounded friendliness) the *Karaṇī yametta Sutta* emphasizes the cultivation of "boundless benevolence towards all beings .... human, celestial and animal, known and unknown, near and far, friendly and hostile, past, present and future without any restriction" (Lily de Silva, *Paritta*, 1981, 12). The *Ratana Sutta* lists the qualities of the *Buddha, Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*, the asseveration of which by itself brings the blessing required. The *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* (*Sn*.46) which too is included among the three *suttas* comprising the *Mahā paritta* gives an account of the conditions of worldly welfare. In the *Dhajagga Sutta* (*S*.I.218) it is said that during the mythical war between the *suras* (gods) and the *asuras* (non gods) Sakka, the king of the gods advises the gods to look at his own banner or at the banners of their leaders in case of fear or consternation arising in the battle-field, whereupon such fear or consternation would vanish. Similarly, the disciple of the Buddha is advised that in case fear or consternation arises when he is meditating alone in a forest glade or under the foot or a tree, to reflect on the spiritual qualities of the *Buddha, Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*. Such reflection is far more effective than the action of the gods when fear of consternation arose in them in the battle-field, as the Buddha, unlike Sakka and the leaders of the gods, has got rid of all defilements and has attained purity and freedom from all causes of fear or consternation.

Similar examples can be multiplied from the *Suttas* selected to form the *Paritta* collection. As Lily de Silva correctly points out, "While *mettā* forms half the core theme of *paritta, sacca* (truth) forms the other and complementary moiety. *Paritta* assumes that Truth, when solemnly declared with sincerity and purity, has the inherent power of bringing about desired benefits. This is not a new conception which originated in Buddhism, for long before the rise of Buddhism, Indian thought was well acquainted with the idea that Truth is the source and instrument of great power" (Lily de Silva, op.cit 1981, 13).

It becomes clear from the above discussion that the main emphasis of the important *Suttas* of the *Paritta* collection is on *mettā*, truth and the spiritual qualities of the *Buddha, Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha* which by their sincere asseveration immobilizes all dangers and averts all disaster. All this, it must be emphasized, goes against the acceptance of any ritual compliance as a measure to ward off danger or disaster. This conceptual gap is widened beyond reasonable appreciation when we go from here to the *Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* as we shall now see.

According to this *sutta* (originally from the *Dīgha Nikāya*, D.III.194f.) Vessavaṇa, the king of the *yakkhas* informs the Buddha that there are *yakkhas* who belong to the higher, middle and the lower ranks who are pleased with the Buddha, there are other *yakkhas* belonging to all these ranks who are not pleased with the Buddha. *Yakkhas*, as a rule, are not generally pleased with the Buddha as he admonishes abstinence from the destruction of life, stealing, etc., as they are given to all such vices. Therefore, Vessavaṇa requests the Buddha to instruct the disciples to learn and master the *Āṭānāṭiya Rakkha* which will protect them. Not only this, in the words of Vessavaṇa, there are non-human beings who do not respect either their king or his officers and are therefore called rebels against the king, as much as there are robbers in the Magadhan kingdom who do not respect either their king or his officers and are therefore called rebels against him. If a disciple of the Buddha comes to be harassed by one of these, he or she should shout and scream to the following leaders and commanders of the *Yakkhas* saying, "this *yakkha* is harassing me, this *yakkha* is harming me and this *yakkha* is not releasing me". This is followed by an enumeration of the names of the leaders and the commanders of the *yakkhas* whose names should thus be cried out.

Now, two important points emerge out of this *sutta* which invite our attention. The first, is the acceptance for the first time in the *suttas* of the *Paritta* collection, that we see here, that compliance with ritual performance will bring in safety and comfort to the disciples instead of the earlier emphasized active cultivation of qualities like *mettā*. The *sutta* is quite clear that the learning of the *āṭānāṭiyaṃ rakkhaṃ* will be for the protection and comfortable living of the disciples (*Ayaṃ kho sā Mārisa āṭanāṭiyā rakkhā bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ upāsakānaṃ upāsikānaṃ guttiyā rakkhāya avihiṃsāya phāsu-vihārāyāti*, D.III.303). Thus, the learning of the specified *Rakkhaṃ* is deemed sufficiently potent for the purpose of bringing in the protection desired, in place of the active cultivation of the spiritual qualities like *mettā*, insisted upon in *suttas* like the *Karaṇīyametta*, *Ratana*, etc.

The second, the statement that there are powerful and rebellious non- human beings who do not respect the Buddha and are therefore beyond the *Buddha*, *Dhamma saṅgha* and also of *mettā* and Truth is in total disagreement with the general ethos of the *suttas* of the *paritta* collection.

Although Buddhism accepts that there are non-human beings, it is emphatic that such beings are incapable of inflicting harm, injury or otherwise influence human beings. Buddhism also teaches that man by reason of his spiritual attainments is above all non-human beings and comes to be adored and respected by them. The evidence in the Pāli canon quite clearly shows that it is the spiritual attainments of the Buddha and the disciples which brought even the most powerful of the gods to them. It was being consistent with this doctrinal position that *suttas* like the *Karaṇīyametta* and *Ratana* advocated the active cultivation of qualities like *mettā* towards all ill-intending forces, if it was believed that they were there. As we have seen above, this cultivation by itself resulted in the immunity and protection required. Therefore, the statement put into the mouth of Vessavaṇa goes completely against the doctrinal position of these texts. Lily de Silva's comments on the *āṭanāṭiya Sutta* may be of interest here. "When the *yuga pirita* comes to close, the drumming starts again. Four monks enter the *maṇḍapa* and the two who were there leave. No sooner does the drumming cease than the monks start chanting the *āṭanāṭiyasutta*. This is a *sutta* particularly recommended by *yakkha* leaders for recitation by Buddhist monks to bring stubborn and vicious demons (*yakkhas*) under control. As stated earlier, the commentary on this *sutta* requires that monks reciting it should abstain from eating pastries and meats (*piṭṭhaṃ vā maṃsaṃ vā*), and should avoid visiting cemeteries because demons (*amanussā*, lit. non-humans) would find opportunities to harm them (*otā raṃ labhanti*). Though not all the traditional observances recommended in the commentary are adhered to at present, recitation of the *āṭanāṭiya* is still treated with special care and attention. Parents would take care to see that children do not go out of the house during its recitation. In some areas much noise is made by striking metal betel trays with arecanut cutters or by gingling bunches of keys. The monks too recite the *āṭanāṭiya* much louder than the *suttas*. The *sutta* itself lays down that it should be recited very loud. In short, the tone of the ceremony during this phase, is suggestive of its purpose, namely exorcism" (Lily de Silva, op.cit. 1981, 41). But, how such exorcist thinking compares with the teaching of the Buddha is our concern here.

The above discussions point to two distinct phases in the evolution of the *paritta* ritual in Buddhism. The first phase seems to have consisted of the simple replacement of the non-Buddhist rituals for protection and blessing with the cultivation of spiritual qualities like *mettā*. Such cultivation, undertaken with sincerity and intensity, disarms whatever evil intending forces there be and makes them ineffective. It was this teaching of the Buddha which made a significant contribution to Indian religious thought.

The second phase which points to the adoption of a system of protective ritual in place of the earlier insistence on the cultivation of spiritual qualities, seems to have gone contrary to the expectation of the first phase, although it is true that it is texts like the *Anguttara Sutta*, found verbatim also in the *Vinaya Cullavagga*, (*Vin*.II.109f.) cited above, which may have served as the spring-board for the developments in the second phase.

It is not possible to say with any certainty when *paritta* was first commissioned as a ritual for the Buddhists. Such commissioning had to be preceded by the acceptance of the efficacy of chanting or recitation, as it was the principal agent or conveyor of the protection or blessing sought from the ritual. That such acceptance is post-canonical is beyond doubt as canonical evidence do not show that Buddhism accepted recitation as possessing the potency to give the relief sought from the ritual. Recitation of the *Dhamma* for purposes of study and preservation of the doctrine has been commended by the Buddha. *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* were recited by the *bhikkhus* at the first Council which was held at Rājagaha after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha. The tradition of *bhānakas* or reciters of the *dhamma* seems to have originated from this Council. According to commentarial traditions, periodical choral recitations of the *dhamma* were held in Sri Lanka (Lily de Silva, op.cit. 1981, 122). But all these point to evidence of recitation of *dhamma* for mnemonic reasons and not of belief in the ritual potency of recitation.

The acceptance of the potency of recitation as the agent of the ritual, involved also the selection of certain texts which were approved for such recitation. Thus, an earlier admonition to cultivate spiritual qualities which equip the individual with immunity against all evil came to be replaced with the performance of a ritual where chanting a number of specified *suttas* was deemed capable of delivering the goods. Once the ritual came to be fully defined in its usage, the number of the *suttas* which were to be recited at each recital depended entirely on the nature of the occasion which required the performance of the ritual.

The *Paritta* text, in its present form consists of selections from the various texts of the Pāli canon and these have been arranged in the order in which they are recited at an all-night chanting. "The *Paritta* text, called *Pirit-pota* in Sinhala, is an anthology of 29 *suttas* collected together from various parts of the Pāli Canon. Its older name is *Catubhānavārapāli* which means the text comprising four chapters. *Catubhānavārapāli* proper comes to a close with the 22nd, i.e *Āṭānā ṭiyasutta*. The last seven *suttas* have been appended to it at a later date "(Lily de Silva, op.cit. 1981,5). It may be noted here that there are different editions of the *Paritta* text. The 'last seven *suttas*' in the edition referred to above, are found accommodated, with slight variations sometimes, within the text, in other editions, with the *Āṭanāṭiya* coming as the last *sutta*. It is the *Āṭānāṭiyasutta* which is recited last in all -night *Paritta* rituals.

Paritta rituals have found adjustment to individual, family and community needs, the content of the textual material for each, depending on the nature of the need for the ritual. While the *Paritta* rituals performed for individual needs have fewer formalities to be complied with, those for family and community needs have more complex ritual formalities to be complied with. It would be seen that these ritual formalities have been copied from both Hindu and other folk ritual practices, compliance with which, in the later stages of the development of the *paritta* ritual, seems to have been believed to be capable of guaranteeing the results expected of its performance.

Accordingly, though the number of *Paritta* ritual types can be as many as the number of occasions which demanded its performance, three broad variants can be identified as representing a fair cross section from the simplest to the most elaborate (Lily de Silva, op.cit. 1981, 31). These types are, (i) the sessional *Paritta*, (ii) all-night *Paritta* and (iii) the seven day *Paritta*. The

first of these is generally performed in three, five or seven sessions, each lasting approximately one hour, there being two sessions each day, morning and evening. The ritual can start either with a morning or an evening session (Lily de Silva, op.cit. 1981,31), while the number of officiating *bhikkhus* can vary from two to four, latter number usually being adhered to as it makes continuous chanting easier. Although ritual formalities are kept to a minimum in the performance of this *Paritta* ritual, items such as the pot of water and the *paritta* thread usually form part of the ritual appurtenances.

In the performance of the second all-night *Paritta*, there are many formalities to be complied with. While the premises where the *paritta* chanting is to take place has, as preliminary action, to be cleaned and tidied up, actual chanting takes place inside a specially constructed temporary pavilion (*maṇḍapa*). The size of the pavilion varies with the number of the officiating *bhikkhus* and could vary from a minimum of eight to a maximum of twenty, but the number always kept even. While the shape of the pavilion could be square or octagonal, it is usually decorated and beautifully lit up. The pavilion usually has one opening and even when it has four such openings, when space permits, only one serves as the entrance. It has a canopy made of white cloth, supported by a network of twine intersecting to form squares of eight inches in size. On this network, at regular intervals are hung certain varieties of tender leaves and panicles of arecanut flower.

The performance of this *Paritta* ritual requires compliance with many other ritual formalities. Inside the pavilion, appropriate places have to be found for the casket of relics, the *Paritta* text, the *Indrakīla*, *punkalas* or 'vases of plenty' and the pot of water. There are two other ritual items, one which is the *paritta* cord and the other, the *paritta* thread. The first of these is a thick white cord, several meters in length, wound on a large (usually) sandalwood bobbin. It is tied connecting the casket of relics, the *Paritta* text, the pot of water and the *Indrakīla*. It is then taken up to the canopy and, passed through the rings of tender king-coconut leaves fixed on the periphery of the canopy in a clockwise direction. When it has fully encircled the canopy, it is brought down and passed through the hands of all the monks before it is finally kept back on the table.

The second, which is the *paritta* thread, is a three-strand thread, wrapped round the panicle of an arecanut flower and is connected to the *paritta* cord at some point near the canopy. It is taken out of the pavilion and is passed round and held by all who participate in the chanting ritual, taking care not to allow the thread to touch the floor (Lily de Silva, op.cit. 1981,39). The *paritta* thread establishes the ritual connection between the devotees and the Buddha, represented by the casket of relics.

The ritual chanting of the *Paritta*, which starts in the early hours of the night continues, according to an accepted pattern, through the night and concludes with the chanting of the *Āṭānāṭiyasutta*. After this, other formalities follow and the ritual comes to a close. The water from the pot and *paritta* thread are given to those who want these items. While *paritta* water is poured on to out-stretched hands for drinking, *pritta* thread is broken into required lengths, also by hand. After the conclusion of the ritual, *paritta* water is usually sprinkled in the premises.

The third, seven-day *Paritta* is a joint effort of the clergy and the laity and is usually held in monasteries. Traditions regarding its performance and the respective duties of the clergy and the laity have been incorporated into the *Banapiritkatikāvata*. An important requirement of the seven-day *Paritta* is that there should be continuous chanting throughout the seven days, according to an order which has been clearly laid down. The seventh day which is attended by a variety of complex formalities, sees the close of the performance as usual with the chanting of the *Āṭanāṭiyasutta*, followed by stipulated formalities.

Thus, of the three types of the *Paritta* ritual discussed above, the first type has the minimum of ritual formalities to be complied with. The second type has more formalities to be complied with and the use therefore of a larger number of ritual appurtenances, with preparatory and purificatory observances to be adhered to. Some of the more important of these appurtenances are, the Casket of Relics, the *Indrakī la*, the pot of water, the *paritta* cord and thread, the vases of plenty (*punkalas*) and the five kinds of flowers (*ladapasmal*). The third type has more complex formalities to be complied with and requires, the use therefore, of a larger number of ritual appurtenances.

As Buddhism did not accept that any type of object, whether it be religious or otherwise, animate or inanimate, was possessed with power to bestow blessing upon, or harm, man, the question of accepting the validity, either of ritual, ritual appurtenances or of ritual formalities did not arise. It is quite true that the socio-religious environment of the Buddha's day did not present serious problems over this stand of Buddhism.

But a few centuries later, there were significant changes in the socio-religious environment which demanded an entirely different type of response not only from Buddhism, but also from Hinduism as well. As a result of the achievement and guarantee of political stability by the Emperor Asoka, the task of winning over the peripheral tribal peoples fell into the hands of the Brahmin priesthood. "The Brahmins gradually penetrated whatever tribes and guild castes remained; a process that continues to this day. This meant the worship of new gods, including the Krishna who had driven Indra worship out of the Panjāb plains before Alexander's invasion. But the exclusive nature of tribal ritual, and tribal cults was modified, the tribal deities being equated to standard brahmin gods, or new brahmin scriptures written for making unassimilable gods respectable. With these new deities or fresh identifications came new ritual as well, and special dates of the lunar calendar for particular observances. New places of pilgrimage were also introduced with suitable myths to make them respectable, though they could only have been savage, pre-brahmin cult spots. The *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana*, and especially the *Purā nas* are full of such material. The mechanism of the assimilation is particularly interesting. Not only Krishna, but the Buddha himself and some totemic deities including the primeval Fish, Tortoise and Boar were made into incarnations of Vishnu-Nārāyana...", (D.D. Kosambi, *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, 1965,168f.). An idea of the extent of the influence such tribal beliefs and cults had on brahmanism can be gathered when it is realized that the Brahmins had not only to accept tribal gods and their cults, but also had to authenticate such acceptance by writing new scripture, as in the case of the *Nīlamata-purāna* which was written to accept the worship of the *Nāga Nīlamata* of Kashmir (D.D. Kosambi, op.cit. 1965,179).

Buddhism too had to make similar accommodations for survival against such a background. And it was the Buddhist commentators who answered the call. They found canonical texts which could be interpreted to accommodate the new beliefs and practices which had to be accepted. Or else, new stories were written into the commentaries for the purpose. An example of such a story is the *Ānandabodhi-jātaka* which accepted both bodhi-worship and flower-worship in one story (*DPPN*.I.275). Although the Buddha's position was not affected by the intrusion of the new cults and associated ritual practices, he became the center of all such cults and ritual practices, with the original owners of the cults being made to subsist on the *punya* (merit) accruing from the performance of the respective cults and rituals, now performed in the name of the Buddha with suitable modification of course.

This is how a wide range of religious practices which were not in use before, came to be accepted into Buddhist use. *Paritta* too, seems to fall into its place as an acceptance which was part of this same process. Once adopted, it became one of the most useful of such adoptions, as it was used to replace not only the non-Buddhist rites for protection and blessing, but also the diverse tribal and other healing rites. The range of its applications came to be almost unlimited. This widening of the range of its applications has also resulted in adding on to itself a wide net-work of ritual formalities which seem to be remnants of the ritual formalities of the cults and rites it replaced.

M. M. J. Marasinghe

PARIVÂSA (1). In Buddhist monastic discipline, *Parivâsa* is a form of derivative punishment associated with the *Saṅghâdisesa* offences (a group of thirteen = *therasa saṅghâdisesâ*). On the commission of a *Saṅghâdisesa* offence, the miscreant is thereby liable to be immediately put under the six-day penalty of *Mânatta* (*chârattaṃ mâmattaṃ deti*), entailing the curtailment of privileges and prestige enjoyed. Such an offence is required to be confessed forthwith. For every day of concealment of a *Saṅghâdisesa* offence, the offender is first put under this penalty of *Parivâsa* the duration of which may theoretically extend even up to sixty years or more.

According to the *Cullavagga* a monk who is guilty of concealing a *Saṅghâdisesa* offence, which he has committed, must go before the Saṅgha and confess to them his error. He must then request the Saṅgha to impose on him first the *Parivâsa* penalty for the number of days the offence had been concealed. It is only after the offender has behaved himself perfectly well under the penalty of *Parivâsa* for concealing his offence, that *Mânatta*, the six-day penalty for the actual *Saṅghâdisesa* offence, would be imposed (*Vin*. II. 40). Because of the issue of the concealment of the offence, this penalty of *Parivâsa* came to be called *Paṭicchanna Parivâsa*.

The *Pâtimokkha* as a manual of disciplinary procedure appears to have maintained an authoritative enforcement of penalties and punishments, even though on an impersonal note. The *Gopakamoggallâna Sutta* clearly recognizes this when it says that punishment is meted out not on the authority of persons but solely on the authority of the *Dhamma* and instructions laid down (*Tasmiñ ce bhaññamâne hoti bhikkhussa âpatti hoti vî tikkamo tam mayaṃ yathâdhammaṃ yathâsatthaṃ kâremâ 'ti. Na kira bhavanto kârenti dhammo no kâretî 'ti. M.* III 10). The injunctions of the *Pâtimokkha* introduce this penalty of *Parivâsa* with a note of compulsion (*tena bhikkhunâ akâmâ parivatthabbaṃ Vin*. III 186).

Dhammāvihari

PARIVÂSA (2). In Buddhist monastic discipline, *Parivâsa* requires that a follower of any other religious order (*añña-titthiya-pubba*) who wishes to join the order of the Buddhist Saṅgha as a *Pabbajita* has to be put under probation (*parivâso dâtabbo*) for a period of four months. In the *Kukkuravatika Sutta* the Buddha himself tells Seniya who was a naked ascetic practising the 'canine way' (or *kukkura-vata*) of the general Buddhist practice of *Titthiyaparivâsa* when he sought admission to the Buddhist monastic life (*Yo kho Seniya aññatitthiyapubbo imasmiṃdhammavinaye âkaṅkhati pabbajjaṃ âkaṅkhati upasampadaṃ so cattâro mâse parivasati* (*M*. I 391). During this period, the probationer must conduct himself honourably to the satisfaction of the Bhikkhus in authority. Thereafter they admit him as a Bhikkhu conferring on him *pabbajjâ* and *upasampadâ*. However Aggika Jaṭilas and Sâkiyas are exempted from this ruling.

The Buddha also makes it clear that in the case of special applicants about whose temperaments and aptitudes are adequately and personally known, these conditions could be waived (*Api ca m ' ettha puggalavemattatâ viditâ ' ti. M.* I. 494). So we see in the *Mahâvacchagotta Sutta* referred to here, Vacchagotta promptly receives both his *pabbajjâ* and *upasampadâ* from the Buddha himself. On the other hand, these earnest and sincere applicants declare to the Buddha that they would not mind being under probation even for four years for the benefit of entry into the *Sâsana* (*Sace bhante aññatitthiyapubbâ... ahaṃ cattâri vassâni parivasissâmi, loc. cit.*). In the *Mâgandiya Sutta* (*M*. I. 512) Magandiya Paribbâjaka gets admitted into the *Sâsana* in the very same manner.

We must not fail to mention here about a marked divergence that has developed in course of time between the earlier *Sutta* tradition and what we believe to be a subsequent *Vinaya* practice with regard to the imposition of *Aññatitthiya Parivâsa* on applicants from other religious creeds to join the Buddhist Monastic Order. *Suttas* like the Mahâvacchagotta and Mâgandiya we have referred to above give us the unmistakable impression that the applicants are put under probation while still remaining in their lay status. It is only if they have satisfied the supervising monks after the four months' period of probation (*âraddha cittâ bhikkhû*) that they would ordain the probationer as a monk (*Catunnaṃmâsânaṃaccayena âraddha-cittâ bhikkhû pabbâjenti upasampâdenti bhikkhu-bhâvâya, M.*I.391).

But the *Vinaya* practice of the *Khandhakas* with regard to this practice seems to be completely deflected when compared with the *Sutta* tradition we have already referred to. The *Khandhakas* ordain the applicant straight- away and then put him under probation. Then on application by him after four months confer on him *upasampadâ*. This is in marked contrast to the earlier but now fossilized version of the *Sutta* tradition.

Dhammavihâri

PARIYATTI. (From *pari*+✓ *āp* i.e. *pariyāpuṇāti*.) It means adequacy, accomplishment, sufficiency, capability and competency. It is with its second meaning that we are concerned here, i.e. accomplishment in the Scriptures, study (learning by heart) of the holy texts. Also, the Scriptures handed down through oral tradition. The latter meaning is found only in later literature: *"tīsu piṭakesu tividho pariyatti-bhedo"* (*DA.* 1.21). The usages with regard to its meaning in this sense of the learning are the following. *Pariyatti uggaṇhāti*, to undertake the learning of the scriptures: (*Dh.A.* 11.30); *Pariyattiṭhapetvā*, leaving the learning aside: (*Miln* 115,215,305,411.) *pariyatto*, through learning by heart: (*Sn. A* 195). The opposite is *atthato*, according to the meaning; *Pariyatti-dhamma* is that which belongs to the holy study, part or contents of the scriptures, the *Tipiṭaka* comprising the nine division: (see *Navanga Buddha-Sāsana*; *KhA.* 191, 193 *SnA* 328, *PvA* 2;) *Pariyatti-dharo*, knowing the scriptures by heart. (*Miln.* 21) *Pariyatti dhura* (*ganthadhura*) i.e. specializing in the texts. *Priyatti-paṭibhānavant*, possessed of intelligence as regards learning the scriptures, (*Sn. A* III;) *pariyatti-parimāna*, extent of study (*Sn. A.* I 608;) *Pariyatti-bahula*, clever in the study of the *Dhamma*. (*A.* III 86;) *Pariyatti- bahussuta*, versed in the scriptures, (*Sn. A.* 110) *Pariyatti-sāsana*, object, instruction of the scriptures, code of the holy texts. (*Nd.* 143, *Dh. A.* IV 39.)

Pariyatti in the meaning of learning by heart the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* is considered a factor that conduces to the support, to the non-confusion, to the not vanishing away of *Saddhamma*:

"Those monks who are of wide knowledge, versed in the doctrines, who know *Dhamma* by heart, who know *Vinaya* by heart, who know the summaries by heart, these dutifully hand on a text to another, thus when they pass away, the text is not cut down at the root, it has something to stand on.

"...*ye te bhikkhû bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikadharā. te sakkaccam suttantam param vācenti, tesaṃ accayena na ca chinnamûlako suttanto hotiṭappaṭisaraṇo*" (A II 147-8.)

Learning taken in a much broader sense is the following:

" Herein a monk is virtuous, perfect in the obligations, restrained with the restraint of the obligations, perfect in the practice of right behaviour, seeing danger in the slightest faults. He undertakes and trains himself in the training of the precepts he has heard, is replete with learning, is a hoard of learning. Those doctrines which, lovely at the beginning, lovely in the middle, lovely at the end (of life) both in the meaning and the letter of them which preach the utterly fulfilled, the perfectly purified way of the good life-such doctrines are much heard by him, borne in mind, repeated aloud, pondered over and well penetrated his vision. The four stages of musings which are of the clear consciousness which are conceived with the happy life in this very world–these he wins easily without effort. By the destruction of the *āsavas*, in this very life, thoroughly understating the heart's release, the release by wisdom, he realizes it, attains it, and dwells therein". (*A.* II. 22)

Three passages in the *Visuddhimagga* (chapter III p.95f) give very interesting accounts to illustrate the importance of *paṭipatti* over and above that of mere learning the texts by heart, though the latter no doubt was important to preserve the scripture: "*Gantho ti pariyatti-pariharaṇaṃ*"

The three accounts are the following:

"The Elder Revata, it seems, the Majjhima reciter, went to the Elder Revata, the dweller in Malaya (the hill country) and asked him for a meditation subject. The Elder asked him " how are you in the scriptures, friend?"- "I am studying the *Majjhima* (*Nikāya*). Venerable Sir."- "The *Majjhima* is a hard responsibility, friend. When a man is still learning the first fifty by heart, he is faced with the middle fifty; and when he is still learning that by heart, he is faced with the last fifty. How can you take up a meditation subject?" "Venerable Sir, when I have taken a meditation subject from you I shall not look at the scriptures again." He took the meditation subject and doing no recitation for nineteen years, he reached Arahantship in the twentieth year. He told bhikkhus who came for recitation "I have not looked at the scriptures for twenty years, friend, yet I am familiar with them. You may begin." And from beginning to end he had no hesitation even over a single syllable."

Another account relates an anecdote concerning the Elder Mahā-Nāga who lived at Karuliyagiri who put aside the scriptures for eighteen years and then he recited the *Dhātukathā* to the bhikkhus without any error.

The third anecdote in the *Visuddhimagga* (chapter III p.96) is in connection with the Elder Tipiṭaka–Cūla-Abhaya who was directed by the Mahāvihāra monks of Anuradhapura to go to the Elder named Mahā-Dhammarakkhita of Tulādhārapabbata monastery in the Rohana country and this Elder being taught the dhamma by the Elder Mahā-Dhammarakkhita, then later asked Cula-abhaya a meditation subject which surprised the pupil (the Elder Abhaya). Nevertheless he gave a meditation subject to his teacher and returned to Anuradhapura. Later, while expounding the dhamma in the Brazen Palace he heard that his teacher had attained *nibbāna*. So the Elder Abhaya sat down before his own pupil and requested a mediation subject.

All these anecdotes go to show that learning the scripture (*pariyatti*) is not as important as the practice- the realization or penetration of the *dhamma* at first hand, which is possible through meditation, the way of purification. It is only by the eradication of defilements through the method of meditation (as is set down in the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta*, for instance) that reality - *yathābhūtañāna*- things as they have came to be or *sammā- ñāna- dassana visuddhi*-can be comprehended at first hand and *sammāvimutti* (right emancipation) attained.

In the Pāli canon itself we find another interesting anecdote (*A* III 86: III (73).

A certain monk visited the Buddha and asked him what is meant when one says "live by the *dhamma*" (*Dhammavihāri*) and how does one live by the *dhamma*.

The Buddha replied that it is not the person who masters the *dhamma* (*Dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇāti*) such as learning by heart the various divisions of the scriptures such as *suttaṃ, geyyaṃ, veyyākaranaṃ, gāthā, udānaṃ, itivuttakaṃ, jātakaṃ, abbhutadhammaṃ, vedella*, nor the person who spends the whole day in that mastery of the *dhamma* (*dhamma pariyattiyā*) who neglects to meditate, nor the person who spends the whole day teaching the *dhamma* he has mastered (*yathā pariyattam dhammam ... paresam deseti*) without spending some time meditating, nor the bhikkhu who repeats the *dhamma* he has mastered (*yathā pariyattam dhammam... sajjhāyam karoti*) and who does not spend time meditating, nor that bhikkhu who ponders and thinks on the *dhamma* and reflects on the *dhamma* he has mastered (*yathāsutam yathāpariyattam dhamma cetasā anuvitakketi anuvicāreti manasānupekkhati*) but neglects to spend some time meditating but the monk who masters the *dhamma* and does not neglect to go apart and meditate, it is he who lives by the *dhamma*.

A passage very similar to the above (*A* III 86. IV 74) relates a story about a monk who masters the *dhamma*, but knows not through insight the great beyond (*uttariñ c' assa paññāyattham nāpipajānāti*"). It is said he is not one who lives by *dhamma* but the one who masters the *dhamma* and who knows through insight the goal beyond, it is he who lives by the *dhamma*.

It is clear from all what has been said that *pariyatti* means mastering of the *dhamma* (consisting of the nine classified divisions) the ability to teach it, to repeat it by heart, to think, ponder and reflect on it.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

PARIYUṬṬHĀNA, literally means 'rising up' or outburst'; derived from *pari+ut+sthā* to stand up, the term is originally used in the sense of something bad that rises up or outbursts in the mind; these outbursts naturally overwhelm the mind and the mind becomes obsessed by them. Thus the sentence "*samanā vā brāhmanā vā thīna-middha-Pariyuṭṭhitā arañña viharanti*" (*M*. I, 18) means..... recluses or brahmans, obsessed

by sloth - and - torpor, frequent lodgings in forest" (cf. A.I, 66; M, 198).

Later the term has been used in its technical sense with reference to the outbursts of dormant passions *anusaya*, the texts give a list of seven 'outbursts' which correspond to the seven dormant passions and bear the same names. They are 1. lust for sense-pleasures (*kā marāga*) 2. hatred (*paṭigha*), speculative views (*diṭṭhi*), 4. doubt (*vicikicchā*). 5. complexes (*māna*). 6. lust for continued existence (*bhavarāga*) and 7. ignorance (*avijjā Vbh.* 383; *Mohavicchedani*, 219). This is the Theravāda list found in the Pali literature.

In other schools of Buddhism different passions are enumerated under *paryavasthāna*, the sanskrt equivalent of Pāli *pariyuṭṭhāna*. The *Abhidharma Samuccaya* which uses the term as a synonym of *kleśa* (*Abhsy*. p.44) gives a list of eight *paryavasthānas*, namely, 1.sloth (*styāna*), 3. torpor (*middha*), 3. agitation of the mind (*auddhatya*), 4- remorse (*kaukṛtya*), 5. jealousy (*īrsyā*) 6. envy (*mātsarya*), 7. lack of moral shame (*āhrikya*) and 8. lack of moral fear (*anapatrā pya: Abhsy.* p.47). The *Abhidharmakoṣa* and the *Abhidharmadīpa* add two more passions, ill-feeling (*mrakṣa*) and anger (*krodha*), to the above-list of eight and make the number of *paryavasthānas* ten (*Abhk*.147; *Abhd: kārikā*, 373).

But this seems to be an Abhidharma-tradition. The Sautrāntikas do not treat these ten as *paryavasthānas*. They agree with the Theravādin-tradition in treating the: *Paryavasthānas* as outbursts of the *Anuśayas* (*Sphutārthā- Abhidharmakoṣa vyakhyā*, p.442).

The relation between *anusava* and *pariyuṭṭhāna* is made clear in a discussion of the *samyojanas* such as lust for sense-pleasures (*kāmacchanda* or *kāmarāga*), hatred (*vyāpāda* or *paṭigha*) which chain all sentient beings to lower life (*M*.I, 433). It is said there that heretic ascetics used to ridicule the theory of *samyojanas* by saying: 'An infant is not conscious of lusts of the flesh (*kāma*), much less can passion (*rāga*) arise within it, its sensual propensities (*kāmarāga*) being latent only (*anuseti: ibid*).

The implication of this sutta is not clear. According to the commentary these ascetics believed that a person is associated with the passions only when they operate or beset him, but, at other times, he is dissociated from passions (*MA*. III, 144). Apparently the heretics believed that an infant is free from passions.

The Buddhists do not accept this position. According to them even an infant is in possession of passions, because the latter are present in him in their dormant state (*anusaya*), and become active (*pariyuṭṭhā na*) when there arise conditions suitable for their operation.

This implies that when the passions are not operating they always remain in a dormant state. Vaibhāsikas denied the existence of *anuśayas* apart from *pariyuṭṭhānas*. The Vātsiputrīyas maintained a difference between *paryāvasthānas* and *anuśayas*. In their opinion the *anuśayas* are *citta-viprayukta-sanskā ra* and *Paryāvasthānas* are *citta-samprayukta-sanskā ra*. They include the *anuśayas* in *prāpti*, a *Viprayukta-sanskāra* of the Vaibhāsika list. The Sautrā ntikas maintained that the *anuśayas*, like seeds, dormant in the mind and that their operation on obtaining suitable conditions is called *paryavasthānas* (*Sphuṭārthā-abbidharmakosa-vyākhyā*, p.442).

All these views are well represented in a controversy on the meaning of a *sutta*-passage preserved in the *Adhiarmakoṣa*, the *Vibhāsaprabhāvṛtti* and also in the; Pāli commentaries. A question is raised as to whether a term like *rāgānusaya* should be taken as a *karmadhā raya* or as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. The former that *rāga* is *anuśaya* (*rāga eva anuśayah: karmadhā raya*) goes against a *sutta*-passage which says: 'Here a person has a mind beset and obsessed (*pariyuṭṭhā na*) by no sensuality (*kāmarāga*); he knows the real escape there from; the, obsession of sensuality (*kāmarā ga-pariyuṭṭhāna*)' if vigorously combated, is destroyed together with its, propensities there to (*sānuśayam prahīyate: Vibhāsāprabhā-vrtti* on *kārikā* 261 of the *Abhidharmadipa*; cf. *M*, I, 434; *A* III, 233).

By using the term *sānuśayam*, meaning 'together with *anusaya*,' the *sutta* makes it clear that *pariyuṭṭhā na* and *anuśaya* are not identical. The *Vatsiputrīya* here suggests that the term *sanuśaya* means together with *sanuśaya*, ie., a *viprayukta-sanskāra* called *Prāpti*. But this contention goes against *Abhidharma* where it is said that *rāgānuśaya* is associated with three kinds of feelings (*vedanā*). *Prāpti*, being a *viprayukta-sanskā ra* cannot associate with a *caitasika*, feeling (*vedanā*)

in this case. Therefore *sānuśaya* cannot be a *viprayukta saṁskāra* (*vibhāsāprabhāvṛtti* on *kārikā* 261 of the *Abhidharmadīpa*).

Faced with this dilemma the Vaibhasika, regardless of the *sūtra*, states that the term *rāgānusaya* should be a *karmadhāraya* compound (*ibid*). He resolves the contradiction of the *sūtra* by interpreting the term *sānuśaya* as *sānubandha*, ie, together with its power of producing a new passion. He also gives an alternative suggestion that the *sūtra* identifies *anuśaya* with *prāpti* only figuratively. The Abhidharma is definitive when it says that *rāga* (a *pariyuṭṭhāna*) is (identical with) latent passions (*anusaya: ibid*).

The Theravadins also identify *pariyuṭṭhāna* with *anusaya*. Commenting on the *sūtra* words Buddhaghosa observes If some people, on the basis of this expression, *sānusayo pahīyati*, maintain that the *saṁyojanas* are different from, *anusayas*. They should be refuted, he says, by the simile of a person sleeping with his head covered. The person is not different from his heat (*MA*. III, 144). Buddhaghosa takes note of an objection that if *saṁyojanas* and *anusayas* are identical then the Buddha's criticism of the heretic ascetics for holding the view that an infant has no passions, is meaningless (*ibid*). He does not give any convincing answers to this criticism but asserts his position is called *saṁyojana* because it finds, and is called *anusaya* because it is not renounced and it is again called *pariyuṭṭhāna* because it bursts out (*ibid*.) *VbhA*. 509; *Mohavicchaedani*. 219). The *Nettipakarana* says that the *anusaya* is the cause whereas the *Pariyuṭṭhāna* is the result. The preceding moment of the same passion is called *anusaya* whereas its succeeding moment is called *pariyuṭṭhāna* (*Netti*. 79).

The *Kathāvatthu* records several controversies on *pariyuṭṭhāna*. The Andhakas held that the *Pariyuṭṭhāna* is different from *anusaya* (*Kvu*. XIV.5, *KvuA*, XIV.5). The Mahāsanghikas and the Sammitiyas maintained that *anusayas* are indeterminate (*avyākata*), without good or evil roots (*ahetuka*) and, therefore, *citta-vippayutta* (*ibid*,. XI.I, XIV. 6).

Buddhaghosa's reply to these views is the same that the *anusayas* are identical with *pariyuṭṭhānas* (*ibid*). He once more returns to this topic in his commentary on the *Yamaka*. There also he repeats the same arguments and adds that these passions are called *Pariyuṭṭhāna* not because they are different from *anusayas* which are strong passions (*thāmagata-kilesa*) but because they are the outbursts of *anusayas* (*Yamakaṭṭhakathā*, *S.H.B*.,p.239).

It is clear from these discussions that the *Theravādin* and *Vaibhāsika* identification of *pariyuṭṭhāna* with *anusaya* is contrary to the sutta quoted above. They show a determined effort to uphold the *abhidharma* in preference to *sutra*. The Sautrantika takes strong exception to the Abhidharma theories and says that when a *klesa* like *rāga* lies dormant, it is called *anusaya*; when it is awakened it is called *Paryavasthāna* (*supto hi kleśa anuśaya ityucyate; prabuddhaḥ paryavasthānam*: *Vibhāsāprabha-vṛtti* on *kārikā* 261 of the (*abhidharmadīpa*). This statement supports the Theravada tradition where the same passions are enumerated under *anusaya* and *pariyuṭṭhāna* (*Vbh*.383). See ANUSAYA and KILESA.

Upali Karunaratne

PASĀDARŪPA means sensitive (*pasāda*) matter (*rūpa*), and it is the name given in the Pali *Abhidhamma* and other later works to the five sense-organs (*indriya* or *āyatana*) or matter, namely, the organ of sight (*cakkhu*), of hearing (*sota*), of smell (*ghāna*), of taste (*jivhā*) and of' touch (*kāya*). In this sense the word had not been used in the earlier Pali texts.

These five constitute one of the several categories which are collectively termed the derived matter (*upādā-rūpa*,).

Literally, *pasāda* means clearness, brightness, serenity, or faith. " Taken causatively, it may conceivably have meant either that which makes clear - receiver as it were - or that which gratifies or satisfies ("Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, Oriental Translation Fund, New; Series, XII, London, 1923, p. 159, n.2). It is, in fact, suggestive of both meanings, for the first indicated the receptive and reactive nature of the sense- organs, and the second brings into relief the part they play in the gratification of sensual pleasures.

Considering the context in which the term occurs it could be said that in using this term- the Buddhists

were intent on showing that the sense-organs are of very subtle and delicate matter. This is born out by the fact that according to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, they cannot be known by any of the senses other than the mind (*mano* : *Dhs*. p. 178).The Vaibhāsikas, too, conceive, them in a similar manner. They are supra-sensible (*atī ndriya: L'Abhidharmako'sa de Vasubandhu*, ch. i, p. 15; *AbhKvy*; i, 24) and translucent (*accha*: *L'abhidhar*......i, 67). Because of this translucence, like the luminosity of a gem, they cannot be burnt or weighed (*ibid. loc. cit*). Nor can they be cut into two.

When a part of the body, for example, is chopped off, thereby the body sensibility (*kāya-prasâda*) does not multiply itself. For, the part that is cut off is devoid of body-sensibility; this is informed from the fact that, on the basis of the part that is separated, there does not arise tactile sensation (*AbhKvy*. i, 68).

Since the sense organs are conceived as specie of extremely subtle matter, it is explicitly stated that they should not be understood according to their popular conception. The *Abhidharmakosa* says that what in common parlance are known as eye, ear etc. are the support (*adhiṣṭhāna*)of the real sense-organs (*L'Abhidhar* i, pp. 56, 65; *AbhKvy*. i, 24). The same distinction is upheld in the Theravāda, too. The *Atthasā lini* remarks that the very purpose of using the term *pasâda* is to dismiss their popular conception. Each sense-organ consists of two parts: the compound or peripheral organ (*sasambhāra*) and the sentient organ (*pasâda*) . The first is what we ordinarily mean by eye, ear etc.; the second is the real sense-organ and has the first as its basis (*Vatthu*. *DhsA*. 306-7).

In pursuance of this distinction, Buddhaghosa gives a long disquisition on the nature and constitution of' the sense-organs: The *sasambhāra cakkhu* is white from the abundance of phlegm, black from that of bile, red from that of blood, rigid from that from the element of extension, (*paṭhavi-dhātu*) fluid from that of cohesion (*apo-dhātu*), hot from that of heat (*tejo-dhā tu*) and oscillating from that of mobility (*vāyo-dhātu*. The *pasādacakkhu* is situated in the centre of the *sasambhāra-cakkhu*. It permeates the ocular membranes as sprinkled oil permeates seven cotton wicks. It is served by the four great elements doing the functions of sustaining, bending, maturing and vibrating, just as a princely boy is tended by four nurses doing the functions of holding, bathing, dressing and fanning him. It is not bigger in size than the head of a louse. The organ of hearing (*sotappasāda*) is situated in the interior of the compound organ of ear (*sasambhā ra- sota*) at a spot shaped like a finger ring and fringed by tender tawny hairs and is tended by the four primary or great elements. The organ of smell is in the interior of the compound organ (nose) at a spot shaped like a goats hoof. The organ of taste above the middle of the compound organ at a spot shaped Like the upper part of a torn lotus leaf. The organ of touch is to be found everywhere in the physical body like a liquid that soaks a layer of cotton (*Vism*. 377 f ; *DhsA*. 307 ff).

Although the organ of touch is said to be co-extensive with the whole body, yet the possibility of confusion between the sense-organs as to their functions is repeatedly ruled out. The characteristic (*lakkhaṇa*) function (*rasa*) and manifestation (*paccupaṭṭhāna*) of one sense organ are different from those of another. The organ of sight, for example, has the characteristic of being sensitive only to the sphere of visibility, but not to sounds, tastes etc; its function is to draw attention to its respective objective field only, and it manifests itself as the physical basis of visual consciousness; but not as the basis of auditory or any other kind of consciousness (*Vism*.375 f; *DhsA*. 312).

Prof. Stcherbatsky observes that the Buddhist conception of the sense-organs as composed of matter subtler than the things that become corresponding objects is reminiscent of the Sānkhya view; that matter developed along two different lines: the one with predominance of translucent intelligence-stuff (*sattva*) and the other with predominance of dead matter (*tamas*) resulting in sense-objects in their subtle (*tanmātra*) and gross (*mahābhūta*) forms. But the fundamental difference, to which Prof. Stcherbatsky himself draws attention is that in Buddhism, unlike in the Sānkhya , the two groups are not conceived as modifications or appertenance of an eternal substance (Stcherbatsky, *the Central Conception of Buddhism*, prize publications fund, Vol. VII, London, 1923 , p. 12).

In most of the systems of Indian thought the sense-organs are conceived in a more or less similar manner. The Jainas speak of two kinds of sense-organs: the physical sense -organ (*dravyendriya*) and its physical correlate (*bhāvendriya*). The former consists of two parts the organ itself (*nivrtti*) and the supporting environment (*upakaraṇa*). According to Caraka, the

sense-organs are distinct from their peripheral seats. The Mīmāṃsakas maintain that the sense-organs consist in the faculty or potency (*sakti*) abiding in the sockets. The Sankarite vedāntin is of the view that the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch are composed of the *sattvic*-parts of light, ether, earth, water and air respectively (T.N. Sinha, *Indian psychology: Perception*, London, 1934, ch. i).

It is also significant to notice that a similar view seems to have been held by Ajita Kesakambali who was contemporaneous with Buddha. In the *Sāmaññaphala sutta*, he is recorded as having told King Ajātasattu that man is composed of four great elements, Viz. *paṭhavi, apo, tejo* and *vāyo*, and that, after his death, while the four great elements join with their respective groups in the external world, his *indriyas* join ether (*ākāsa*: D.I, 55). If *indriya* is understood as referring to sense organs on the basis of its general usage, then the fact that they join the *ākāsa* suggests that they are very delicate variety of matter.

The association of such characteristics as subtlety, transparence, and translucence with the sense-organs helped explain the problem as to why the sense organs are sensitive to external phenomena. And, once the sense-Organs are distinguished from the other secondary matter by their being described as *pasāda-rūpa*, the next problem that required an explanation was why they were different, one from another.

According to the Nyāya-Vaisesikas, the difference is due to the fact that the organs of sight, hearing, smell; taste and touch are composed of light, ether, earth, water, and air respectively. Each-organ is sensitive to that phenomenon which is the particular quality of the substance that enters into its composition. Colour, sound, smell taste, and touch are the respective qualities of sight, ether, earth, water, and air. As such, they become the objects corresponding to the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch respectively in the sense- organ and the corresponding objective field (S. Bhaduri, *Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśesika. Metaphysics*, Poona, 1947, pp. 1522 ff.).

That this Nyāya-Vaiśesika theory, in a modified form, was accepted by certain Buddhists is shown by some comments made by Buddhaghosa on two similar theories : according, to the first, among the primary elements that support the organ of sight, heat is in excess ; likewise, in the case of the organs of hearing smell and taste, air earth and water are in excess. And, as for the organ of touch, there is no difference between the supporting primary elements. According to the second, the five sense-organs have respectively heat, ether, air, water and earth in excess (*Vism.* 376 ; *DhsA*. 312-13).

The two views are cited only to be refuted. That they were advocated by certain Buddhists is clear from Buddhaghosa's contention that those who put forward them should be pressed to quote a *sutta* in favour of their arguments an attempt, says Buddhaghosa, in which they would be disappointed. In the *Ṭīkā* to the *Visuddhimagga* the first is attributed to certain Mahasanghikas and is said to have been advocated by one Vasudhamma (*Paramatthamañjūsā*, ed. M. Dhammānanda, Colombo, 1928, p. 431). And in the Sinhala *sanne* to the same work, the Second is attributed to the Abhayagirivāsins, the rival sect of the Mahā vihāra (*Visuddhimārgasannya*, ed. M.. Dharmaratna, Colombo, V, p. 57).

Buddhaghosa's argument is as follows: " But, some give as their reason that it is because these sense-organs are aided by visible data etc. as qualities of fire and so on. They should be asked: " But who has said that Visible, data etc. are qualities of fire and so on? For it is; not possible to say of primary elements, which remain always inseparable that "This is a quality of this one, that is a quality of that one'. Then they may say, " Just as you assume, from excess in such and such material things, the respective functions of upholding etc. for earth etc., so from finding visibility etc. respectively in a state of excess in material things that have fire in excess, one may assume that visible date etc. are qualities of those. "They should be told, we might assume it if there were more odour in cotton which has earth in excess than in fermented liquor which has water in excess, and if the colour of cold water were weaker than the colour of hot water which has heat in excess. But since neither of these is a fact you should therefore give up conjecturing the difference to be in the supporting primary elements (*Vism.* 376; *DhsA*. 312-13).

The underlying assumption in these theories, as represented by Buddhaghosa, is that colour, smell etc. are the qualities of the primary elements - a view to which Buddhism in general took strong exception.

Hence Buddhaghosa's refutation of the two theories. His own explanation repeated by his successors, too – as to the difference between the sense organs is based on an earlier tradition, namely, that they come into being through the action of kamma (*Tikap.* P.S.; *Dukap.* 16, 17). Buddhaghosa says that it is due to the difference in the kammas *(kamma visesa)* of which they are the results (*Vism.* 376 f; *DhsA.* 313, *Visuddhimagga Ṭīkā*, p. 444).

Upali Kaurnaratne

PASSADDHI – Tranquility; *Dhammasangaṇī* as it describes the *kusalas*, says that *passaddhi* is a wholesome consciousness. It can be grown to full stature in the Factor of Enlightenment. 'Tranquility' (*passaddhi sambojjhaṅga*) which when perfected, belongs to supermundane consciousness (*lokuttara – citta*). *Passaddhi Sambojjhaṅga* (Tranquility Factor of Enlightenment) is the 5th Factor of Enlightenment. As it is a Factor leading to Enlightenment it is called *Passaddhi Sambojjhaṅga*. There are seven factors to Enlightenment. *Passaddhi* is twofold i.e. (1) *Kâya Passaddhi* and (2) *Citta Passaddhi*. Herein the *kâya* means all the mental phenomena other than the physical body i.e. Calm of the aggregates of feeling (*vedanâkkhandha*), Perception (*Saññâkkhandha*) and the Volitional activities (*sankhârakkhandha*)-*Vism.*p.465. *Citta Passaddhi* is the calm of the mind or the calm in the aggregates of Consciousness (*Viññâṇakkhandha*) –*ibid.* In other words Tranquility may be introduced as the quiet, equable and composed condition in consciousness (*citta passaddhi*) and its single concomitant factor (*kâya passaddhi*). It therefore refers (1) to the tranquil "key note" of the mind and (2) to the quiet, smooth and even way of functioning of the mental factors, undisturbed by agitation and restlessness.

Regarding the arising of *Passaddhi* (Tranquility), *Visuddhimagga* describes thus: Discipline (*vinaya*) is for the purpose of restraint (*saṃvaratthâya*); restraint is for the purpose of non- remorse (*avippaṭisâratthâya*), non-remorse ......of gladdening (*pâmojjatthâya*), gladdening is for......of happiness (*pîtatthâya*), happiness is for the purpose of tranquility (*passaddhatthâya*) – *Ibid.*p.13 . The *Visuddhimagga* further says that tranquility is for the purpose of bliss (*sukhatthâya*) and the bliss is for the purpose of Concentration (*samâdhatthâya*). Accordingly concentration is... correct knowledge and vision (*yathâbhûtañaṇadassanatthâya*). Correct knowledge and vision is for the purpose of dispassion (*nibbidatthâya*) and dispassion ....purpose of fading away of greed(*virâgatthâya*). It is for the purpose of deliverance (*vimuttatthâya*), and deliverance is for the purpose of knowledge of vision and deliverance (*vimuttiñâṇadassanatthâya*). Finally this leads to Complete extinction (of craving etc.,) through not clinging (*anupâdâ parinibbânatthâya*) – *Ibid.*

The Buddha has declared that when the mind is slack, it is not suitable to develop the Tranquility Enlightenment Factor (*passaddhi sambojjhanga*) etc., as a slack mind cannot well be roused by those states-*Ibid.*p.130. When the Fivefold happiness (Minor happiness or *khuddaka pīti*, Momentary happiness or *khaṇika pîti*, Showering happiness or *okkantikā pīti*, Uplifting happiness or *ubbega pīti* and Pervading happiness or *pharaṇa pī ti*) is conceived and matured, perfection of twofold tranquility (bodily and mentally) is gained-*Vism.*p.144.

Kâya passaddhi means the 3 mental aggregates – feeling (*vedanâ*), perception (*saññā*), and formations (*sankhârâ*). *Kâya passaddhi* and *Citta passaddhi* have together the characteristic of quieting disturbance of that body and consciousness (*kâyacittadaratha vûpasama lakkhaṇâ*). Their function is to crush disturbance of the mental body and of consciousness (*kâyacittadarathanimmadanarasâ*). They are manifested as inactivity and coolness of the mental body and of consciousness (*kâyacittânaṃ aparipphandanasîtibhâva paccupaṭṭhânâ*). Their proximate cause is the mental body and consciousness (*kâyacittapadaṭṭhânâ*). They should be regarded as opposed to the defilements of agitation etc., which cause unpeacefulness in the mental body and in consciousness (*kâyacittânaṃ avûpasamakara uddhaccâdikilesa paṭipakkhabhûtâti*)- *Vsm.*465. According to *Atthasâlinî*(p.130), *Passaddhi* is opposed to anxiety (*daratha*) and to the Hindrance of Agitation (*uddhacca*). It may be added that in its aspect of a 'good conscience', it is also opposed to the Hindrance of Worry(*kukkucca*) due to bad conscience or scruples. Tranquility Enlightenment Factor (*passaddhi sambojjhanga*) along with Enlightenment Factors of Happiness (*pîti sambojjhanga*), Concentration

(*samâdhi sambojjhanga*) and Equanimity (*upekkhâ sambojjhanga*) are included in Right Concentration (*sammâ samâdhi*)-*Vsm.* 511-512. When a person brings Formations to mind as painful and having great tranquility, acquires the Faculty of Concentration-*Ibid.*659.

Describing the Tranquility due to Insight (*vipassanâ passaddhi*), the Visuddhimagga mentions that for the person who has attained Insight sits in his night or day quarters perhaps there is no fatigue or heaviness or rigidity or unwieldiness or sickness or crookedness in his body and his mind (*neva daratho na gâravaṃ na kakkhalatâ na akammaññatâ na gelaññaṃ na vankatâ hoti*), but rather his body and mind are tranquillised (*kâyacittâni passaddhâni*), light (*lahûni*), malleable (*mudûni*), wieldy (*kammaññâni*), quite sharp (*suvisadâni*) and straight (*ujukâni*). When his mind and body aided by this tranquillity, he experiences the Superhuman delight at that time –*Vsm.*pp.635-636.

Venerable Sâriputta explaining the exertion in developing (*bhâvanâ padhânaṃ*) proclaimed that a *bhikkhû* should cultivate each of the seven Factors of Enlightenment (including the Tranquillity Factor of Enlightenment) which are based upon detachment, upon passionless (*virâganissitaṃ*), upon cessation (*nirodha nissitaṃ*) and wherein is maturity of self surrender (*vossagga pariṇâmin*) – *D.III.*p.226. In the *Dasuttara suttanta* of the *Dîgha Nikâya* (*D.III.*282) we find another proclamation by Venerable Sâriputta about the seven Factors of Enlightenment. Herein he mentions *passaddhi sambojjhanga* and other *bojjhangas* (Factors of Enlightenment) are to be developed, as they have been perfectly set forth by the Buddha for long duration of the holy life and for the welfare and happiness of many folk, for compassion on the world, for the good, the welfare, the happiness of *devas* and men.

Within the *kâmâvacara* (sensuous) sphere *passaddhi* is the inner peace produced by any moral act or thought .It is also the equability of the mental functions necessary for the effective work in the field of Insight (*vipassanâ*), for making a judgements etc., which is unwavering and cool, reliable and dispassionate. This is confirmed in *Atthasâlinî* where it says that the manifestation of Tranquillity is the unwavering and cool state (*aparipphandanasîtibhâva*) of consciousness and its concomitants – *Atthasâlinî*. p.130.Tranquility prepares the entry into the jhanic consciousness of *rûpâvacara* (Form) sphere being a prior condition for the Factors of Absorption "Joy" (*sukha*) and 'concentration' (*cittekaggatâ*).

The Buddha, while describing the consequence of *ânâpâna sati* declared that if a monk cultivate the limb of wisdom that is tranquility along with other Factors of Enlightenment, it tends to seclusion (*vivekâya*), to dispassion (*virâgâya*), to cessation (*nirodhâya*) and to end the self-surrender (*vossaggaparinâmim*) – *S.V.*p.312.

D.Saddhasena

PAṬĀCĀRĀ. In Buddhist Pâli literature, the story of Paṭâcârâ is one of the most deflected and distorted in its passage from the early canonical texts to the subsequent commentarial utterances. Divergent literary traditions like those of the *Apadâna*, within this self same literary corpus, have unalterably changed the character, and along with it the religious aspirations and personality of this *Bhikkhunî* who has had a tremendous impact on the female community of the Buddha's day. This change has been least suspected. On the other hand, we are surprised that it has been reverentially accepted, then and now, in the literary histories of Sri Lanka and the neighboring Buddhist counties. The change is admittedly dramatic and theatrical.

Paṭâcârâ in the original canonical version, we believe, reflects clearness of vision, firmness of resolve, determination and admirable qualities of leadership. She becomes unhesitatingly an object of admiration and veneration. The *Therîgâthâ* text says that hundreds came searching her for her comforting message. The *Apadâna* tradition shows an unwarranted deflection in the alternation of her character with that of Kisâgotamî who, in the canonical version, is a pitiable character with multiple tragic deaths of dear ones on her way. The new Paṭâcârâ, in Kisâgotami's tattered old garb, becomes a highly magnetic centre for sympathy and pity. We are inclined to maintain with the *Dîgha-bhâṇakas* that the *Apadâna* traditions on the whole are unacceptably deviant.

In this article, we think it worthwhile probing into this. We consider it more meaningful to take the records

of the canonical texts as more authentic and trustworthy and as being nearer to the historical situations in the *Sâsana* than the words of compilers of legends of later centuries which in fact have come to be challenged and rejected as done by the *Dīgha-bhâṇkas* (*DA.* I. 15).

We shall begin with the canonical version of the story of our renowned Therī Paṭâcârâ. Here are the three specific references to her in the *Therī gâthâ*, each one recording a different situation in her life, which seems to have left a profound impact on the community in which she lived (*Thig. vv.* 112-116, 117-121 and 127-132).

In the first *Therī gâthâ* episode at *vv.* 112-116, we meet this apparently newly ordained *Bhikkhunī*. She is fully conscious of the mission she has undertaken. In her own words, she is living a life of higher grade morality (*sīla-sampannâ*), having pledged to live the religious life as enunciated by the Master (*satthu-sâsanakârikâ*). With her diligent and at the same time unconceited attitude to life (*akusītâ anuddhatâ*), she is determined to reach her goal in Nirvana (*nibbânaṃ adhigacchâmi*). These lines are in themselves self-evident and self-explanatory. They need no commentary.

In her own enlightened words, it is what she saw around her that prompted her to her zealous approach in religious life. She saw the young farmers around, energetically ploughing the fields and sowing seeds therein to raise crops and earn money thereby to feed their wives and children,

Naṅgalehi kasaṃ khettaṃ bījâni pavapaṃ chamâ
putta-dârâni posentâ dhanaṃ vindanti mânavâ.
(*Thig.v.* 112)

"Ploughing the fields with their ploughs
and sowing the seeds on the ground,
these men earn the money
to feed their wives and children."

Possessed of this same sense of devotion and dedication, Paṭâcârâ washed her feet one evening, and seeing the water at that point flowing down from the higher ground to the lower (*thalato ninnaṃ âgataṃ*), she endeavored to harness her own mind like bringing a thorough-bred horse under control (*tato cittaṃ samâdhemi assaṃ bhadraṃ 'va jâniyaṃ*). Her salvation evidently was not a long way off. As she reached her cell and tried to lie down on her bed to sleep, she dipped the wick of her lamp in the oil, and with the blowing off of the lamp, she gained emancipation of her mind (*padīpass ' eva nibbânaṃ vimokkho ahu cetaso.*).

Therī Paṭâcârâ's pre-enlightenment life story is lost to us here in the *Therī gâthâ.* It was perhaps contained in the prose narratives (now lost), which usually accompanied these dramatic statements in verse. At any rate, the two sets of verses of Paṭâcârâ, which follow in the *Therī gâthâ* (*vv.* 117-121 & 127-132) are coherent and cogent enough for us to build a convincing picture of this *Bhikkhunī* and make no mistake about her identity.

Verses 127-132 which go under the title *Pañcasatâ Paṭâcârâ*, include the major theme of her admonition to five hundred grieving women who are said to have come to her in search of a comforting message in the death of their own children. Paṭâcârâ is undoubtedly the pre-eminent authority who could speak on this subject with such personal experience and conviction. It is our firm belief that this down-to-earth analysis of the mothers' problem of loss of children handled here by Paṭâcârâ does rightly belong to Paṭâcârâ and to no other. See her straightforward reasoning.

Yassa maggaṃ na jânâsi âgatassa gatassa vâ
taṃ kuto âgataṃ puttaṃ mama putto ' ti rodasi.
(*Thig. v.* 127.).

"Whose roadway one knows not, whence he came or whither he went.
Knowing not whence he came, you do appropriate him and now cry over his loss."

What need is there to make this Paṭâcârâ emerge as a heroine from a multiple tragedy of six deaths which is admitted by Kisâgotamī as her own, in her own words, in the canonical text of the *Therī gâthâ*?

Dve me puttâ kâlakatâ pati ca panthe mato kapanikâya
mâtâ pitâ ca bhâtâ ca dayhanti ekacitakâyam.

Kisâgotamī - therī suvimuttacittâ imaṃ bhaṇī 'ti.
See *Thig. vv.* 218-223.

Sri Lanka Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Series Therī gâthâ text adds to this further -

Itthaṃ sudaṃ Kisâgotamī therī gâthâyo abhâsi. (*Therigathâ*. v 223f)

The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathâ* (*DhpA*. I. 260- 275 and *DhpA*. III. 432 f.), perhaps due to a deviant tradition derived from the *Apadâna*, which has also at the same time influenced the Commentarial tradition of the *Therigâthâ Aṭṭhakathâ*, interchanges these two stories of Paṭâcârâ and Kisâgotamī and transfers this story of the dead son to Kisâgotamī, with the very dramatic story of the Buddha asking her to get some mustard seeds from a home where no death had ever occurred. What Kisâgotamī apparently sought from the Buddha was some medication (*bhesajjâṃ*) for the restoration to life of her dead child. But the Buddha, instead of making a blunt refusal to do so and turning away this grieving mother, wisely used this strategy. It was more profound a lesson to teach and to learn that there never was and never shall be a home in which no death has ever occurred than to perform a miracle through divine power whereby a single mortal son is raised from the dead.

The *Therī gâthâ* makes no mention of any mustard seed story, neither with regard to Kisâgotamī nor Paṭâcârâ. But the *Therī gâthâ* Commentary to Kisâgotamī verses, quoting the *Apadâna* (*ThigA*. p. 181), reveals the origin of this story.

Tadâ ekena sandiṭṭhâ upetvâbhi Sakkuttamaṃ
avocaṃ dehi bhesajjaṃ puttasañjivakan 'ti bho.
"Na vijjante matâ yasmiṃ gehe siddhattakaṃ tato
âharâ " ti jino âha vinayopâya-kovido.
Tadâ gamitvâ Sâvatthiṃ na labhiṃ tâdisaṃ gharaṃ
kuto siddhatthakaṃ tasmâ tato laddhâ satiṃ ahaṃ
Kuṇapaṃ chaḍḍayitvâna upesiṃ lokanâyakaṃ
(vv.23-26).

Two important items of information emerge from this. 1.This story of the mustard seeds goes back to the *Apadâna* as its primary source. 2. This *Apadâna* tradition also introduces the more or less Mahâyâna idea of *upâya-kauśalya* or magnanimous strategy ascribed to the Buddha, referred to here as *vinayopa ya-kovido*.

This self-same *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathâ* makes Paṭâcârâ play Kisâgotamī's role of being the victim of the six-fold tragedy. But according to the *Therī gâthâ*, (the canonical text) it is Kisâgotamī and not Paṭâcârâ who is the victim of this intense multiple tragedy of losing her two infant children, her husband, her mother and father and her brother, all on one single occasion. Kisâgotamī in the *Therī gâthâ* speaks of it as the tragedy of her own life. See *Therī gâthâ* (vv.219 -223) where she speaks of the death of her two sons and her husband etc.

Dve me puttâ kâlakatâ patī ca panthe mato kapaṇikâya
mâtâ pitâ ca bhâtâ ca ḍayhanti ekacitakâyaṃ
v. 219

Ahaṃ amhi kantasallâ ohitabhârâ kataṃ me karaṇī yaṃ
Kisâgotamī therī suvimuttacittâ imaṃ bhaṇī 'ti.
v. 223

It is also important to note that the above verse 219 of the *Therī gâthâ* appears in a slightly different form in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathâ* as:

Ubho puttâ kâlakatâ pante mayhaṃ patī mato
mâtâ pitâ ca bhâtâ ca ekacitakasmiṃ ḍayhare.
DhpA. I. 266

This is the version preserved in the *Apadâna* (*Ap*. p. 115) to which our *Therī gathâ* Commentary seems to be very much indebted.

With or without this confusion in the identification of Paṭâcârâ (*Thig*. vv. 112-121 and 127-132) and Kisâgotamī (*Thig*. vv. 213-223), these two hapless women, together with Vâseṭṭhī (*Thig*. vv. 133-138) show the world the very blessings of the Buddha's appearance in their midst, although he evidently never did lift a finger to raise their children from death. To them, as well as to all mankind, it was an all-time triumph over death. That is why we have in the wake of Paṭâcârâ's spiritual gain, as mentioned in the *Therī gathâ*, a first batch of thirty grieving mothers and after that yet another five hundred, more or less, reach the same heights that Paṭâcârâ herself reached. Thus embedded in the theme of Paṭâcârâ are the lessons on the down-to-earth reality of death with a universal message of which the world has all the time a need to learn.

Dhammavihârī

PĀṬALIPUTTA: Pataliputta[1] was the capital of the Magadha kingdom of ancient India and later the capital of the mighty Mayura Empire. It is also called Kusumapura and Pushpapura. It was among the six great cities of ancient India. Pali literature of the Theravāda school of Buddhism and Sanskrit sources of the Northern school of Buddhism, Jain Literature, Greek and Chinese records are extant for the study of this great Indian city. In addition there are the results of the archaeological excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India, during the last century. The city of Pātaliputta had a humble beginning as a remote village called Pātaligāma, when the capital of Magadha was Rājagaha (Rājagṛha) or Giribbaja.

Its connection with Buddhism goes back to the very lifetime of the Master (Buddha). According to the *Mahā parinibbāna Sutta* (*D.II*.p. 84) the Buddha visited it on his last journey. But at the time it was yet a small hamlet known as Pāṭaligāma. The Buddha on his last journey proceeded from Nālanda to the Pātaligāma with a large retinue of monks. The Buddha's visit to Pātaligā ma coincided with the completion of the "Guest House" (*āvasathāgāra*) by the residents to accommodate state officials. As the *Udāna* commentary states (*UdA*. p. 408) the officials of the Vajji Kings and those of king Ajātasattu came there and chased away the inhabitants and occupied their houses for several months. The inhabitants of the village were inconvenienced as a result of this repeated expulsion. In order to remedy this, these inhabitants of Pātaligāma decided to put up a state guesthouse for state officials, as well as for the other travellers. The devotees (*upāsaka*) were highly delighted as the Buddha happened to visit them on the same day and invited the Buddha to stay the night at the new *āvasathāgāra* or the 'Guest House' and the Buddha accepted the offer. It was the Buddha who occupied the Guest House first, with monks.

At the same time the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*ibid* p. 84) records another important event that was taking place at the Pāṭaligāma during the same period. The two ministers of Magadha (*Magadhamahamattā*) Sunī dha and Vassakāra (of king Ajātasattu , the king of Magadha) were building a town at Pāṭaligāma in order to prevent the onslaught of Vajjians. The *Mahā parinibbāna Sutta* further adds that the Buddha having come to know that a town was being built at Pāṭaligā ma prophesied that in the future it would be a center of the Āryans and a center of trade as well as the chief city of Jambudipa, and there would be a danger from fire, water and dissension to the city.

It is clear from the statement that even up to the last phase of the life of the Buddha it was yet a village. Its immergence as a town commenced towards the end of the Buddha's carrier under king Ajātasattu of Magadha. It is also said that the above mentioned two ministers Sunidha and Vassakāra who were building the town met the Buddha and invited him and offered alms. The ministers also took action to name the gate (of the new town) from which the Buddha went out as the 'Gōtamadvāra' and the ford of the river where the Buddha crossed the river as 'Gōtamatittha' in honor of the Buddha.

From the references in the *Dīgha Nikāya* above mentioned it is seen that the Buddha was no stranger to the inhabitants of the Pāṭaligāma. They welcomed the Buddha's visit. Though it was not recorded in the scriptures, it is possible to infer that it was not the Buddha's first visit to Pāṭaligāma. It is seen that as there were followers the Buddha might have visited the village in the course of his missionary tours. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that Pātaligāma was among the settlements where Buddhism flourished since early days of the *sāsana*.

Even after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha eminent monks appear to have associated Pāṭaliputta and there references to it in the *Nikāyas*. According to the *Samyuttanikāya* (S.V. 171) once when the Elder Ānanda was living at the Kukkuṭārāma of Pāṭaliputta with the Elder Bhadda, the latter questioned the Elder Ānanda as regards the purpose of '*Kusala*' and '*sīla*' the Buddha has preached. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (A III 57) describes how the Elder Nārada while residing at the Kukkuṭ ārāmaya in Pāṭaliputta advised and consoled king Muṇḍa who was grieving over the death of his beloved queen, keeping her body preserved. According to *Vinaya Mahavagga* (*Vin*. I .300) once many Elders such as Nītavāsi, Sānavāsi Gopaka, Bhagu and Phalikasandana were staying at the Kukkuṭā rāma at Pāṭaliputta and the monks went to Kukkuṭārā ma and sought the advice of the Elders as regards how to dispose many robes offered to them by the devotees. Even before the accession of Asoka Pā ṭaliputta has been an important center of Buddhism and venue of many important events. As per the *Buddhavamsa* (ch. xxviii) after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha, the Buddha's girdle and the water pot were

deposited in the city of Pāṭaliputta. The *Mahāvamsa* says (ch. v. verse 122) the Elder Sonaka the preceptor of Elder Siggava, the preceptor of the Elder Candavajji, the teacher of the Elder Moggalīputtatissa resided at Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputta . It is stated in the *Petavattu* commentary (p. 244) that the general of King Piṅgala of Saurāstra came to Pāṭaliputta and embraced Buddhism. The king Pandu of Pāṭaliputta (date uncertain) his vassal Guhasiva and his subordinate king Cittāyana were converted to Buddhism says *Dāṭhā vamsa*. Thera Dhammarakkhita, the teacher of Elder Nāgasena lived at Pāṭaliputra.The *Anguttara Nikāya* commentary (*AA.* II 246) records how two Brahmins from Pāṭaliputta having heard of the fame of Elder Mahānāga of Sri Lanka set out from Pāṭaliputta and came to Sri Lanka to meet the Thera. One died on the way the other came to Sri Lanka and got ordained under the Thera.

It is observed that the Kukkuṭārāma which appear to have been the centre of Buddhist activities of Pāṭaliputta prior to Asoka's accession is not mentioned in the Pali records pertaining to Asoka's relationship with Buddhism. The Kukkuṭārāma which is supposed to have been built in a garden named Upakanṭhakārāma on the right bank of Ganges, by the Kukkuṭaseṭṭhi might have been in a dilapidated condition by the time of Asoka. Asoka might have built his magnificent monastery on the same site and the old name appear to have gone into oblivion and the monastery came to be known as Asokārāma. However northern records such as *Divyāvadāna* refer to it as Kukkuṭārāma.

The upliftment of the Pāṭaligāma as Pāṭalinagara was commenced by Ajātasatthu towards the end of the Buddha's life. The immediate purpose was, as *Mahā parinibbāna sutta* says, was to prevent the onslaught of Vajjins. Apparently Pāṭaligāma was the "Bone of contention" between the Vajjins and Ajātasatthu. Though Ajātasatthu commenced the building of Pāṭaligāma he could not finish the work. He continued to rule Magadha from Rajagaha or Giribbaja. The work continued till the reign of his son Udāyi *circa* 450 B.C. The *Vāyupurāṇa* calls him his grand son (*Rāja Udayāswa*). It is not possible to conclude exactly during whose reign the capital of Magadha was shifted to Pāṭaliputta. According to the Buddhist tradition the capital of Magadha was shifted from Rājagaha during the reign of Kālāsoka of Siśunāga dynasty, whose 10th regnal year is equated to the 100th year after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha . The Jain sources, too, seems to agree on this and *Purānas* call him Kalāsoka Kākavarnin. From the reign of Kālāsoka, according to Sri Lanka tradition Pāṭaliputta remained the capital of Nandas, Mauryas, Guptas etc. for several centuries, first as the capital of an extensive kingdom of Magadha and later as the capital of the mighty Mayura Empire.

The most prosperous period of Pāṭaliputta was the period of the three great Maurya emperors Candragupta , Bindusāra and Asoka. The Greeks called it "*Palibothra*". Thanks to Megasthenes the ambassador of Selukos Nikator to the Royal court of Candragupta a fairly detailed account of the grandeur of the Maurya empire with its capital as '*Palibothra*' (Pāṭaliputra) is extant. Though the original written by Megasthenes is lost, the quotations from the original by later Greek writers provide us with a substantial description of Pāṭaliputra and its sophisticated urban life. Megasthenes assures that the length of this city wass 80 stadia the breadth 15, that is surrounded with a ditch which takes up six acres of ground and it is 30 cubits deep that the walls are adorned with 570 towers and 64 gates (Megasthenes Account preserved by Arrian).

To quote Vincent A. Smith: "Megasthenes resided there for a considerable time, and fortunately for posterity took the trouble to record carefully what he saw and heard. The ambassador found the government of the Indian king strong and well organized, established in a magnificent fortified city, worthy to be the capital of a great kingdom. The royal camp at the capital was estimated to contain 400,000 souls and the efficient standing army numbering 600,000 infantry 30,000 cavalry, 9000 elephants and a multitude of chariots, was maintained at the king's expense. On active service the army is said to have mustered the huge total of 600,000 men of all arms, a number not incredible in the light of our knowledge of the unwieldy size of the hosts employed by Indian princes in later ages". (Vincent A. Smith , *Asoka Buddhist Emperor of India.* p. 16-17.)

However the most prosperous period of Pāṭaliputta dawned under the great Mauryan Emperor Asoka. Asoka's gigantic empire, in addition to the whole of proper India, comprised of countries now known as Afghanistan, as far as Hindukush, Baluchistan, Makrān, Kachh (cutch), the Swat valley, with the adjoining regions Kasmir and Nepal except extreme south

Tamilakam on Tamil Land.[2] Under Asoka Pāṭaliputra not only became the centre of economic activities such as trade but also a centre of spiritual activity. According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, emperor Asoka got 400,000 gold coins (*kahāpana*) and another one hundred thousand from the court as taxes and it shows the prosperity of the city.

After Asoka became a Buddhist, Pāṭliputra became the centre of the Theravāda school of Buddhism. He built the magnificent Asokārāma at Pāṭaliputra and it was from the Asokārāma all the subsequent programmes for the advancement of the *Buddha sā sana* were launched. The Emperor Asoka with the guidance of the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, summoned all the monks to Asokārāma, interviewed and expelled 60,000 heretical monks and purified the *Sāsana*. Asokā rāma of Pāṭaliputra was the venue of the Third Buddhist council chaired by Thera Moggaliputta Tissa. It was from Pāṭaliputta that Moggaliputta Tissa sent out nine groups of monks to propagate Buddhism in the frontier provinces and countries outside Asoka's Empire. Thus it should be clear that the campaign to make Buddhism, which was confined to the Madyadesa, of India, a world religion, was launched from Pāṭaliputta and it became an International centre of Buddhism in the third century B.C. under Asoka.

Sri Lanka has had strong connections with Pā ṭaliputta even before the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka. The *Mahāvamsa* (ch.XI) describes how Devānampiyatissa sent envoys to the court of Asoka at Pāṭaliputta and became unseen friends (*adiṭṭhasahā yakā)* before the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka. It was from Paṭaliputta that the Buddhist mission headed by Arahant Mahinda set off to Sri Lanka with the message oF the Buddha. Theri Sanghamittā too left for Sri Lanka from Pāṭaliputta with the branch of the Bodhi tree. Since then there was constant intercourse between Pāṭaliputta and Anuradhapura specially In the religious sphere. It is interesting to note that, according to the *Mahāvamsa* (ch XXIX) a delegation headed by the Elder Mittinna participated at the foundation ceremony of the Mahāthupa in Anuradhapura with 160,000 monks. When Pāṭaliputta gradually lost its position as the head quarters of Theravada school of Buddhism after Asoka, Anuradhapura emerged as the center of Theravāda Buddhism.

The Chinese records too shed some light on Pā taliputta. Fa-hian (5th century A.C.) calls it Pā-lin-Fu and he identified it as the town where Asoka ruled.

He says that the Royal palace of Pāṭaliputta was made by spirits employed by Asoka. Hiuen Tsang (629-645 A.C.) came to Pāṭaliputta from Vaisāli having crossed the Ganges. He says that it was originally known as Kusumapura. He says it was 70 li or 11? miles in circuit. He refers to Asoka as having changed the capital of Magadha from Rājagaha to Pāṭaliputra.[3] He has referred to Kukkuṭārāma and has seen an Asokan Pillar of 30ft height. But when he visited Pā taliputra it has long been deserted and was in ruins.

The successors of Asoka were not in favour of Buddhism and the traditions are silent on the condition of Buddhism under them at Pātaliputta. But there is no doubt that Pātaliputta continued to be an important center of Buddhism for centuries. The history of Buddhism at Pātaliputta ends with the destruction of the city but the time of its destruction as well as the cause is not known and it is presumed that it occurred long before the rise of Pālas in Bengal. But the fame of Pātaliputta lasted even at the time of Alberuni, the Muslim historian, at the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the eleventh century.

The modern city Patnā at the confluence of the river Son and Ganges has been identified by archaeologists as the site of Pāṭaliputra. It was colonel Waddell in 1895 who determined the exact site of Pātaliputta and pointed out that it has not been washed away totally by Ganges as originally thought. Ravenshaw (*JRAS.* Bengal XIV 137) conclusively shows that the Son river formerly joined Ganges just above the city of Patna. The city of Pātaliputta has been excavated by D.B. Spooner in the years 1912-13 and the report of the excavations appear in the report of the Archeological survey of India for the relevant years. Another excavation has been carried out in 1935-36. The excavations have been made mainly at a location called Kumrahar and Bulandi-Bagh and it has been noted that the ruins extend to the adjoining villages and also to the modern city of Patna. The archaeologists have noted that the ruins of Paṭaliputta lie 20 feet below the surface and the discovery of burnt wooden structures and mass alluvial soil suggest destruction by fire, one of the three dangers predicted by the Buddha. Spooner in his excavations has found remains of a pillared hall

exceptionally vast which he thinks should be that of an important monastery or a Throne Hall of a Mauryan palace. A Bodhisatva image probably from Mathura of the early Gupta period and some clay seals majority of which belonging to the Gupta period, are among the findings.

Bibliography

Alexander Cunningham *The Ancient Geography of India*, Delhi, 1975.

B.N. Chaudhury , *Buddhist Centers in Ancient India*- Calcutta, 1969.

Vincent A. Smith, *Asoka. Buddhist Emperor of India*, Delhi, 1997 (Reprint)

Kanailal Hazra *Royal pattonage of Buddhism*. Delhi, 1984

G.P. Malalasekera *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* Vol II *PTS*. London 1960

Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India 1912-13

Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India 1935-36

K. Arunasiri

References

1. According to the Pali Commentaries on the day of the founding the town some Paṭali shoots(Trumpet Flower tree)sprang from the ground. Therefore the town was named Pā ṭaliputta (*UdA*. p. 407)

2. According to Vincent Smith "His Dominions were foremost extensive than British India today (1920), excluding Burma (Vincent Smith *Asoka Buddhist Emperor of India*. p. 81)

3. Hiuen Tsang is wrong at this instance. It was not Asoka who shifted the capital from Rajagaha to Pataliputta. He has confused Asoka with Kalasoka.

PATHOM CHEDI: The royal monastery of Pra Pathom Chedi at Nakon Pathom is named for its towering 120 metre cetiya which, covered with glazed tile of light orange, dominates the landscape for miles around. It is the tallest *cetiya* in south-east Asia, and the one most reverenced by the Thai who hold that it enshrines the nation's oldest Buddhist relics. Thousands attend the annual festival fair held there each November.

This temple is located about sixty kilometers west of Bangkok, in Thailand, on the site of what was probably the capital of the Mon Kingdom of Dvāravati (5th to 10th centuries A.C.). In an extensive area around this temple numerous terracotta votive tablets and figures of Buddha in stone and stucco have been found. The presence of early symbols of Buddhism, such as deer, *āsanas* (teaching -seats), and the wheel of the Law, indicates a Buddhist Culture of the Asoka period dating back two thousand years or more. At that time the seacoast, the Mikori and the Taching rivers were evidently much closer to this site than they are today. Trade and agriculture must have flourished, making possible a community capable of constructing not one but many huge *cetiya*, of which only mounds now remain. Trainloads of ancient bricks from this area were used to construct the railway line from Bangkok during the early 1900's.

The great city which had been the Dvāravati capital became deserted after the Khmer conquest in the 10th century. Three hundred years later it was not even listed among the towns of the Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya, and the site remained wild and uninhabited until the 1800's.

Just when the great *cetiya* was first built no one knows. In its general form it is about eight hundred years old. Its name means "First." The original structure is thought to have been a mound-shaped *stūpa* patterned after those at Sānchi. Having undergone repeated restorations and alterations, it finally became the large bell-shaped *stūpa* surmounted by a *pran* (tower), thirty-nine metres high, which king Rama IV (Monkut) found in a ruined condition in the first half of the 19th century.

In 1853, two years after he ascended the throne, he ordered this ancient edifice to be repaired. Because of its great age and sanctity it was enshrined within a larger *cetiya*. Before the work was completed the new

structure collapsed during a heavy rainstorm. The second attempt, begun in 1860, was successful; but the work was not completed until 1870, two years after the king's death. Thereafter king Chûlalongkorn (1868 – 1910) and his sons, Vajiravudh (1910-1925) and Prajādhipok (1925-1935), continued the task of restoration and also added new temple structures.

The present *cetiya* consists of a circular bell 250 metres in circumference at the base, surmounted by a square "throne", and above that a spire or crown in the form of tapering rings capped by a metal trident at the top. The *cetiya* rests on a seven-metre-high terrace consisting of two stages, the lower stage square, and the upper one round. Around the base of the cetiya, at a distance of ten metres, is a circular gallery which serves as a museum – a branch of the National Museum, and housing a large collection of inscriptions, votive tablets, coins, stone Wheels of Law, stone jars and fragments of ancient art, in stone, terracotta and stucco.

On the broad terrace outside the circular gallery are four *viharas* at the four cardinal points; they were built by Rama IV. On the east side is an *uposatha* hall which was begun by Vajiravudh completed by Prajādhipok. It contains a stone image of the Buddha seated in European fashion, found at nearby Wat Pra Meru, and which dates from the Dvāravati period.

The main entrance to the terrace is on the north side. At the head of the stairs is a standing image of Buddha, of bronze, covered with gold, known as Pra Ruan Rojanarit. In 1909 Vajiravudh (then Crown Prince) found the head, hands and feet of this image under the floor of a ruined *vihāra* at Srisajjanalai. Two years later, he had these portions (which were still in good condition) incorporated in a new bronze body, cast at Wat Jetuphon. The figure was then taken to Wat Pra Pathom Chedi. Upon Vajiravudh's death a portion of his ashes were placed in the base of the image, as requested in the late monarch's will.

The broad twenty-seven metre terrace outside the circular gallery contains numerous pavilions, bell-towers and shrines, as well as seven kinds of trees famed in Indian lore. It also contains a replica of the ancient *sputa* that is encased in the present *cetiya*, as well as a replica of the great *cetiya* at Sri Dharmarāj. The terrace with the gleaming tile-clad *cetiya* rising high above is appropriately situated in a spacious, roughly square park, located in what is thought to have been the centre of the old Dvāravati capital.

The great cetiya is the *raison d'etre* of the present town which surrounds it, a town which came into existence in 1897 under the name of Nakon Jaisri, and which since 1913 has borne the name Nakon Pathom.

K.E. Wells

PAṬICCASAMUPPĀDA (1) : 'dependent origination', is the doctrine of the conditionality of all physical and psychical phenomena, a doctrine which, together with that of impersonality (*anattā*), forms the indispensable condition for the real understanding and realization of the teaching of the Buddha. It shows the conditionality and dependent nature of that uninterrupted flux of manifold physical and psychical phenomena of existence conventionally called the ego, or man, or animal, etc.

Whereas the doctrine of impersonality, or *anattā*, proceeds analytically, by splitting existence up into the ultimate constituent parts, into mere empty, unsubstantial phenomena or elements, the doctrine of dependent origination, on the other hand, proceeds synthetically, by showing that all these phenomena are, in some way or other, conditionally related with each other. In fact, the entire *Abhidhamma piṭaka*, as a whole, treats really of nothing but just these two doctrines: phenomenality – implying impersonality – and conditionality of all existence. The former or analytical method is applied in the *Dhammasangani*, the first book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*; the latter or synthetical method, in *Paṭṭhāna*, the last book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Though this subject has been very frequently treated by western authors, by far most of them have completely misunderstood the true meaning and purpose of the doctrine of dependent origination, and even the 12 terms themselves have often been rendered wrongly.

The formula of dependant origination runs as follows:

Avijjā - paccayā sankhārā : "Through ignorance are conditioned the *sankhāras*," i.e. the rebirth-producing volitions (*cetanā*), or '*karma*-formations'.

Sankhāra - paccayā viññāṇaṃ : "Through the *karma*-formations (in the past life) is conditioned consciousness (in the present life)."

Viññāṇa - paccayā nāma - rūpaṃ : "Through consciousness are conditioned the mental and physical phenomena (*nāma-rūpa*)," i.e. that which makes up our so-called individual existence.

Nāma- rūpa- paccayā saḷāyatanaṃ: "Through the mental and physical phenomena are conditioned the six bases," i.e. the 5 physical sense-organs, and consciousness as the sixth.

Saḷāyatana- paccayā phasso : "Through the six bases is conditioned the (sensorial mental) impression."

Phassa- paccayā vedanā : "Through the impression is conditioned feeling."

Vedanā - paccayā taṇhā : "Through feeling is conditioned craving."

Bhava - paccayā jāti : "Through the (rebirth-producing *karma*-process) process of becoming is conditioned rebirth."

Jāti - paccayā jarāmaranaṃ etc. : "Through rebirth are conditioned old age and death (sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair). Thus arises this whole mass of suffering again in the future."

The diagram on this page shows the relationship of dependence between three successive lives.

Before taking up the study of the following exposition, it is suggested that the reader first goes thoroughly through the article on the 24 conditions (*paccaya*). For a thorough understanding of the *paṭiccasamuppāda* he should know the main modes of conditioning, as decisive support, co-nascence, etc.

1. **"Through ignorance are conditioned the karma-formations"** (*avijjā - paccayā sankhārā*), i.e.

PAST	1 Ignorance (*avijjā*) 2 *Karma*-formations (*sankhārā*)	*Karma*-process (*kammabhava*) 5 causes: 1,2,8,9,10
PRESENT	3 Consciousness (*viññāṇa*) 4 Mind & Matter (*nāma-rūpa*) 5 Six Bases (*āyatana*) 6 Impression (*phassa*) 7 Feeling (*vedanā*)	Rebirth-Process (*Upapatti-bhava*) 5 results: 3-7
	8 Craving (*tanhā*) 9 Clinging (*upādāna*) 10 Process of Becoming (*bhava*)	*Karma*-Process (*kamma-Bhava*) 5 causes: 1,2,8,9,10
FUTURE	11 Rebirth (*jāti*) 12 Old Age and Death (*jarā-maraṇa*)	Rebirth-Process (*upapatti-bhava*) 5 results: 3-7

Taṇhā - paccayā upādānaṃ : "Through craving is conditioned clinging."

Upādāna-paccayā bhavo: "Through clinging is conditioned the process of becoming," consisting in the active and the passive life process, i.e. the rebirth-producing *karma*-process (*kamma-bhava*) and, as its result, the rebirth-process (*upapatti-bhava*).

all wholesome and unwholesome actions (*karma*) of body, speech and mind, are conditioned through ignorance. By 'karma-formations' are meant karmically wholesome and unwholesome volitions (*cetanā*), or volitional activities, in short *karma*.

In view of the many misconceptions current in the West, it is necessary to repeat here that *karma*, as a technical term, never signifies anything but moral or

immoral action, i.e. the above mentioned volitional activities, or *karma*-formations, as either causing results in the present life or being the causes of future destiny and rebirth. Thus *karma*, as a philosophical term, never means the result of action, as often wrongly conceived by Western authors.

Now, in what way are the *karma*-formations conditioned through ignorance? As concerns the unwholesome *karma*-formations associated with greed, hate or delusion (*lobha, dosa, moha*), these are always and in all circumstances, conditioned through the simultaneous ignorance inseparably associated therewith. Thus, ignorance is for the unwholesome *karma*-formations a condition by way of conascence (*sahajāta-paccaya*), association (*sampayutta-paccaya*), presence (*atthi-paccaya*), etc. Ignorance further may be for them a condition by way of decisive support or inducement (*upanissaya-paccaya*), if, for instance, ignorance coupled with greed induces a man to commit evil deeds, such as killing, stealing, unlawful sexual intercourse, etc. In these cases, therefore, ignorance is a 'natural decisive support' or 'direct inducement' (*pakati-upanissaya-paccaya*). It also may become an indirect inducement, by way of object (*ārammaṇūpanissaya-paccaya*) of our thinking. This takes place, if, for example, someone remembers a former state of ignorance combined with sensual enjoyment, and in doing so karmically unwholesome states spring up, such as sensual desire, grief, etc.

For the wholesome (*kusala*) *karma*-formations, ignorance can only be a condition by way of decisive support (*upanissaya*), never by way of co-nascence (*sahajāta*), etc., since wholesome consciousness at that very moment, of course, cannot be associated with any unwholesome phenomenon, such as ignorance. Ignorance is a 'natural decisive support' or 'direct inducement' (*pakatipanissaya*), for example, if, induced by ignorance and vanity, one exerts oneself to attain the absorptions, and thus finally, through perseverance, reaches these wholesome states of mind. Ignorance may also be for wholesome *karma*-formations a 'decisive support' or 'inducement by way of object' (*ārammaṇūpanissaya*), if, for example, one reflects on ignorance as the root of all misery in the world, and thus finally attains insight and entrance into one of the 4 supermundane paths of holiness.

2. **"Through the karma-formations is conditioned consciousness"** (*sankhāra-paccayā viññā ṇam*). This proposition teaches that the wholesome and unwholesome *karma*-formations are the causes of future rebirth in an appropriate sphere (*gati*). The *karma*-formations of the previous life condition the budding in a new mother's womb of a fresh psycho-physical aggregation of the 5 groups of existence (*khandha*), which here are represented by consciousness (*viññāṇa*). All such *karma*-resultant (*vipāka*) consciousness, however, such as eye-consciousness (seeing), etc., as well as all the mental phenomena associated therewith (feeling, etc.), are karmically neutral. It should be understood that already from the very first moment of conception in the mother's womb, this karma resultant consciousness of the embryonic being is functioning.

Against Dr. Paul Dahlke's misconception of the *paṭiccasamuppāda* as "one single karmical moment of personal experience," and of the 'simultaneity' of all the 12 links of this formula, I should like to state here distinctly that the interpretation of *paṭiccasamuppāda* given here as comprising 3 successive lives not only agrees with all the different schools of Buddhism and all the ancient commentaries, but also is fully identical with the explanations given already in the canonical *suttas*. Thus, for example, it is said verbatim in *Nidā na-Saṃyutta*: "Once ignorance (1) and clinging (9) are extinguished, neither karmically meritorious, nor demeritorious, nor imperturbable *karma-formations* (2-10) are produced, and thus no *consciousness* (3=11) will spring up again in a new mother's womb." And further: "For, if consciousness were not to appear in the mother's womb, would in that case *mentality and corporeality* (4) arise?"

The purpose of the Buddha in teaching the *paṭiccasamuppāda* was to show to suffering mankind how, depending on ignorance and delusion, this present existence and suffering has come about, and how through extinction of ignorance, and of the craving and clinging conditioned thereby, no more rebirth will follow, and thus the standstill of the process of existence will have been realized and therewith the extinction of all suffering.

3. **"Through consciousness are conditioned corporeality and mentality"** (*viññāṇa-paccayā nā ma-rūpam*). This proposition implies that without consciousness there can be no mental and physical process of existence. By mentality (*nāma*) is here to

be understood the *karma*-resultant (*vipāka*) mental phenomena, such as feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), volition (*cetanā*: non-karmical volition is here meant), consciousness-impression (*phassa*), advertence (*manasikāra*). By corporeality (*rūpa*) is meant the 4 physical elements (*dhātu*) and the corporeality dependent thereon (*khandha*,)

Mentality is always conditioned through consciousness; i.e. consciousness (*viññāṇa*) is for mentality (*nāma*) a condition by way of conascence (*sahajāta*), mutuality (*aññamañña*), association (*sampayutta*), etc., since the 4 mental groups at all times form an inseparable unit.

Consciousness (*viññāṇa*) is for corporeality (*rūpa*) a condition by way of co-nascence only at the moment of conception, thereafter a condition by way of post-nascence (*pacchājāta-paccaya*) and nutriment (*ā hāra*), i.e. as a support. Just as the repeatedly arising hunger is a condition and support for the pre-arisen body, so is the consciousness arising afterwards a condition and support for the maintenance of this pre-arisen body.

4. "Through mentality and corporeality are conditioned the 6 bases" (*nāma-rūpa paccayā saḷā yatanam*). The 6 bases are a name for the 5 physical sense-organs and, 6th, the mind-base (*manāyatana*), i.e. consciousness.

Mentality (*nāma*) is for the 5 physical bases (*ā yatana*), or sense-organs, a condition by way of post-nascence.

Mentality (*nāma*), i.e. feeling, etc., is for the 6th base, or consciousness - as being always inseparably associated therewith - a condition by way of co-nascence, etc.

Corporeality (*rūpa*), here the 4 elements, are for the 5 physical bases (*āyatana*), or sense-organs, a condition by way of support (*nissaya*).

Corporeality (*rūpa*), here the 5 physical sense-organs, are for the 6th base (*āyatana*), i.e. consciousness, a condition by way of support and pre-nascence (*purejāta-paccaya*).

5. "Through the 6 bases is conditioned the (sensorial and mental) impression" (***saḷā yatana-paccayā phasso***), for without the 5 physical bases, or sense-organs, there can be no sense-impressions; and without the 6th base, or consciousness, there can be no mental impression.

Thus, the 5 physical bases, eye, etc., are for the corresponding 5 sense-impressions (visual impression, etc.) a condition by way of support (*nissaya*) and pre-nascence (*purejāta*), whereas the 6th, the mind-base (consciousness), is for the mental impression a condition by way of co-nascence, association, mutuality, etc.

6. "Through impression is conditioned feeling" (***phassa-paccayā vedanā***), i.e. the sensorial and the mental impressions are for the feeling associated therewith a condition by way of co-nascence, association, mutuality, etc.

7. "Through feeling is conditioned craving" (***vedanā - paccayā taṇhā***). Any (karma- resultant) feeling, whether agreeable, disagreeable or neutral, bodily or mental, past or expected, may become for craving a condition of decisive support by way of object (*ārammaṇūpanissaya*). Even physically and mentally painful feeling may, through the desire to be released therefrom, become for craving a condition of decisive support by way of object (*ārammaṇūpanissaya*).

8. "Through craving is conditioned clinging" (***taṇhā - paccayā upādānam***). 'Clinging' is explained as an intensified form of craving. It is of 4 kinds: (1) clinging to sensuality, (2) to erroneous views, (3) to rules and ritual, (4) to personality-belief. Sensuous craving is to (1) a condition of natural decisive support (*pakatupanissaya*). For (2-4), craving is a condition by way of co-nascence, mutuality, root (*hetu*), etc. It also may be a condition of natural decisive support. For example, through craving for heavenly rebirth, etc. people often may be induced to cling to certain rules and rituals, with the hope of reaching thereby the object of their desires.

9. "Through clinging is conditioned the process of becoming" (***upādāna-paccayā bhavo***), i.e. the wholesome and unwholesome active *karma*-process of becoming (*kamma-bhava*), as well as the *karma*-resultant (*vipāka*) passive process, the so-called 'rebirth-process' (*upapatti-bhava*). The *karma*-process (*kamma-bhava*) comprises the 5 karmical causes: ignorance, *karma*-formations, craving, clinging, the karma-process (1, 2, 8, 9, 10, of the diagram); the

rebirth-process (*upapatti-bhava*) comprises the 5 *karma*-results (s. 3-7 of the diagram).

The *karma*-process is here, correctly speaking, a collective name for generative karmic volition (*kamma-cetanā*) and all the mental phenomena associated therewith, whilst the 2nd link (*karma*-formations) designates only karmic volition (*āyūhana*). Both, however, i.e. the 2nd and 10th proposition, practically state one and the same thing, namely, that *karma* is the cause of rebirth, as we shall see under 10.

Clinging (*upādāna*) may be an inducement of decisive support (*upanissaya*) to many kinds of wholesome and unwholesome *karma*. Sensuous clinging (*kāmupādāna*), i.e. clinging to sensuous objects, for example, may be a direct inducement to murder, theft, unlawful intercourse with the other sex, evil words and thoughts, etc. Clinging to rules and ritual (*sīlabbatūpādāna*) may lead to self-complacency, fanaticism, cruelty, etc. Clinging is also for the evil *karma* associated therewith, a condition by way of co-nascence, association, etc.

10. **"Through the process of becoming is conditioned rebirth"** (*bhava-paçcayā jāti*), i.e. through the wholesome and unwholesome *karma*-process (*kamma-bhava*) is conditioned the rebirth-process (*upapatti-bhava*). The 2nd and 10th propositions, as already pointed out, practically teach one and the same thing, namely, that *karma* is the cause of rebirth; in other words that the karmical volition (*cetanā*) is the seed out of which springs the new life, just as from the mango-seed is generated the new mango-tree.

Hence, the 5 karmical causes (ignorance, etc.) of the past birth are the condition for the karma-results of the present birth; and the 5 karmical causes of the present birth are the condition for the 5 karma-results of the next birth. As it is said in *Vism*. XVII:

"Five causes were there in the past, Five fruits we find in present life; Five causes do we now produce, Five fruits we reap in future life."

Now, just as in this process of continually changing mental and bodily phenomena, nothing can be found that would pass from one moment to the next moment, so also there is no enduring entity, ego, or personality, within this process of existence that would transmigrate from one life to the next. "No being and no living soul passed from the former life to this life, and yet this present embryo could not have entered into existence without the preceding causes" (*Vism*. XVII). "Many things may serve to illustrate this fact, as for example the echo, the light of a lamp, the impression of a seal, or the image produced by a mirror".

"Whosoever is in the dark with regard to the conditionally arisen things, and does not understand that *karma* originates from ignorance, etc., he thinks that it must be his ego that knows or does not know, acts and causes to act, and that arises at rebirth. Or he thinks that the atoms, or a creator, with the help of this embryonic process, must have formed this body, or that it is the ego endowed with faculties that has impressions, feels, desires, clings, continues and enters again into existence in a new birth. Or he thinks that all beings have been born through fate, or fortuitously" (*Vism*. XVII).

Now, on hearing that Buddhism teaches that everything whatever in the world is determined by conditions, some might come to the conclusion that Buddhism teaches some sort of fatalism, and that man has no free will, or that will is not free.

The problem 'whether man has a free will' does not exist for the Buddhist, since he knows that, apart from these ever changing mental and physical phenomena, no such entity as 'man' can be found, and that 'man' is merely a name not relating to any reality. And the question, 'whether will is free', must be rejected for the reason that 'will', or volition, is a mental phenomenon flashing forth only for a moment, and that as such it had not any existence at the preceding moment. For of a thing which is not, or is not yet, one cannot, properly speaking, ask whether it is free or unfree. The only admissible question would be whether the arising of 'will' is independent of conditions, or whether it is conditioned. But the same question would equally apply also to all the other mental phenomena, as well as to all physical phenomena, in other words: to everything and every occurrence whatever. And the answer would be: whether will arises, or whether feeling arises, or whether any other mental or any physical phenomenon arises, the arising of anything whatsoever is dependent on conditions, and without conditions nothing ever can arise or enter into existence.

According to Buddhism, everything mental or physical happens in accordance with laws and conditions; and if it were otherwise, chaos and blind chance would reign. But such a thing is impossible and contradicts all laws of thinking.

"Through rebirth are conditioned old age and death" (*jātipaccayā jarā-maraṇam*). Without birth there can be no old age and death, no suffering and misery. Thus rebirth is to old age and death, etc. a condition by way of decisive support (*upanissaya*).

The Buddha has said: "Profound, Ānanda, is this dependent origination, and profound does it appear. It is through not understanding, not penetrating, this law that this world resembles a tangled ball of thread, a bird's nest, a thicket of sedge or reed, and that man does not escape from the lower states of existence, from the course of woe and perdition, suffering from the round of rebirth" (*D. 15*). And further (*M. 28*): "Whoso understands the dependent origination understands the Dhamma; and whoso understands the Dhamma understands the dependent origination" (*s.v. paṭccasamuppāda, BD.*).

Nyanatiloka

PAṬICCASAMUPPĀDA- (2) : From whichever angle a study of the concept of *paṭiccasamuppāda* (Skt. *Pratī tya-samutpāda*) or theory of Casual Genesis in Buddhism is undertaken, its primary aim should be the study of the ceaseless continuance of beings in *Samsāra* and through it to discover a way of terminating that process. That we believe is its down-to-earth functional value. It is such a study and such an approach alone which renders a Buddhist theory of religion into one of religious action. The basic source of information for this would invariably be the *Mahā nidāna Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* (*D.* II. 55-71). In the *Mahānidāna Sutta*, this concept is studied from several vital angles.

The *sutta* opens with a discussion between the Buddha and the venerable Ananda wherein both agree on the doctrinal profundity of this piece of Buddhist teaching: 'Profound indeed is the teaching of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*, its impact on our thinking is equally profound (*acchariyaṃbhante abbhutaṃbhante yāva gambhīro cā' yaṃ bhante paṭiccasamuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca-* by Ananda and *Gambhīro cā' yam Ānanda paṭiccasamuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca-* by the Buddha. Both at *D.* II 55. Also at *S.* II. 92). The Buddha further adds that the failure and inability to grasp fully its implications keeps people rolling on in *samsāra* with the possibility of degeneracy into lower states in the process. (*apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ samsā raṃ nātivattati. Loc.cit* at *D.* & *S.*) Therefore it is not to be thought of lightly (*Atha ca pana me uttānakuttā nako viya khāyati… Mā h'evaṃ ānanda avaca. Loc.cit.* at *D.* & *S.*). In the whole of Buddhist learning or the *pariyatti-sāsana*, nothing could be more important than the study of this theory of Casual Genesis.

Further to this, we discover in the *Mahā hattipadopama Sutta* (*M.* I. 190f.) a statement by the venerable Sariputta in which he informs the monks of the Buddha's own assessment of the *Paṭiccasamuppā da*. The Buddha is said to equate it with the *dhamma* (*Vuttaṃ kho pan etaṃ bhagavatā yo paṭiccasamuppā daṃ passati so dhammam passati yo dhammaṃ passati so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passatī' ti. Loc.cit*).

Another basic observation which one has to make about the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* before proceeding any further is that the phrase *idappaccaya* or *idappaccayatā* (**casual-genesis-relationship**) is used strictly in association with the **dependent origination sequence** of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* and that both these unmistakably refer to the *samsāric* continuance (*paccayā*) and the release therefrom (*nirodhā*) of worldly beings (*Atthi idappaccayā jarāmaraṇan' ti iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda atthī' ti' ssa vacanī yaṃ loc.cit.*). These two together are identified as the core teachings of Buddhism relating to man and his liberation (*Ālayarā māya kho pana pajāya … duddasaṃ idaṃṭhānaṃ yadidaṃ idappaccayatā Paṭiccasamuppādo. M.* I. 167. Also at *S.* I. 136).

Wherever the abstract formula of causal genesis 'that being there, this arises' (*imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti*) is used in Buddhist texts, we invariably discover that it is being used only in relation to the genesis of *samsā ric* beings (*Iti kho bhikkhave tumhe' pi evaṃ vadetha. Aham' pi evaṃ vadāmi iti imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti imass' uppādāidaṃ uppajjati yadidaṃ avijjā- paccayā saṅkhārā saṅkhārā- paccayā viññāṇam … M.* I. 262-3. Also at *S.* II. 95).

In the *Mahāhattipadopama Sutta* quoted above, Sariputta adds his own observation about what he considers to be *paṭiccasamuppannā dhammā*. He firmly says that they are none other than the 'five aggregates of grasping' (*paṭicca-samuppannā kho pan' ime yadidaṃ pañc' upādānakkhandhā. M.* I. 191. These we believe refer to none other than sentient beings of the category of humans). These clearly indicate that the **causal - genesis - relationship** implied in the words *paṭicca- samuppannā dhammā* relates specifically only to the *saṃsāric* journeying of worldly beings. (We are inclined to add that perhaps their relevance is only at the human level, referring to the human ills of *Jarā - maraṇa* etc.).

We find the concept of *paṭiccasamuppanna* being very meaningfully used in the *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* (*M.* I. 256-7) to explain to Sāti the **causal-genesis-structure** of *viññāṇa*. We fail to see the applicability of the concept of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* elsewhere to insentient things of the world. The Buddha apparently had very little need to go into such areas. It was not the question of their release or *nissaraṇa* that the Bodhisatta was probing into when he queried 'when will the world get out of this painful predicament' (*kudā ssu nāma imassa dukkhassa nissaraṇam paññāyissati jarā maraṇassā' ti. D.* II. 31 and *S.* II. 10).

The *Mahānidāna Sutta* vibrantly begins with the vital idea of the much-dreaded prolongation of *samsā ra* or cycle of births and deaths (often referred to as *ogha* or flood which needs to be crossed: *kathaṃ su tarati ogham Sn. v.* 183) which is said to be produced through ignorance of *Paṭicca-samuppāda* (*...etassa dhammassa ananubodhā ... saṃ sāraṃ nātivattati. D.* II. 55). It also launches at the same time its idea of **causal - genesis - relationship** with the twin question **Is there a causal genesis for decay and death**? and its compliment (in response to the answer **Yes. There is.), What then is the cause of decay and death?** There comes forth the simple but straightforward answer **On account of birth there comes about decay and death.** This line of argument must present to anyone very clearly the dimensions of the basic concept of life which the Buddha held, namely that it stretches through time and space. That it is time wise infinitely stretching (*anamatagg' āyaṃ bhikkhave saṃsāro*) and that place wise, it can ascend and descend from the human to higher (*sugati*) and to lower (*duggati*) grades as in the idea of *pañcagatiyo* (*M.* I. 73)

Thus we see that the early Buddhist, as reflected in the *Mahānidāna Sutta*, saw life with its ramifications or *dukkha* and the possibility of redemption therefrom or *nirodha* as spanning through *saṃsāra*. The more vital consideration was its *saṃsāric* dimension. Thus any scheme of soteriology in Buddhism had to bring within its vision an analysis of the entire range of life, not only from birth to death but also from recurrent birth again (*... mīyati ca cavati ca uppajjati ca. S.* II. 5 & 104) to the repetition of this ceaselessly tangled process (*... evaṃ ayaṃ pajātantākulaka- jātā gulā- gunṭhika- jātā muñja- babbaja- bhūtā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ saṃsāraṃ nātivattati. D.* II. 55). This total and fundamental vision is and has to be what we call the *Paṭiccasamuppāda*. Or put it differently, *Paṭiccasamuppāda* undeniably does and has to embrace this total vision (And perhaps nothing less.)

Coming down to the reality of a living being in a single life time, framed conveniently within birth and death, compelled to select any single frame of that cinematographic film reel we referred above and study its phenomenology as a single link in the total chain, but certainly linked to the whole at both ends as when it refers to *viññāṇasota* and *saṃvattanika- viññāṇa* (See *D.* III. 105 as *purisassa ca viññāṇa- sotaṃ pajānāti ubhayato abbocchinnaṃ idha-loke patiṭṭhitaṃca para-loke patiṭṭhitaṃ ca.* See also *M.* II. 262 ff. where it refers to the 'rolling-on-from-life-to-life' *viññāṇa* as *saṃvattanika*).

In the single frame of living reality which we select for further examination, we see before us a being with a physical form and with a total capacity to communicate with the world in the midst of which a human is placed, i.e. he sees, hears etc. and he responds to stimuli which are received through his sense organs. Such a being is referred to in Buddhist terminology as a ***satta***. A *satta* is said to consist of *khandhas*, a word hitherto translated as aggregates. The aggregates are five in number, covering both the physical and the psychic and the totality is referred to as the *Pañcakkhandha* or Five Aggregates. The *Pañcakkhandha* embraces the totality of a living being, explaining the very process of his living, its basis and its activity. This of course, is a very down-to-earth explanation of the phenomenon of life, as to who a being is, with nothing metaphysical about it. For the time being, let us take leave of the *Paṭicca- samuppā da* view of life in its *saṃsāric* dimension. Let us view the phenomenalism of our present life, here and now.

In response to a totally misdirected question from Māra, the Evil one (representative of current and contemporary erratic thinking of the time), as to the genesis and continuance of a being ...

By whom is the being created? Who is the creator of this being? Wherein did this being have his origin? Wherein will his cessation be?

Kenā' yaṃ pakato satto kuvaṃ sattassa kārako
kuvaṃ satto samuppanno kuvaṃ satto nirujjhatī'
ti. S. I. 135

Bhikkhuni Vajirā replies, convincingly projecting the Buddhist point of view, that -

What you conceive of as a being, O Māra,
Is only a viewpoint (*diṭṭhi- gataṃ*) of yours.
This is no more than an assemblage of conditioning factors.
No being in reality does here exist.
As an assemblage of components goes to make a chariot,
So does an assembly of aggregates (*khandhas*)
Makes this conventional being (*satto*)

Translated by the author

Kinnu satto' ti paccesi
māra diṭṭhigataṃ nu te
Suddha- saṅkhāra- puñjo' yaṃ
Nayidha sattū' pabbhati.
Yathā hi aṅga- sambhārā
hoti saddo ratho iti
Evaṃ khandhesu santesu
Hoti satto' ti' sammuti. S. I. 135

Thus one has to see the genesis of the Buddhist *Pañcakkhandha* theory as an honest down-to-earth explanation of the functioning of a living human being as we see him in our midst, no more no less. The *Pañcakkhandha* theory as an explanation of the phenomenon of being, apparently does not feel the need to push the present human life to an unseen past or project it to an unknown future. Everybody would have known that it is adequately dealt with **in its multi-dimensional way** in the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* theory. It is also equally true that no serious student of Buddhism could have missed the ***saṃsāric implications*** of terms like ***saṅkhāra*** and ***viññāṇa*** which claim legitimate places in both listings.

While it is admitted that the focus of these two theories is distinctly different, one also feels the need to make use of quite a number of categories of the more detailed *Paṭiccasamuppāda* theory (especially in its psycho-ethical areas like *taṇhā* and *upādāna*), to explain the operation of the more abridged and abbreviated presentation of the *Pañcakkhandha* theory. (One might legitimately ask here the relationship in which *saññā* stands to *saṅkhāra* in the *Pañcakkhandha* theory).

Pañcakkhandha theory in its fivefold categories makes a very concise and precise division of the psycho-physical constitution of the human entity. *Rū pa* holds the floor as it were on its own, presenting the visible and more tangible aspect of human life. It provides the physical basis, with its fivefold external sense organs (as well as the mind or *mano* as the sixth from within), for sensory receptivity. The remaining four, namely *vedanā*, *saññā*, *saṅkhara* and *viññāṇa*, in their totality represent the psychic component of man, evidently projecting, in the *saṃsāric* implication of concepts like *saṅkhāra* and *viññāṇa*, something more than the mere functioning of the present life. (Linking up with yet another to come).

Of these four, *vedanā* and *saññā* as the first two, seem to handle the early stages of sensory-data-processing. We would take *vedanā* in this context as perception or basic and/or preliminary sensory awareness. This is exactly how the *Mahanidāna Sutta* (*D.* II. 58) explains *vedanā*, including even the sixth sense of *mano* or mind (*seyyathīdam cakkhu-samphassajā vedanā ...mano- samphassajā vedanā. Sabbaso vedanāya asati vedanā nirodhā api nu kho taṇhā paññāyethā' ti. No h' etaṃ bhante' ti. Loc.cit.*). In the above somewhat abbreviated listing of the links (*op.cit.* 56 ff) where *saññā* is left out, *vedanā* appears to include within it even the role of *saññā* (i.e. total apperceptive recognition of sensory data).

In *saññā* of the *Pañcakkhandha* listing, we would see a further stage beyond *vedanā*, of distinct recognition and identification and would prefer to translate the term as apperception. *Viññāṇa*, in some aspects of its total character (like *viññāṇa -bhāga* at *M.* I. 190 for each separate sense organ) is involved in making cognitive (and apperceptive) processes of the human mind adequately meaningful.

From this point of apperception (or *saññā*) onwards, it is our belief that the personalized major content of *viññāṇa* as life-carrier or the *saṃvattanika- viññāṇa* (as opposed to *viññāṇa-bhāga* or segmented consciousness) contributes to a further process of *saṃsāra*-building-constructs called *saṅkhāra* which are piled upon, as it were, on *viññāṇa*. It is our opinion that *saṅkhāra* primarily means these. In this sense, *saṅkhāra* has to precede the 'life-carrier' or *saṃvattanika-viññāṇa*. Hence *saṅkhāra -paccayā viññāṇaṃ* sequence in the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* chain. But the *saṃsāra*-building aspect of *saṅkhāra* must be seen operating only after cognitive consciousness or *viññāṇa-bhāga* of any one of the sense organs has come into play and set in motion our reactions by way of *upādāna*.

With this attempted explanation of *saṅkhāra* and *viññāṇa* (in this sequence of *viññāṇa* following *saṅkhāra*) in the *Pañcakkhandha* theory, we feel that *viññāṇa* as the fifth *khandha* requires closer scrutiny. In terms of a *saṃsāric* being, we would say *viññāṇa* is both the builder and the built. Religio-philosophically speaking, in the *Pañcakkhandha* theory *viññāṇa* seems to be the one item which links a being between two lives. In our concept of *saṅkhāra* - loaded - *viññāṇa* of a living being even within the *Pañcakkhandha* theory, we believe we find some support for the Buddha's following clarification of the concept of a being in answer to a mischievous and misleading question of Māra.

Rūpaṃ vedayitaṃ saññaṃ viññāṇaṃ yañca saṅkhataṃ N' eso' haṃ asmi n' etaṃ me evaṃ tattha virajjati. evaṃ virattaṃ khemattaṃ sabba-saṃyojanātigaṃ Anvesaṃ sabbaṭṭhānesu Māra- senā' pi nājjhagā' ti, S. I. p. 112

'Physical form, sensory awareness and apperceptive knowledge, Together with Consciousness with what's built upon it.

One recoils from viewing all these as I or mine.

One who is thus detached and securely sped beyond fetters,

Hosts of Māra, in their search, shall nowhere find.'

The first line in the Pāli verse above enumerates all the five items of the *Pañcakkhandha*. However, *viññāṇaṃ* and *saṅkhataṃ* (= *saṅkhāra*) have changed places in their sequence, *saṅkhataṃ* coming last. This, in one sense, is the product of *viññāṇic* activity as a single facet and in the other, it is the **finally processed total** *viññāṇa* itself (*viññāṇaṃ yañ ca saṅkhataṃ*). Further the past-participial form *saṅkhataṃ* as against regular substantival form *saṅkhāra* gives it the impression and stature of a processed and stacked up thing. This, we believe, refers to the *saṃsāra*- building- constructs or *saṅkhāra* which a **being continues generating and loading upon or weaving into the texture his** *viññāṇa* during his life process. We see this as the clearly enunciated *saṃsāric* process of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* which runs as: *Avijjā paccayā saṅkhārā saṅkhāra- paccayā viññāṇaṃ viññāṇa- paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ* etc. That process, in our opinion, is none other than *viññāṇa* as the life- carrier, **taking across the *karmic* load of** *saṅkhāra* **for the genesis of a new life** or new being, through the medium of a parentally gifted (*mātā- pettikasambhavaṃ*) *nāma- rūpa*. This is the thesis which the *Mahānidāna Sutta* presents with perfect clarity and commendable precision.

Here one must not fail to focus attention on the delightful presentation in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (*Naḷakalāpiya Sutta*) of this same idea of **interdependence** of ***nāmarūpa*** and ***viññāṇa*** (mutually of one upon the other) for **the generation of a new life** as a new being, because of the unabated continuance of ***bhava*** of a *saṃsāric* being: *nāmarūpa- paccayā viññāṇaṃ viññāṇa- paccayā nāma- rūpaṃ* (*S.* II. 112 ff.). This **same inter-dependence** of these two items (**of these two alone** and of none other, they being only successive) is equally stressed in the *Mahānidāna Sutta* (*D.* II. 56 & 62f) where it is clearly stated that the very genesis of ***nāma-rūpa*** is dependent on *viññāṇa*: *Atthi idappaccayā nāmarūpan' ti iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda Atthī ' ti' ssa vacanīyaṃ. Kimpaccayā nāma-rūpan' ti iti ce vadeyya* ***Viññāṇa-paccayā nāma-rūpan' ti*** *iccassa vacanīyaṃ.* Thereafter, these two are interdependent.

This is also the argument at *S.* II. 13 where it is also equally clearly stated that '*Viññāṇa* as the feeder (*viññāṇāhāro*) is the condition which provides for **the genesis of a birth in a new life**' (*viññāṇāhāro āyatiṃ punabbhavābhinibbattiyā paccayo. loc.cit.*).

After a serious study of these what we regard as vital considerations, we attach very great importance to the *Mahāniddāna Sutta* (*D.* II. 63) remarks about the relationship of ***viññāṇa*** to the genesis of every new Saṃsāric being in a mother's womb. We consider

viññāṇa in Buddhism, from its earliest beginnings, to be a multi-dimensional multi- functional concept. It is to be seriously studied both in relation to the living process of every human from birth to death as well as to his continuance in Samsāra until its termination in Nirvāna.

We have heard it said more than thirty years ago, both by psychologists and by medical men that they have every reason to believe that **the mind of the unborn child in the mother's womb is already pre-monitored**. They are certain it is not through heredity nor through environment. The *Mahānidāna Sutta* (*D.* II. 63) clearly records that if *viññāṇa* does not enter or descend into (*okkamissatha*) the mother's womb, the foetal body therein (i.e. *nāma-rūpa*) would not commence its growth (***viññāṇaṃ va hi Ananda mātu kucchiṃ na okkamissatha api nu kho nāma- rūpaṃ mātu- kucchismiṃ samucchissathā ' ti. No h ' etaṃ bhante***). The emergence and the commencement of the growth of sense organs seems to follow only after the successful union of ***nāma- rūpa*** and ***viññāṇa*** within the mother's womb.

We have already observed at the very outset that the *Mahānidāna Sutta* opens with an avowed discussion on the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* between the Buddha and the venerable Ananda. The two concepts that 1. life of beings have a *saṃsāric* dimension and that 2. what happens through this process is far from being satisfactory are immediately introduced. The latter pins down all this unsatisfactoriness of *jarā* and *maraṇa* on the fact of being born (*Atthi idappaccayā jāti ' ti.*). From the Sutta's line of explanation and interpretation here, we note that *jāti* is explained unmistakably as birth in any particular state of existence as human, divine, or animal as is known to be possible according to Buddhist thinking (*pañca gatiyo*).

Following it backwards in its logical sequence of **causal genesis** or *atthi idappaccayā*, we are directed to recognize that such birth in any known form of existence is due to our inheritance of forces-of-birth which is precisely worded here as ***bhava***. This immediately indicates, without any need for confusion, the necessity to trace the conditions of our present life genealogically (*atthi idappaccayā*) backwards into a life before this. All items traced in this backward search like *bhava, upādāna, taṇhā* etc. are nothing but the psychic forces like craving, grasping and holding on to, generated in one's living process. The total number of separate conditions which are brought under discussion here are only nine in number (as against twelve elsewhere).

They run backwards as follows. 1. *jarā-maraṇa* (decay and death), >2. *jāti* (birth), >3. *bhava* (potential for re-becoming in a life beyond this), >4. *upādāna* (grasping), >5. *taṇhā* (craving), >6. *vedanā* (sensory awareness or perception), >7. *phassa* (sensory impingement), >8. *nāma-rūpa* (psycho-physical or name-and-form constituent of life), >9. *viññāna* (birth-to-birth linking or life-carrier Consciousness). With the Sutta's precise interpretation of terms like *jāti* and *bhava* in this context, we feel that even this abridged list of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* (with only nine life-generating conditions) provides enough basis for us to think of our present life here as being linked with a supporting thrust we got from the past (*viññāṇa-paccayā nāma- rūpaṃ*), and that the present life in turn projects yet another into the future (*upādāna-paccayā- bhavo bhava- paccayā jāti*). If we fail to understand the Pāli here precisely, as most students often appear to do, we would be lamentably lost in the wilderness.

We also find the theory or principle of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* being presented with the help of a larger listing. This twelve-item list has three more items, namely *avijjā, saṅkhāra* and *saḷāyatana* added to it. The inclusion of *avijjā* points, more or less, in the direction of a search for a remote or primary beginning of the *saṃsāric* process of a being. But for any school of thinkers who uphold a theory of *saṃsāra* as against one of creation, this seems a legitimate search. To the Buddhists who also reject the idea of a creation, with their ideas of infinite life continuity forward and backwards, this search is even more legitimate. Therefore they place *avijjā* which is ignorance or lack of adequate knowledge as a convenient starting point in the life process of a being and reckon from there onwards the accumulation or build up of the life-generating forces of *saṅkhāra*. Therefore this list of twelve links adds these two items of *avijjā* and *saṅkhāra* at the very beginning of the forward moving list which goes on the basis of 'on account of the former, the latter', *paccayā ... paccayā* (*avijjā paccayā saṅkhārā saṅkhāra paccayā viññāṇaṃ ...*)

The first addition of these two items at the head of the list seems to satisfy a philosophical curiosity, to know the present (of a sentient living being, i.e. *saviññā ṇaka and samanaka* who is in our midst) in relation to a less known past. The Bodhisatta himself is said to have put this question repeatedly: *Kimhi nu kho sati idaṃ hoti kiṃ paccayā jarā- maraṇan ' ti.* (*S.* II. 5ff, 10). In this search, he is seen ultimately arriving at *avijjā* or 'lack of correct knowledge' lying at the very beginning of this recurrent *saṃsāric* process. This also explains the genesis of *viññāṇa* (i.e. life-generating consciousness) at the biological beginning of life (*gabbhassa avakkanti*). This is precisely what the *Mahā nidāna Sutta* endeavors to explain and establish regarding the *viññāṇa* 's fertilization (perhaps at a second and more meaningful stage of the embryo in the mother's womb, after its: implant *D.* II. 63). Here we are compel led to observe in passing that Rhys Davids, in his translation of this *sutta* has failed to comprehend the full connotation of the term *viññāṇa* here. He translates it as **cognition**: 'I have said that cognition is the cause of name-and-form.' (*Dialogues of the Buddha* Part II. p. 60). This makes hardly any sense in the study of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda*. We have already indicated above that it has by now become the life- generating consciousness in a new birth.

The third and last item added is *saḷāyatana* (six sense organs). This details out the visible manifestation and growth of the five external sense organs (and the appearance of the sixth internal sense faculty *mano*) out of the foetal body of the unborn babe in the mother's womb. One could consider this to be no more than the addition of a detail regarding an invariable occurrence in the growth of the unborn new life. One could also, on the other hand, justifiably refer to its absence in the original list as an omission of a vital stage of growth of the embryo. Between the mere fleshy body of *nā ma- rūpa* and the, sensory impingement of *phassa*, the growth of sense organs or *saḷāyatana* perhaps needed to be spelled out specifically. Thus we come to possess this full list of twelve items.

In the presentation of this twelve-linked *Paṭiccasamuppāda* distributed throughout the Buddhist texts, we find most striking the *Nalakalāpiya Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* II. 112ff) already referred to above, Sariputta explains to the venerable Mahā Koṭṭhita the inter-relatedness of the entire *saṃsāric* process of life, unfolding before us both the physical and the psychical processes involved in it. There is no denying that Mahā Koṭṭhita's first question to Sariputta starts with the known and visibly available factor of decay and death (*jarā- maraṇa*) to which man is subject. Sariputta's clear and straightforward answer is that it is the fact of being born (*jāti*) into this state of existence. We have already shown that as far as *jāti* is concerned there is no mincing of words here. It is just the act of being born as human or animal. Read the following carefully: ... *tesam te saṃ va hi ānanda satta naṃ tathattāya jāti nābhavissa sabbaso jātiyā asati jāti- nirodhā api nu kho jaramaraṇaṃ paññāyethā ' ti. No h' etaṃ bhante* (*D.* II. 57)

It needs no commentary here to clarify that the present lot of decay and death of man is invariably the product of his being born into this life. Thus in the very first question and answer of Mahā Koṭṭhita and Sariputta, handling it in the causally connected *ida-ppaccayatā* way of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*, the concept of two existences is already established. Having come here (i.e. having taken up *jāti* in this existence), one has to face up to decay and death. But what about the coming here, how and why?

Backing up this process of birth into a new life here are < *bhava* and < *upādāna* in a *cluster* which have invariab l y been gathered in a state of former existence. As the very propelling force behind existence, these two have to precede birth or *jāti*, i.e. being born into this life. They are the outcome of < *taṇhā* and *vedanā* of that (previous) life duration. They in turn are linked up with the more physical factors of < *phassa* and < *saḷāyatana* which primarily trigger off the psychic process of *saṃsāra*- building. All these have to be finally housed in a psycho- physical being of flesh and blood. This is the ultimately reducible unit of name and form or *nāma-rūpa* + *viññāṇa* any phase of existence in *saṃsāra*. In the twelve-fold chain, while all items follow from the former to the latter, these two alone, as already discussed above, are mutually inter-dependent and reciprocally operating. Hence the title of this chapter *Nalakalāpa* or two bundles of reed (*S.* II. 112 ff) which mutually lean on each other, supporting each other. Without the one, the other cannot stand. In the composition of the human entity, so are the *Saṃsāric* psychic components (*viññāṇa*) and the material component of name and form (*nāma-rū pa*). Mind and matter, in the constitution of a being, are never apart. They co-exist (...*ettāvatā vaṭṭam*

vaṭṭati itthattam paññāpanāya yadidam nāma-rūpam saha viññānena. D. II. 63f). Their concurrent cessation takes place finally only in *nibbāna* (*Ettha nāmañ ca rūpañ ca asesam uparujjhati Viññāṇassa nirodhena etth' etam uparujjhati.* D. I. 223)

As our next interesting presentation of this twelve-link *Paṭiccasamuppāda* we would refer the reader to the *Buddha Vagga* of the *Nidāna Samyutta* (S. II. 5-11). In a chapter entitled *Mahā Sakyamuni Gotama*, the historical Buddha Gotama, as Bodhisatta, is presented as coming to grips with the problems of *samsāric* existence like birth, decay and death in one life and their repetition in lives thereafter. In his penetrative questioning as to the origin of these and their possible eradication (*nissaraṇa* = escape therefrom), he discovers that birth (*jāti*) in any state of existence sets this process in motion and that the ultimate cause of all these is traceable back to the ignorance (*avijjā* or *ajānana*) of the reality of life (*yathā - bhucca* or *yathā- bhūta-ñāṇa*).

It is clear from this, without any trace of doubt, that the theme of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* pertains to the whole *samsāric* life and not to one single phase of existence. Thus its totality spreads unmistakably through time as past, present and future and also through space, across planes of existence (perhaps less known) both above and below the known world of humans.

Here it must be remembered that this does not necessarily imply that salvation of man, i.e. his liberation from this painful cycle of existence must necessarily stretch beyond this present life into a future one. Or found elsewhere beyond this. It is never a liberation after death as in *videha-mukta*. Canonical texts never imply 'anything like that. It can be here and now. *Ditth' eva dhamme aññā* (*M.* I. 63). Enlightenment in this very life is a reality with them. It is the failure to do it here (*sati vā up ādisese*) that gets one into one more birth beyond this or *anāgāmitā* (*loc.cit.*).

In the customary tradition of our Buddhist legends, the *Samyutta Nikāya* ascribes this same episode of *Sakyamuni Gotama* to the six previous Buddhas, from Vipassi to Kassapa (*S.* II. 5-9).

It is also interesting to discover our Buddhist texts integrating this twelve-link *Paṭiccasamuppāda* into their explanation of other major points of Buddhist teachings. *Anguttara Nikaya Maha Vagga* (A. I. 177) uses this in its evolutionary aspect of *paccayā ... paccayā* to explain the genesis of *dukkha* or *dukkha-samudayam* (*Katamañ ca bhikkhave dukkha-samudayam ariya- saccam ? Avijjā- paccayā saṅkhā rā ... jāti- paccayā jarā- maraṇam. Idam vuccati bhikkhave dukkha- samudayam ariya- saccam. loc.cit.*). In the same way, in its reverse order as *nirodhā ... nirodho* this same series is used to define the cessation of *dukkha* or *dukkha- nirodha* (*Katamañ ca bhikkhave dukkha- nirodham ariya- saccam ? Avijjā ya tv ' eva asesa- virāga- nirodhā saṅkhāra- nirodho ... Evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa nirodho hoti. Idam vuccati bhikkhave dukkha-nirodham ariya- saccam*).

Another presentation of the teaching of the *paṭiccasamuppāda* as a very vital item of the *dhamma* is where it is listed as *Ariyo ñāyo* (= highest knowing), a correct grasp of which through wisdom (*paññāya sudiṭṭho hoti suppaṭividdho*) constitutes a pre-requisite for the attainment of the state of *sotāpatti* (i.e. entry into the Buddhist scheme of salvation)

Therefore it is called a *sotāpatti aṅga* (A. V. 182 ff). Here the totality of *sotāpatti* pre-requisites consist of 1. **complete guarding of the five precepts of morality** (*pañca- sīla* or *pañca- sikkhāpada*), 2. **unwavering total dedication to the** *tisaraṇa*, 3. **strict and precise adherence to the** *ariyakanta sīla* and 4. gaining a **compete mastery over the** *ariya ñāya* of **the** *Paṭicca- samuppāda*. This idea of *ariya ñāya* or highest and supreme knowledge being identified as the knowledge of the **causal genesis** or *imasmim sati idam hoti imass ' uppādā idam uppajjati* in relation to our *paṭiccasamuppāda* of *Yadidam avijjā paccayā saṅkhā rā ... jātipaccayā jarāmaraṇam* (and none other), bestows on the *paṭiccasamuppāda* its highest doctrinal value.

Dhammavihāri

PĀṬIDESANĪYA. *Pāṭidesanīya* is a group of ecclesiastical offences or *āpatti* contained in the *Pātimokkhas* of the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunis (*Vin.* IV.174ff. and 346ff.). The word itself means to be declared or to be made known. His or her guilt has to be voluntarily confessed (*paṭidesetabbaṃ tena bhikkhunā gārayhaṃ āvuso dhammaṃ āpajjiṃ asappāyaṃ pāṭidesanīyaṃ taṃ paṭidesemi ' ti*). They are four in number for the monks and eight in number for the nuns of senior status in the *Sāsana* (*upasampannā*).

They all pertain to censurable lapses of conduct (*gārayhaṃ dhammaṃ āpajjiṃ*), relating to obtaining of alms food and consuming them in unseemly manner into which members of both groups could slip. These apparently led to considerable public criticism and disapproval. The rules connected with the monks also show unhealthy partisan loyalties of nuns towards monks on which the Buddha expected the monks to be watchful and severely critical and firm. Nuns of the Chabbaggiyā group, supervising at alms gatherings the plentiful serving of their own monks to the neglect of others, is good example of this (*Vin.* IV. 177f.).

Dhammavihāri

PAṬIGHA, One of the passions that defile the mind of sentient beings. Derived from *paṭi* + *han* to strike against, the word ethically means repulsion, repugnance or hatred.

Passions in Buddhism are treated from different points of view. They are called defilements (*kileśa*) as they corrupt a man's mind. They are also called fetters (*saṃyojana*) or ties (*gantha*) as they chain sentient beings to *saṃsāra*. They are again called hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) as they enshroud the mind; other names by which they are known are latent tendencies (*anusaya*=*anuśaya*), in view of the fact that they lie dormant in the mind, and outbursts (*pariyuṭṭhāna* or *paryavasthāna*), because they become active when necessary conditions are present.

Thus, *paṭigha* or *pratigha* is one of the six or ten defilements (*kilesa*), one of the ten fetters (*saṃyojana*) and one of the six of seven latent tendencies (*anusaya*) and their outbursts (*pariyuṭṭhāna*). In the *nīvaraṇa* category, *paṭigha* is known as *vyāpāda*. Sometimes it is known by the name *dosa*.

According to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, *paṭigha* means hatred one harbors against another who has done, or is doing, a wrong upon oneself, or upon one's friends. It also is the hatred one develops against another who has favoured or is favouring one's enemies. It also arises in one who suspects that somebody will commit a wrong upon one self or will favor one's enemies. Sometimes it arises for no reason whatsoever (*Dhs.* 1115).

Paṭigha (*pratigha*) together with *Kāmarāga* or *Kāmacchanda*, two *Orambhāgiya saṃyojanas*, keep all sentient beings imprisoned in the sensuous sphere (*Kāma-dhātu*); they are described as gate-keepers to the *kāma-dhātu*. Their destruction, therefore, sets them free from *kāma-dhātu* (*Abhk.* 145; *AbhKVy.* 491; *Abhidharmadīpa*, 302). But this freedom from *kāmadhātu*, attained on overcoming *paṭigha* and *kāmarāga*, is not final because the first three *saṃyojanas*, namely *satkāyadṛṣṭi*, *vicikitsā* and *śīlavrataparāmarṣa* which are described as assistants to the two Gatekeepers, may bring them back and put them in jail (*ibid*).

Pratigha and *kāmarāga* are, in addition, instrumental in keeping sentient beings in the lower sphere (*orambhāga*= *dhātvavaratām*). The other three *saṃyojamas*, *satkāyadṛṣṭi*, etc., apart from assisting *pratigha* and *kāmarāga*, keep all sentient beings in the lower state (*satvāvaratām*), i.e., in the mundane state (*pṛthagjanatva*: *Abhiharmadīpa*, 302; *AbhKVy.* 491).

Paṭigha is a passion that has to be eradicated through proper meditation (*bhāvanā-pahātabba*= *bhāvanāheya*), because it is produced by the habits of emotional nature, unlike the passions such as *satkāyadṛṣṭi*, *which* arise due to errors of judgment or want of discrimination and are eradicated by intuition into the truth (*dassanā pahātabba Dhs.* 1102).

The texts give two or three stages in which *paṭigha* is eradicated. According to the *Puggalapaññatti*, *paṭigha* or *pratigha* is mitigated on entering the stage of a once-returner (*sakadāgāmi*) and is completely destroyed on entering the stage of a non-returner (*anāgāmi*: *Pug.* 17-18). But, according to *Papañcasūdani*, the gross aspect of *paṭigha* is eliminated in the stage of once-returning and its subtle aspect in the stage of non-returning (*MA.* I, 288; cp. *Abhvt.* 152). And, according to Buddhaghosa, that aspect of *paṭigha* which leads one to a lower stage

(*apāya*) is eliminated in the path of stream-entry (*sotāpattimagga*); its gross aspect in the path to once-returning (*sakadāgāmimagga*) and its subtle aspect in the path to non-returning (*anāgāmimagga Vism.* 586).

Upali Karunaratne

PAṬIGHA-SAÑÑĀ, consciousness of resistance resulting from the sensory contact between the first five sense-organs and the corresponding sense- objects.

One of the basic characteristic of matter is its power of resistance due to its impenetrability (*paṭigha* or *pratighāta*). This matter obtains only in the two spheres of existence, namely, sensual sphere (*kāmadhātu*) and material sphere (*rūpadhātu*). It is said that when a person, by means of meditation, transcends the consciousness that relates to those two spheres and attains the consciousness of resistance (*paṭigha-saññā*) as well (*D*.II, 224, 253, 262; *A*. I. 41, 267; II, 184).

Upali Karunaratne

PAṬIKKŪLA SAÑÑĀ - consciousness of impurity. This is often used with the word *āhāre* giving the idea as "The consciousness of the impurity of material food "(*āhāre paṭikkūla saññā*) – *D*.III.p.289. We find a *sutta* in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* assigned as *Paṭikkūla Sutta* where the Buddha declares that it conduces to great fruit and great profit if the idea of the repulsiveness of food is cultivated. (*S*.V. 132).

D. Saddhasena

PAṬIMĀ : *Paṭimā* (Sk. *pratimā*) means an image, likeness or figure. In Sri Lanka there is extant a Sanskrit work named *Sāriputra* which deals with the dimensions of images in general and of the Buddha in particular. The author of this work is not known but it contains Sanskrit verses with paraphrases in Sinhala. It is a work which has been in use among the image makers of Sri Lanka and handed down from generation to generation. The tradition is that King Parakramabahu II of Dambadeniya (1234-1269 A.C.), in response to a request made by the Mahā nāyaka Thero at the time that this work be translated into Sinhala in order that it should become a guidance for lay artists, gave directions that it should be immediately done.

The work deals with standing, seated and recumbent images of the Buddha. The diagram of a seated image shows the use of the plumb lines and the appearance of a correctly measured image. Special notice ought to be taken of the use of the lines. *Lamba tatuva* is a framework which is fixed horizontally over the place where the image is to be made and the plummets are suspended from it. The plumb lines so hung serve as axes of reference, determining the position of the chief parts of the body. They act as a simple 'pointing machine'. The lines shown in the diagram are those generally relied upon by Kandyan workmen. Others are available if still more exact work is required if the size of the image is so great as to make their use advisable.

The height is reckoned at '5 faces' from top of forehead to throne i.e. 67 ½ inches. In the case of reclining images, the 'lines' are not of course, plumb lines, but threads drawn from point to point. The units of measurement may be given as follows:

One *mukha* (face)	- 13 ½ (*angal*)	inches or units
" *tāla*	- 13 ½	"
" *bhāga*	- 4 ½	"
" *veda*	- 4	"
" *kāla*	- 2	"
" *kolaka*	- 2	"
" *mātra*	- 1	"
" *yava*	- 1/3	"

The first three units as thus tabulated, apply to images of the Buddha only. The inch of unit is presumably the *vaḍu angala* (distance from first to second joint of forefinger when bent). The *angula* (*angala*) (face) is not merely a fixed measure, but also may be translated as 'unit', as the instructions are intended to provide for the construction of images of all sizes, both large and small. The other units employed are technical and not in common use. The most important is the '*mukha*' (face). This is the equivalent of 13 ½ inches, when images of the Buddha are spoken of. It is measured roughly from the base of the hair on the forehead to the chin. The standard height of an image of the Buddha including the crown of the head is 124 *angal* (9 faces and half a *bhāga*) (about 13 ft. 4

inches). It has to be stressed that only a few of the measurements given are used in the case of smaller images. All the minute details are necessary only in the case of colossal statues.

It is necessary to quote the most important rules pertaining to making of Buddha images according to the *Sārīputra*.

Standing images of the Buddha:

1. Cheeks should be of a golden hue, lips of light red, captivating eyes, brows that are lovely as a bow.
2. Buddha images are made of gold, copper, clay, stone, wood, burnt clay, lime.
3. Heights. Those that are less than 2 cubits (62 inches) are called *alpa* (small). Images above 2 cubits and up to 5 cubits are called *adhama*. Images above 5 cubits up to 8 cubits are called *Madhyama*. Images above 8 cubits and up to 12 are called *uttama*. Images above 12 cubits (i.e. 31 feet) are called *mahā* (great).
4. Images of metal should be cast hollow within. The joints of images of wood and stone should be placed exactly where the joints are and not otherwise.
5. The relation between height and breadth of images is then given. A few examples are given below.
   i. From the top of the head to the sole of the foot is nine *mukha* and half of a *bhāga*.
   ii. The length of the face is three *bhāga*. The *uṣṇī sa* is equal to eight *yava*.
   iii. From the base of the throat to the top of the neck is 3 ½ inches. From thence to (the end of the breast and thence to) the end of the navel, and from thence to the end of the penis is one *tāla* in each case.
   iv. The length of the thigh is two *tāla*. The foot and the knee are three *bhāga*. These are the principal measurements.
   v. Many other measurements are also given. A few examples may be given
   (a) The space between the eyes is one *tāla*
   (b) The length of the nostril is one *angula* and a *kāla*. The height of the nostril is one *angala*. The breadth of the hole is six barley corns

Seated images of the Buddha:

i. The tip of the nose, the thumb and the heel must be visible to the eye of the image.
ii. The image must exemplify a person with an unfettered, quiescent and absolutely pure mind, pre-eminent from head to foot.
iii. From the place where the feet touch the throne, to the top of the hair on the head, the length is 62 *angal*.
iv. The left foot is beneath, the right foot must be placed over it, the hand must be placed likewise.
v. The length from the feet to the hands is one face and from thence to the private part and navel one *bhāga*.
vi. From the base of the throat to the navel is 27 *angal*.
vii. From the collar base to the throat joint is half an *angala*. The face is 13 ½ *angal*. The height of the crown of the head is 3 *angal*, the top 1 ½ *angal*.
viii. The height of the seat should be either one third, or one quarter or one fifth of the height of the seated image.
ix. Several other details have also been given.

Recumbent images of the Buddha:

i. The image must be made without contracting the vital joints. The length of the image house should be divided into 16 parts. 2 of these should be vacant at either end and the remainder occupied by the reclining image.

ii. The breadth of the recumbent image must be one *Brahmapāda* and half of a *prethapāda*. The couch must be within the *Brahma-sūtra* precincts of the house. (*Brahmapāda/pretapāda* etc. are technical terms which refer to a division of the site of a house or temple into 4 areas by means of lines called *Brahma-sūtra, Deva-sūtra, Madhya-sūtra, pārśva-sūtra, mukha-sūtra, vaṃsa-sūtra* abdominal line etc.) These are explained in the English translation of the *Sāriputra*.

iii. The height of the pillow is the same as that of the face. A full rounded face, complete with all its features should be shown.

Images in general:

Sāriputra is divided into two parts i.e. (I) images of the Buddha and (ii) images in general. With regard to images in general (such as those of deities, *mukha* or face consists of 12 *angal* only, instead of 13½. A *bhāga* is 4 *angal* (instead of 4 ½). The other units are unchanged. Very detailed measurements of the head and features, body and limbs, hands and feet are given. The dimensions are slightly less than those given in respect of the images of the Buddha. What has not been described should be in accord with measurements given earlier.

There is reference to images which are slightly slanting. Probably the reference is to images which show a slight bend in the waist. The text says: "of images of which a part is erect and a part slightly slanting, we give dimensions of the part slightly slanting, between the Brahma-sūtra (medical plumb line) and the *Lalāṭa-sūtra*" (not previously mentioned).

(a) The dimensions of the images of gods and men are nine *tāla* (=nine *mukha* or faces) less by two *angal* from the crown of the head. From the termination of the hair down to the foot, the Brahma-sūtra should be hung.

(b) The space between the two toes is one *tāla*. The image should be erect and firmly fixed. The part slanting should be measured by a curved line.

(c) In the part slightly slanting, from the *Brahma-sa tra* to the *lalāṭa-sūtra* is two *kāla* and one *angala* (five *angal*).

(d) From the *Brahma-sūtra* to the face is three *kāla* and half an *angal* (6 ½ *angal*?)

(e) From the Brahma-sūtra to the chin is one *angala*. Thus the measurement regarding the face.

(f) From the first toe of the foot over the base of the throat and the forehead, also from the eyebrow eye end of the nostrils and base of the throat and also over the breast and side and the centre and beginning of the thigh, three lines must be drawn...

Comparison with other canons

	Śarī putta (Figures of Buddha)	*Śarī putta (other figures)*	*Śukrācārya*	*Bṛhad Saṁhita*
Whole figure to top of forehead	9 faces	9 faces	9 faces	9 faces
Face	13 1/2	12 angal	12 angal	12 angal
Crown of head	3 1/2	3	3	3
Three parts of face	4 1/2	4 inches	4 inches	4 inches
Neck	3 1/2	4	4	4
Neck to breast	13 1/2	12	12	12
Breast to navel	13 1/2	12	12	12
Navel to penis	13 1/2	12	12	12
Thigh	27	24	24	24
Knee	4 1/2	4	4	4
Shank	27	24	24	24
Foot height	4 1/2	4	4	4
Foot length	13 1/2	12	12	12
Hand	13 1/2	12	12	12
Palm	7	7	7	7
Middle finger	6 1/2	6	5	5

Nandasena Mudiyanse

PAṬIMĀGHARA: Skt. Pratimâgrha P. Paṭimâghara, Paṭimâgâra are terms which have been in use to denote image-houses built for purposes of housing images of religious significance. Images of the Buddha, of Bodhisattvas and of deities (either Buddhist, Hindu or Jain) are placed within these enclosures in order that devotees could come and observe their religious practices.

In the early centuries of the Christian Era, images of the Buddha were kept under a Bodhi-Tree. It is on record that in King Voharika Tissa's time (215-237 A.C.) there were two bronze images within a building in the premises of the Sacred Bo Tree at Anuradhapura, on the eastern side. Fa-Hsien who visited Sri Lanka about the 5th century saw an image under the same tree. At Sarnath too, the image of the Buddha was placed in the open air. Almost all the symbols representing the Buddha in bas-relief at Bharhut and Sanchi appear to have been kept either at the foot of the Bodhi Tree or in the open air. The Buddha was an *anagârika* or a person who had renounced being a householder. When the early Buddhists decided to keep his likeness in the open air or under a Bodhi Tree, they were probably influenced by the attitude of the Buddhas to the life of an *anagârika*. It was sometime later that edifices to house Buddha images were brought into being.

The Pâli commentaries contain very little information on the image-house. The *Samantapâsâdikâ*, commentary to the *Vinaya Pitaka* says *sadhâtukaṃ paṭimâ vâ cetiyaṃ vâ* (an image or *cetiya* with relics as objects of veneration). It was one of the duties of a monk to attend to such objects of worship. On the other hand the *Mahâvaṃsa* gives numerous references to image houses in and after the 5th century. The silence of the Pâli commentaries with regard to image houses may be because there were no such edifices when works were composed and images were housed in *cetiyagharas* and *bodhigharas*.

Towards the close of the 5th century we come across some evidence in the *Mahâvaṃsa* to show that the image underwent a gradual growth in shape and size. The image house appeared to have developed proportionately to their magnitude. King Dhâtusena (463-479 A.C.) had a shrine erected for the Kâlasela image (*kâla-sela* means black stone-hence the reference is probably to the image at Avukana). In the image house of the Bahumaṅgala-cetiya, he installed Bodhisattva figures and in the same place he had a diadem of rays made for an image. Kassapa I (479-497), Aggabodhi I (564-598), Silâmeghavaṇṇa (614-623), Mahinda II (787-807), Udaya I (901-912) are some of the monarchs who are credited with buildings to house images of the Buddha. An inscription of about the 10th century refers to an image house at Dakkhiṇagiri-vihâra. Another image is referred to in an epigraphical record as *gaṅdal* (P. *gandhakuṭi*, Sinh. *gaṅdakiḷi*). The abode of the Buddha at Jetavana in Savatthi was called *gandhakuṭi* and it consisted of a single chamber with a portico in front of it. The architects who were responsible for the *gandhakuṭi* type of image houses in Sri Lanka were influenced by the form of the Buddha's abode at Jetavana and planned the early image house accordingly.

The *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathâ* contains a passage, which shows that the construction of a *gandhakuṭi* was a matter of the first importance, the other associated buildings in a monastery being secondary. (*Revata theropi satthu âgamanaṃ ñatvâ bhagavato gaṅdhakuṭiṃ mâpetvâ pañca kûṭâgâra satâni pañca caṅkamaṇa satâni pañca rattiṭṭhâna divâṭṭhâna satâni ca mâpesi*). At Bharhut there is a pictoral representation of a *gandhakuṭi*, in the scene representing the dedication of Jetavana. The *gandhakuṭi* at Jetavana (on ground plan) was a square chamber with a portico in front of it. A broad passage led to the chamber through the portico. The only entrance to the portico was on the east. The most essential component in an image house is the chamber or cella (*garbha-gṛha*) to house the image. One of the earliest Sri Lankan examples is found at Kiribatvehera in Anuradhapura, which shows a square cella of modest proportions. The older section of the Temple of the Tooth near Thûpârama (Anuradhapura) also contains a square cella. In course of time we come across image houses with oblong cellas i.e. Vijayârâma (Anuradhapura-Vihâra No.2) and Madirigiriya. Porticos giving admission are also square and sometimes rectangular, the entrance being placed in the east.

Lofty shrines were built for installation of standing images while seated images were placed within those of moderate height. In natural caves like Pidurāgala and Dambulla, recumbent images were placed and shrines built later. Against rock boulders, images of colossal size in rock were carved such as at Avukana, Sasseruva and Gal-vihâra (Polonnarava). Early images were of limestone and in some cases of brick such as at Pidurâgala. The specimen brought to light at Maha Iluppällama is of marble. Early types were of modest dimensions such as those at Pankuli, Toluvila and Mädirigiri. Sri Lankan images show various poses and *mudrâs*. *Padmâsana* was used for standing images, *vajrâsana* for sedent and *mañcaka* for recumbent. Excavations at the sites where image houses stood have revealed that the cosmos was depicted at the feet of the Buddha. In this connection, the plan of the relic chamber of a *stûpa* had been followed. At Mädirigiri a brick lined pit, closed by a *yantragala* constituted the chamber. Excavations at Avukana revealed images of Lokapâlas (guardian deities of the world). The feet of the Buddha rest on a lotus pedestal which is placed on the *yantragala*. The pericarp (*karṇṇikâ*) of the lotus symbolises purity and the Buddha's feet were made to rest on it.

The architectural remains at Anuradhapura and elsewhere have revealed other types of image houses such as those with four cardinal entrances. Normally these contained four doorways giving access to the cella through small bays on the cardinal sides. It is very likely that the ground plan of the Mûlagandhakuṭi at Sarnath influenced this type of image house. Mûlagandhakuṭi is a square building with four projections on the cardinal sides. It is entered only on one side and the remaining three sides have chambers, which probably contained images. Some of the best known examples of this type of image house in Sri Lanka are Vijayârâma at Anuradhapura (Vihâra No. I), Pankuli at Anuradhapura Vihâra No. 2) and those at Mirisaväṭi and Buddhist Railing sites.

The *Mahâvamsa* gives many references to a type of image house named *pāsāda*. In Bharhut reliefs a *pāsāda* is depicted as a two storeyed building with a hall on the ground floor. Its windows and doors are arched. The roof is vaulted. The *kāla-pāsāda* was built in the Nandana grove by King Devanampiyatissa (307-267 B.C.) as a residence for Mahinda Thera. A 10th century inscription from Vessagiri provides evidence for the existence of a *pāsāda* which housed an image of the Buddha. On ground plan a *pāsāda* is rectangular, the only entrance being placed in the middle of a longer side. There is only one chamber within the interior oblong space. The image is placed at the centre of the rear wall on the longer side. There is only one chamber within the interior oblong space. Many of these *pāsāda*type image houses had upper storys. Usually, in Anuradhapura, buildings of this type are very often found in groups of five (*pañcāyatana*). They have been so arranged as to have the larger one in the centre (middle) and the four smaller ones in the four corners of an area enclosed by a wall. The smaller pavilions are known as *cūlapāsāda*. *Pañcāyatana* buildings are found in India as early as 3rd century B.C. A shrine at Buddha Gaya consists of a central building and four towers at the corners of the courtyard. Examples from Sri Lanka are fairly numerous. The best known example is the so-called Mahâsena's pavilion at Anuradhapura where the most remarkable moonstone from Anuradhapura (which is held in high esteem by lovers of art) has been placed.

Another type of image house is the *gedi-gē*, built of either brick or stone. *gedi-gē*, (according to some) means a building having a bell shaped roof or a vaulted super-structure appearing bell-shaped. In a document of the Kandy period, named *Kurunāgala-vistaraya*, there is a reference to a building with in the premises of a Buddhist temple which was used for the purpose of performing *uposatha-kamma* and for hanging a bell (*dan-geḍiya*) to be struck at the time of the partaking of alms (*dan-velāva* - normally meaning noon-meal or the 'lunch' which the *bhikkhus* are expected to take before noon). The text reads

"Eka tänaṭa ek vī pōya pēvas kiyā dan vēlāvaṭa dangeḍiya gasana piṇisa tānū geḍi-ge..."

The Sinhala word *geḍi* here means 'bell' and is connected with the Pāli forms *gaṇḍi and gaṇḍikā*.

There are many Buddhist shrines which are known as *gaḍi-ge* The best preserved example is the brick built structure named Thūpārāma at Polonnaruva. In this instance the super-structure consists of a vaulted roof. Nālanda-geḍigē in the Central Province of Sri Lanka is of stone but we are not in a position to say how its super-structure rose, as that part of the edifice has not been preserved. Ādāhana-maluva-geḍigē and the Nātha-Dāvāle at Kandy and Gaḍalādeṇi-*vihāra* near Kandy are also of the *geḍi-gē* type. In these instances the roof is vaulted and the super-structure is crowned by a dome. Ground plan of a *geḍi-gē* type shrine of brick construction is similar to *gandhakuṭi*. With the addition of a *maṇḍapa* and *antarala* it developed elaborately and the parallels of the development can be found in the early *caitya* halls in India.

In all these image houses, likenesses of the Buddha were installed and worshipped. Sometimes attendant Bodhisattvas, *śrāvakas* and deities were represented within the shrine room. Not only were images made of stone, wood or stucco but also of bronze and other metal. These sculptures show different poses and *mudrās*. Most common are *samādhi* or *dhyāni* Buddhas. The Buddha enveloped in the coils of a cobra and spending the sixth week after enlightenment is also a well known type of image, the most remarkable example being from Seruvāvila in the Trincomalee District. Some sedent Buddhas depict his earth-touching attitude (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*). Most standing Buddhas show the *āśi* or *abhaya mudrā*. Recumbent images are made to rest on the right side as if the Buddha is about to pass away. Bronze Buddhas from H.C.P. Bell's collection (now in the Colombo Museum) and from Badulla (illustrated by Ananda Coomaraswamy) depict the right hand in the attitude explaining a subtle point of doctrine (*vitarka mudrā*). Walking Buddhas, though common in Indo-Chinese sculpture, are unknown in Sri Lanka. With regard to methods of depicting folds of the drapery there are many variations. In early images, *ketumālā* or the flame like emblem on the head of the Buddha is hardly visible but in later times it gradually assumes shape and towards the end of the Kandy period, it became a very elaborate feature.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

References:

(1). *J.A.S. (Bengal)*, N.S. Vol. LV
(2). *ASIAR* 1907-8, p. 123
(3). *ASCAR*, 1891, 1893, 1903,1907etc.
(4). P. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Bombay, 1956, p. 53 etc.

PAṬIMĀVIHĀRA (Māligāwila) a monastery, where Aggabodhi, the ruler of Rohana set up a large stone image of the Buddha, as recorded in the Mahāvamsa. The site is identified as present Māligāwila near the village Okkampitiya in the Monaragala district, south Sri Lanka where the ruins of a large monastery complex with a fallen gigantic statue of the standing Buddha is found. The cynosure in the ruined monastery complex is the Buddha statue which is known at present as the "Māligawila Buddha Statue". Māligāwila Buddha statue is unique among the known stone Buddha statues in Sri Lanka, perhaps unique in the entire world. Unlike the rest of the Buddha statues which are hewn out of a rock or a boulder but not severed from the mother rock or the boulder, Maligawila Buddha statue is not connected to a rock and stands of its own. It is possible that due to the conspicuous Buddha statue the vihāra was known as the Paṭimāvihāra and whence it was called Māligawila is not known.

According to chapter XLV of the *Mahāvamsa*, a prince of the Okkāka lineage by name Mahātissa married a princess named Sanghasivā, the daughter of the ruler of Rohana. Sanghasivā had three sons Aggabodhi, Dappula and Maṇiakkhika and a daughter. The eldest Aggabodhi became the independent ruler of Rohana. The *Mahāvamsa* records several meritorious works to his credit. The Mahāvamsa enumerating the meritorious works of Aggabodhi says:

Kānagāmamhi kānānaṃ gilānānaṃ ca sālake
vihāre paṭimahve mahantaṃ paṭimāgharaṃ

Patiṭṭhapeti katvāna Buddhaṃ tattha silāmayaṃ
Mahanta nāmaṃ sapañño iddhihi viya nimmitaṃ

In Kānagāma (he built) hospitals for the blind and sick and an image house in Paṭimāvihāra. There the wise prince set up a stone image of the Buddha which he had made and which received a name of the "great" produced by a miracle.

(*Mahāvamsa* XLV verse 43).

The *Mahāvamsa* describes the image as a large one, as if made by a miracle and it received the name *mahanta* (great). No statue that suits this description is found in Rohana. Therefore the historians have identified the statue at the site presently known as Maligāwila as the statue referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*.

As recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* Aggabodhi was succeeded by his brother Dappula. Like his brother Dappula he put up new monuments and improved existing monuments. The *Mahāvamsa* proceeds to describe Dappula's meritorious acts thus.

Datvāriyākariss' 'esa gāmaṃ mallavatthukaṃ
Akāri paṭimāgehaṃ tatth'eva sumanoramaṃ
Tatraṭṭhassa jinassākā uṇṇalomaṃ mahagghiyaṃ
Hemapaṭṭhañca kāresi sabbaṃ pujāvidiṃ'akā

"Having granted Āriyakāra Vihāra the village Mallavatthuka he built in that place a splendid image house. For the image of the victor (Buddha) there, he had a valuable tuft of hair (between the brows) made and a bandolier of gold and brought it every kind of offering. (*Mhv.* XLV verse 61, 62)

The historians have identified Āriyākara vihāra as the Paṭimāvihāra mentioned in connection with Aggabodhi, Dappula's brother. It is possible the monastery was known by two names as observed by M.H. Sirisoma possibly the original name of the monastery complex was Āriyākara vihara, due to the establishment of the said Buddha image which was the main attraction of the place. In the popular usage it was known as the Paṭimāvihāra also. By the time the relevant section of the *Mahāvamsa* (second part of *Mahāvamsa*) was written, nearly five centuries after the establishment of the image, the popular name Paṭimāvihāra got established and became a synonym for Ariyakara vihāra. Dhammakitti the author of the second part of the Mahāvamsa uses both names. When he describes the establishment of the Buddha image he uses the name Paṭimāvihāra for the monastery and when he writes about Dappula granting a village to the monastery he uses the name Āriyākara vihāra.

The above quoted Mahāvamsa lines further says that Dappula established a splendid image house there. It may be that he repaired the image house done by his brother Aggabodhi which needed repairs by that time. It is also not impossible for him to build another image house in that large monastery complex. Dappula providing an *uṇṇaloma* and *Hemapatta* to the image cannot be disputed for the *Mahāvamsa* very clearly says that they were provided to the Buddha (image) that stood there (*tatraṭṭhassa jinassa*).

The *Mahāvamsa* further provided vital information which facilitates the identification of Āriyākara vihā ra or Paṭimāvihāra with the present Māligawila. Namely, the Mahāvamsa says that Dappula established a statue of Metteyya Buddha 15 cubits in height (*tipañca hattham kāresi metteyyam sugatam param* (*Mahāvamsa* XLV verse 61).

In the same monastery complex of Māligawila which extends over 300 acres there exists a large Bodhisatva statue at the place called, Dambegoda nearly a kilometer from the Buddha statue. It has been identified as the Metteyya Buddha statue[3] reported to have been established by Dappula and this confirms identification of Māligawila ruins as those of Āriyā kara or Paṭimāvihāra.

The period The Buddha image was established: Other than the information found in the *Mahāvamsa* chapter XLV, no literary or epigraphic evidence is available on this unique Buddha image. Apparently Aggabodhi was an independent ruler of Rohana and he did not ascend the throne of Anuradhapura. Geiger [4] in the present context observes, "Rohana about 600 A.C. was not yet incorporated with the kingdom with the capital Anuradhapura, but that it held or at any rate claimed an independent position beside it." Dappula who succeeded Aggabodhi is identified as Dappula I

who ascended the throne of Anuradhpura but reigned 7 days only. He is presumed to have ascended the Anuradhapura throne in 659 A.C. Thus both Aggabodhi, ruler of Rohana and Dappula I seems to have lived in the seventh century A.C. Therefore Mā ligawila Buddha image appear to have been established in the 7th century A.C.

The image: It is observed that the Buddha image has been carved out of crystalline limestone that is found abundantly in the area. It is believed that the image has been carved elsewhere and transported to the site and installed and it shows the technical skill of the people at that time.

It is said that the quarry where the image appear to have been carved could be seen in the same area. The statue is 37 feet 10 inches in height without the lotus pedestal on which it stands. The pedestal is four feet high. Thus the full height of the statue with the pedestal is 45 feet 10 inches. The weight of the statue without the pedestal is found to be 100 tons.

Image House: As the *Mahāvamsa* records the statue has been housed in an image house. This was confirmed at the excavations and the ruins of the image house have been discovered. The image house appears to have been square in shape that measures 100 feet a side. The walls of the building are 17ft. thick. As no remains of tiles or nails have been found, it is presumed that it had no conventional roof but a roof with arches built with bricks. The height of the building is calculated to be 65 feet before the collapse. It appears that it had an inner chamber and a circumambulating passage (*pradakshinā patha*) and an upper floor. The foundation of the building has been incorporated to the natural rock underneath and the decorative carvings that adorned the foundation have been done in the natural rock too, where it forms a part of the foundation. Paranavitana S. considers it as the ruins of the oldest Gedige (Decorative Arch) so far found in the island.

Treasure Hunters: The merciless treasure hunters have done irreparable damage to that priceless image. It has been felled and was lying broken into several parts. As a Dutch coin had been found under the felled image, it is thought that it has come down after 17th century (after or during the Dutch period). Sirisoma M.H. thinks that the image has come down with the image house gradually and the treasure hunters have damaged it afterwards.[5] The damage by the treasure hunters appears to have been done in 1948. The records of an inquiry held by the Government Agent in 1948 on the incident of damaging the image is found in the kachcheri. The attention of the Dept. of Archaeology has been drawned to the ruins in 1934 according to the reports and declared an archaeological reserve in 1936. The initial excavations of the image commenced in 1951 and again in 1975 and finally in 1990. Yet the excavations are confined to the image and the image house only. The entire monastery complex of 300 acres remains to be excavated.

Restoration: The first attempt to raise the statue was made in 1975, but was not successful. It resulted further damages being done to the statue. The next attempt was made in 1991 on the orders of the late President of Sri Lanka Ranasinghe Premadasa. The second attempt was crowned with success. The engineers and the archaeologists were able to raise the statue and install it back on the lotus pedestal in September 1991. The damaged parts such as feet, hands facial features were done with plaster. The Dept. of Archaeology, Sri Lanka Engineering Corporation, Ports Authority and many other Govt. Departments joined hands in the project. It is indeed a triumph to the engineering skill of Sri Lankan engineers to raise this massive crystalline lime stone statue one hundred tons in weight without damaging it.

Bibliography

Culavamsa being the more recent part of the *Mahavamsa*. Edited Wilhelm Geiger Vol. I, PTS. London 1925

Culavamsa being the more recent part of the *Mahavamsa* translated by Wilhelm Geiger , Asian Educational Service New Delhi, 2000

Vesak Sithuvili (Sinhala) Vesak Annual 1992/2536 *Eksath Bauddha Madhya Mandalaya* , Sethsiripaya Sri Jayawardhanapura Kotte, Battaramulla "*Maligawila Budupilimaya*" Article by M.H. Sirisoma (Archaeological Commissioner) p. 20-23

K. Arunasiri

References

1 Ariyakara vihara is mentioned in the Pali Treatises such as Sahassavatthu Rasavahini etc. It is said that 12,000 monks from Ariyakara Vihara came to receive dana on the wish of certain devotees on several occasions. See Ariyakara, Ariyakari, Ariyaka vihara , Encyclipaedia of Buddhism.

2 The village Mallavatthuka granted by Dappula to Ariyakara vihara is identified as present Malvattawala a village between Wellawaya and Buttala.

3 According to the Indian Iconography the statues that bear the crowns, with the emblems of the Buddha in trance (as seen in the case of Dambegoda statue) were considered as the statues of Avalokitesvara. But in Sri Lanka there has been a tradition to consider such statues as those of Metteyya Buddha.

4 *Culavamsa* being the more recent part of the *Mahavamsa* translated by Wilhelm Geiger Asian Education Services New Delhi 2000 p. 93 F.N. 1

5 The present writer (while employed in the Dept. of Land Development) had the opportunity to see the fallen statue in the elephants infested forest even before the proper excavation, is of the view that the treasure hunters have dynamited the statue at the ankle and brought it down. Further there is a popular tradition among the residents of the near by villages that the man who dynamited the statue went mad and died as a result of his grave crime.

PĀTIMOKKHA : The word *Pâtimokkha* is used (generally in the plural as *ubhayâni Pâtimokthâni*) to refer to the two sets of codified rules (*sikkhâpadâni*), which govern the behaviour in word and deed of monks and nuns of senior status (*upasampannâ*) in the *Sâsana*. It is also used to refer to the recital of these, which is referred to as *suttuddesa* or *Pâtimokhuddesa* at the fortnightly assemblies (*uposatha*) of the Saṅgha. We maintain that the reference to the *Pâtimokkha* as a separate book of rules alone of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* is historically a later development. It is the result of extraction into the form of a manual of the rules alone (at a somewhat later date), for the purpose of using as a text during the recital at the *Uposatha* (*Patimokkha* + *uddesa*).

The use of the already laid down *sikkhâpada* for recital at the fortnightly meetings is said to have been recommended by the Buddha himself. In the *Vinaya Mahâvagga* (*Vin*. I. 102) he is seen speculating on this (*Yaṃ nûnâhaṃ yâni mayâ bhikkhûnaṃ paññattâni sikkhâpadâni tâni nesam pâtimokkhuddesam anujâneyyaṃ*). Here we must not lose sight of the original motivation for the laying down of the *sikkhâpada*. The *sikkhâpada* for the regulation of monastic life is the first concern. Their recital fortnightly as a further aid is the secondary concern. At the very outset, the rules needed their accompanying details for their proper enforcement.

We feel the need here for a couple of serious corrections with regard to the evolution of the *Pâtimokkha*.

As for the size and constituents of the *Patimokkha*, let it be noted that its contents fall into two major categories. Even the great Commentator Buddhaghosa is aware of it and he records it with precision. In his general introduction to the history of Buddhist Pāli literature in the *Sumaṅgalavilâsinī* (i.e. *Dīgha Nikâya* Commentary / *DA*.I. p. 13), he describes retrospectively what he believes to have been recited under the *Vinaya* at the First Buddhist Council (*Pañcasatī saṅgīti*).

Under the heading *Mahâvibhaṅga*, i.e. the original body of *sikkhâpada*, together with the accompanying explanatory commentarial notes on them, he categorically says that 220 rules or *sikkhâpadâni* which are regulatory injunctions for safeguarding external monastic behaviour of individual monks were gone through (*Evaṃ vīsâdhikâni dve sikkhâpada-satâni Mahâvibhaṅgo 'ti kittevâthapesuṃ*). The number of *sikkhâpada* is specified as 220 and not 227.

It is to be noted that both *PTS* edition of the *Sumaṅgalahvilâsinī* (of 1886) quoted above and the Simon Hewavitarana Bequest Series of Sri Lanka of 1918 (Vol. I. p.9) are agreed on the reading we have produced above. Vipassanā Research Institute of India brings out a new Buddhist Pāli Text series. With regard to the passages quoted above, we discover their *Sumaṅgalavilâsinī* Vol. I. p. 13 (of 1993), presenting, without any warning, a completely different reading, which is totally at variance with the texts quoted above. In their *Devanâgari* text they read at p. 13 as:

Evaṃ satta-vīsâdhikâni dve sikkhâpadasatâni Mahâvibhaṅgo 'ti kittetvâṭhapesuṃ

They add here the word *satta* (= seven) to what we believe is the original reading *vīsadhikâni*, which means 'plus twenty' to the two hundred. This totals up to 227. Whoever originated this editing, they are perhaps changing the text in order to conform to and corroborate with the widely spread notion of 227 rules, which does not comply with the traditional textual readings which we have already examined above. The editors give no variant readings, nor do they admit of the existence of any differing earlier texts (which we have already shown), and they appear to deliver their text as the last word on the subject.

We also note that the CD ROM of Chaṭṭa Saṅgâyanâ-Version 3 from Dhammagiri is identically the same with the text we have quoted above from Vipassanâ Research Institute. They both apparently go back to the Chaṭṭha Saṅgâyanâ printed Pâli Texts of Myanmar. It would be interesting to inquire as to how far this Myanmar tradition of 227 rules go back in history to pre-Chaṭṭa Saṅgâyanâ times. Neither the *PTS* edition nor the Sri Lankan tradition know anything about such a reading. We would reserve our judgement till we know more about the pre-Chṭṭa Saṅgâyanâ texts of Myanmar.

In addition to these *Sikkhâpada* of the *Pâtimokkha*, seven *Adikaraṇa- samatha dhammâ* or regulations describing the correct procedure in settling judicial matters of the Saṅgha (*adhikaraṇa*) are tagged on to this manual of law.

In the same manner, the *Pâtimokha* of the Bhikkhunis is described in the *Sumaṅgalavilâsinī* as consisting of 304 rules (*Evaaṃtīni sikkhâpada-satâni cattari ca sikkhâpadâni bhikkhunī-vibhaṅgo ' ti kittetvâ ayaṃ Ubhato-vibhaṅgo nâma ... loc.cit.*). The *Adhikaraṇa-samatha dhammâ*, it must be remembered, are identically the same in the case of both the monks and the nuns. But these *dhammâ* are never listed together with the *sikkhâpada*.

Buddhaghosa is quite specific in reburring to this portion of the *Vinaya* recited at the first Council as *Mahâvibhanga* and *Bhikkhunivibhaṅga* and not as *Pâtimokkhas*. *Vibhaṅga* means the analyses of the subject matter that is being dealt with. Remember that the report of Buddhaghosa is about seven or eight centuries after the event. This clearly points to the early existence of the *Vinaya* rules together with their accompanying details with regard to the application and enforcement of the rules in instances of breach of discipline. Mere rules alone would not have sufficed. But even in the early days of the *Sâsana*, it was not uncommon to find monks who had opted, for whatever reasons of their own, to learn only the bare rules of the *Pâtimokkha* (*Tassa suttañ hi kho âgataṃ hoti no suttavibhaṅgo* Vin.II.97).

But as far as the function of the *Patimokkha* was concerned, it is evident that in the early days of Buddhist monasticism much importance was attached to the meaning and interpretation, and all the implications of the *sikkhâpadas*- not the mere memory of their text. It was also necessary for the proper enforcement of the law that those who were in authority knew all the circumstances leading to the promulgation of the various *sikkhâpadas*. Therefore it is not unusual to find a monk being challenged regarding the authenticity of a particular item of discipline, which he wishes to enforce. Thus the maintenance of acceptable good monastic conduct being the live function of the *Pâtimokkha*, it was necessary for a monk, specially or one who was in authority such as *Vinayadhara* or a *Bhikkhunovâdaka*, to learn both codes of the *Pâtimokkha* (of both monks and nuns) in detail with all the explanations.

Note the significance of the following observation which we discover in the *Aṅguttara Nikâya*. "If a monk is not well-versed in both codes of the *Pâtimkkha* with all their details and explanations, then if he were to be questioned as to where the Buddha has laid down such and such an injunction, he would not be able to give an answer. Then there would be many who would advise him to first learn his *Vinaya*" (*No ce bhikkhave bhikkuno ubhayâni Pâtimokkhâni vitthârena svâgatâni honti suppavattīni suvinicchitâni suttaso anuvyañjanaso. Idaṃ panâyasmâ kattha vuttaṃ bhagavatâ 'ti puṭṭho na sampâyati. Tassa bhavanti vattâro ingha tâva âyasmâ Vinayaṃ sikkhassû ' ti* (A.V. 80f.).

Here is the arrangement in seven groups or *satta âpattikkhandha* of the corpus of the 220 *sikkhâpada*, which make the *Mahâvibhaṅga* or the *Bhikkhu-vibhaṅga*. The arrangement is the same with regard to

the 304 *sikkhâpada* of the *Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga*. The number of *sikkhâpada* in each group of the *Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga* shows a noteworthy increase.

1. Pârâjikâ Bhikkhus 4
Bhikkhunis 8

Inviolable rules which lead to the expulsion of the miscreants from the *Sâsana*. No remedial action is entertained.

2 Saṅghâdisesâ Bhikkhus 13
Bhikkhunis 1 7

Two types of punishments are contemplated for this offence

1. A six-day punishment of *Mânatta* or withdrawal of privileges and prestige is incurred instantly on the commission of the offence.

II. An additional further penalty of *Parivâsa* for each day the offence has been concealed is imposed on the miscreant to take effect prior to the *Mânatta* punishment. (See PARIVÂSA and MÂNATTA).

3. Aniyatâ Bhikkhus 2
Bhikkhunis None

These are undetermined with regard to the gravity of the offence - whether it is *Pârâjikâ, Saṅghâdisesa* or *Pâcitiya*. (See *Vin*, IV. 188).

4. Nisaggiya Pacittiya Bhikkhus 30
Bhikkhunis 30

These offences require the surrender to the monastic community-pool of articles illegally kept in possession in order to be made available to needy ones.

5. Pacittiya Bhikkhus 92
Bhikkhunis 166

Except confession of guilt, these do not seem to carry any specific punishments.

6. Paṭidesaniya Bhikkhus 4
Bhikkhunis 8

These offences require to be announced by the offender (*paṭidesetabbaṃ tena bhikkunā*), admitting that he has done something censurable (*gārayhaṃ āvuso dhammaṃ āpajjiṃ asappāyaṃ pāṭidesanīyaṃ Vin*. IV. 176).

7. Sekhiyâ Bhikkhus 75
Bhikkhunis 75

These injunctions deal with propriety of dress, eating habits and behaviour patterns both within the monastic premises and in the households of the lay community.

Dhammavihāri

PĀTIMOKKHUDDESA : *Pātimokkhuddesa* (which is made up of the two words *Pātimokkha+uddesa*) refers to the fortnightly recital of the *Pātimokkha* by the full congregation of senior-status (*upasampanna*) monks, living within one demarcated area of residence or *Sīmā*. The best comprehensive reference to this ceremony occurs in the *Gopakamoggallāna Sutta* (*M*. III. 10). The word *Pātimokkha* in this context means the book of codified rules (*sikkhāpada*) which are 220 in number for the Bhikkhus, together with 7 regulatory principles determining the procedure in settling their legal disputes (*adhikaraṇa+samatha+dhammā*) within the body of *Sangha*. The Bhikkhunis similarly have 304 rules of their own, together with the same 7 *Adhikaraṇa-samatha-dhammā*.

In the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (*Vin*. I. 102) the Buddha is seen announcing that he would sanction his disciples to recite at their regular *Uposatha* meetings the *Vinaya* rules he has laid down, saying that this would be their *Pātimokkha+recital* (*Yaṃ nūnāhaṃ yāni mayā bhikkhūnaṃ paññattāni sikkhāpadāni tāni nesaṃ pātimokkhuddesaṃ anujāneyyaṃ*). As these rules also carried the name *sutta*, the recital came to be also called *suttuddesa*. It is as though what is being recited gives the recital its distinctive names *pātimokkhuddesa* and *suttuddesa*, both implying one and the same.

The *Gopakamoggallāna* is admittedly a post-parinibbāna sutta. But its importance for a precise study of the ritual of the *Pātimokkha* recital cannot be over estimated. The sutta says: "The Buddha has laid down for the bhikkhus the regulatory rules (*bhikkhū*

naṃ sikkhāpadaṃ paññattaṃ). He has also enjoined on them the recital of the *Pātimokkha* (*pātimokkhaṃ uddiṭṭhaṃ*). We who live in a specified village, all of us meet together on the *Uposatha* day and request the monk who has it (i.e. he who knows the *Pātimokkha* text) to recite it. While it is being recited, whoever monk is guilty of an offence or has committed a transgression, we deal with him (*taṃ kāremа*) according to the law (*yathā-dhammaṃ*) and according to the instructions (*yathā-satthaṃ*). It is not we who punish him. It is the law that does punish him." Note how closely parallel are these two reports of the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* and the *Gopakamoggallāna Sutta*.

We assure you that one could not get anywhere a more historically accurate picture of the vibrant *Pātimokkha* ritual than this one in the *Gopakamoggallāna Sutta*. But errors in scholarship are not impossible. It is lamentable that a reputed scholar writing on "Buddhist Sects in India," as far back as 1970, has completely misunderstood this sutta. Here is what we discover to be a total error in translation. This is how the author renders it.

"There is a treatise called *Pātimokkha* which has been formulated by the omniscient Teacher and which **all the monks living in the same parish** (*gāmakkhetta*) **have to recite in a monastery where they assemble on the uposatha days. Should there occur any difference or doubt in the recitation, the bhikkhus present explain them in accordance with the dhamma** (hence they have *dhamma* as their refuge)." (Translation errors are highlighted) N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, 1970, p. 43 and p. 40 in 1998 edition.

This is a disastrous misunderstanding of the Pali text quoted, especially in the hands of reputed scholars. The resulting errors of interpretation are extremely misleading. We suggest that the following corrections be noted.

i. All the monks living in the same parish do not have to recite the *Pātimokkha* on the *uposatha* day. It is not all monks who recite. It is the Reciter (*Pātimokkhuddesaka*) who recites. Others only listen to him attentively and keep track of what is being recited (*Taṃ sādhukaṃ suṇoma manasi karoma*).

ii. There is no reference whatsoever to 'there being any difference or doubt in the recitation.' It is the discovery of any offence committed by a bhikkhu in terms of the *sikkhāpada* recited – *tasmiñ ce bhaññamāne hoti bhikkhussa āpatti hoti bhikkhussa vītikkamo*.

iii. Deriving from his second wrong assumption above, the writer makes the following most serious error. He says: "..........the bhikkhus present explain them in accordance with the *dhamma*. (hence they have *dhamma* as their refuge)."

This error betrays a complete ignorance as to what the function of the *Pātimokkha* recital was expected to be. *Yathādhamma* means according to tradition as already laid down. That is the *dhamma*. This rendering is supported by the accompanying phrase *yathāsatthaṃ* which means as instructed.

It is interesting to note that a study of the subsequent history of the recital shows a complete change in the structure of the ritual and therefore of its intention. The original intention to check individually the moral purity of the membership of the congregation (*yassa siyā āpatti so āvikareyya. Vin.* I. 103) and to mete out necessary punishment (*yathādhammaṃ yathāsatthaṃ kāremа. M.* III. 10) as indicated in the *Gopakamoggallāna Sutta* have both left the scene honourably and silently. With the new move towards Exclusion of guilty monks from the Recital or *Pātimokkhaṭṭhapana* (*Vin.* II. 236 ff.), all participants at the recital are assumed to be acceptably pure through a formal ritualistic confession (*āpatti desanā*).

It should also be mentioned here in passing that our early Vinaya texts record that the Recitor of the *Pātimokkha* had to call upon the Saṅgha, before commenting his recital of the *Pātimokkha*, to announce to the Congregation, as a preliminary duty (*pubbakicca*), the purity of the (absentee) monks (*Kiṃ saṅghassa pubbakiccaṃ. Pārisuddhiṃ āyasmanto ārocetha Pātimokkhaṃ uddisissāmi. Vin.* I. 102). This item had to be introduced in this manner for the simple reason that the Pātimokkha Recital aimed at ensuring the moral rectitude (uprightness in word and deed) of the entire Buddhist Saṅgha of the region.

This scheme of moral purity verification was carried out on a decentralized regional basis of accepted monastic zones, which went by the name of *sīmā*.

Therefore even the non-participating (for whatever reason that may be) absentee monks had to send to the Assembly of the *Pātimokkha* Recital, through a carrier, 1. their assurance of personal purity (*pārisuddhi*) and 2. their participatory consent (*chanda*). This had to be ascertained and recorded as a prerequisite, prior to the commencement of the Recital. During the Recital (*tasmiñ ce bhaññamāne*), those present had to confess their guilt (*yassa siyā āpatti so āvikareyya*). These references clearly indicate the absolute necessity of the purity verification of all monks, both physically present and not present, of the specified zone or *sīmā*.

We have already referred above to the ritualistic trend towards which the *Pātimokkha* Recital was drifting in course of time. Saṅgha purity became a matter of mere liturgy (*āpatti-desanā*). This is very naturally removed from the scene the on-the-spot confession (*yassa siyā āpatti so āvikareyya*). And equally naturally in the wake of it, the need for punishment. This is what apparently led to the later shift of accent to look upon the fortnightly *Uposatha* as symbol of or a unifying factor of the solidarity of the Saṅgha, of perhaps splintering new blocks of Saṅgha, we imagine (*Uposatho samaggattho visuddhatthā Pavāranā. Vinayavinicchaya* p. 90. v. 2599).

Dhamavihārî

PAṬIPADĀ-ÑĀṆADASSANA-VISUDDHI, purity by knowledge and vision of the path progress, the sixth of the seven stages of purity outlined in the *Rathavinī tha-sutta* (*M*.I,147 f.)and elaborated in the *Visuddhimagga, ch.* XXI.

By this *Visuddhi*, which is founded on wisdom (*paññā*) as the base (*MA. SHB.* II, 131), is meant the insight (*vipassanā*) perfected in nine kinds of knowledge, namely, the knowledge consisting (1) in contemplation of arising and vanishing (*udayabbayā nupassanañāṇa* q.v.) (2) in contemplation of dissolution (*bhaṅgānupassanāñāṇa*, q.v.) (3) in awareness of fright (*bhayatupaṭṭhānañāṇa*, q.v.) (4) in contemplation of evil consequences (*ādīnavānupassanā-ñāṇa* q.v.) (5) in contemplation of aversion (*nibbidānupassanā-ñāṇa* q.v.) (6) in the desire for deliverance (*muñcitukamyatā -ñāṇa* q.v.) (7) in reflecting contemplation (*paṭisaṅkhā nupassanāñāṇa* q.v.) (8) in equanimity regarding all formations of existence (*saṅkhārupekkhāñāṇa*, q.v.) (9) and the knowledge that adapts itself (*saccānulomika* or *anuloma-ñāṇa*) to the preceding eight kinds of knowledge as well as to the following supra mundane path (*lokuttaramagga*) and to the thirty seven constituents of enlightenment (*bodhipakkiyadhamma*, q.v., *Vism*. 549-76.

This *Visuddhi*, too, like other *visuddhis*, is not an end in itself; it is only the means to the attainment of the next higher *visuddhi*, called the *ñāṇadassanavisuddhi*, *paṭipadāñāṇadassana visuddhi yā vadeva ñāṇadassanavisuddhatthā*. All seven *visuddhis*, in fact, constitute the means by which the final goal, i.e., absolute freedom (*anupadā parinibbāna*), is attained *M*. I, 149 ff. See VISUDDHI.

Upali Karunaratna

PAṬIPATTI. (from *paṭi*+ √*pad*). It means way, method, conduct, practice, performance, behaviour, example. (see *PTS. Pāli-English Dictionary*). There is a distinction between *paṭipatti* (practice) and *pariyatti* (theoretical knowledge of the words in the texts). *Paṭipatti* is the practice of the religious life which has as its objective the attainment of Nibbāna. The practice involves a comprehensive programme of mental culture for the eradication of defilements. In brief, the whole range of *sīla, samādhi, paññā*, which includes the Noble Eightfold Path, leading beyond to *sammā ñāṇa dassana* (Right Knowledge) and *sammā vimutti*, (Right Emancipation). The prescribed programme of restraint and mental culture is described in detail like in the *Sāmañña-phala sutta* (*D*.I) and many other *suttas* scattered throughout the Pāli canon. The following passage gives a general idea of what *paṭipatti* constitutes:

" In whosoever, your Reverences, there is faith in good states, modesty and self-respect, energy, attention to what he hears, bearing *dhamma* in mind, examination of meaning, behaviour according to *dhamma*, seriousness in good states - in such an one, come night, come day, growth in good states, not waning, is to be looked for."

"Yassa kassaci āvuso saddhā atthi kusalesu dhammesu hiri atthi ... ottappam atthi... viriyam

atthi... paññā atthi...atthupaparikkhā atthi ... dhammā nudhammapaṭipattiatthi... appamādo atthi kusalesu dhammesu, tassa yā ratti vā divaso vā āgacchati vuddhi yeva pāṭikaṅkhā kusalesu dhammesu no parihāni." (A.V. 126)

Dhammānudhamma paṭipatti is translated as behavior according to *dhamma*.

It is also said that right faring is a help to the gaining of heavenly worlds: *sammāpaṭipatti saggānam āhāro*, and wrong faring is an obstacle to gaining the heavens *micchāpaṭipatti saggānaṃ paripantho*. (A. V. 136).

The word *paṭipatti* is used in connection with the correct conduct followed by the lay practitioner of the *dhamma* path as well as the bhikku:

"Monks, I do praise right conduct in two, whether house-holder or home-leaver. If rightly conducted, both house-holder and home-leaver can win the true method, the true *Dhamma*, as result and consequence of their right conduct."

" Dvinnāhaṃ bhikkhave, sammāpaṭipattiṃ vaṇṇemi gihissa vā pabbajitassa vā. Gihī vā bhikkhave pabbajito vā sammāpaṭipanno sammāpaṭipattādhikarana-hetu ā rādhakohoti ñāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalan ti" (A. 1.69)

Paṭipatti entails, the practice which incorporates the Noble Eightfold Path in oneself. A passage in *Niddesa* (143-4) lists out the skills or attainments which enable one to gain mastery over the teaching (*paṭipattisāsana*). From general statements in terms such as *sammāpaṭipadā* (following the correct path) and *dhammānudhammapaṭipadā* (following the path according to the *dhamma*) the passage goes on to specifics such as *indriyesu guttadvāra* (guarding the sense doors), *jāgariyānuyogo* (wakefulness) *satisampajaññam* (mindfulness, self-possession), *cattā ro satipaṭṭhānā* (four foundations of mindfulness) *cattā ro sammāppadhānā* (four right efforts), *cattāro iddhipā dā* (four roads to psychic power) *pañca balāni* (five powers) *pañci indriyāni* (five spiritual powers) *satta bojjhaṅgā* (the seven factors of enlightenment) and the *ariya -aṭṭhaṅgiko –maggo* (the Noble Eightfold Path).

Cattāro sammāppadhānā (four right efforts) are: 1. The effort to avoid, i.e. *saṃvarapadhāna* 2. The effort to overcome, *pahānappadhāna* 3. The effort to develop *bhāvanāppadhāna* 4. The effort to maintain, *anurakkhanappadhāna*. The whole set of instructions is directed towards avoiding unwholesome states overcoming unwholesome states and developing wholesome states such as the seven factors of Enlightenment.

The meanings of some of the terms are given below: (see Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary, manual of Buddhist terms and doctrine*) *Cattāro Iddhipādā* (the four roads to psychic power) they form by way of preparation the attainment of the fruition of the path.

01. Concentration of intention (*chanda-samādhi*) accompanied by effort of will.
02. Concentration of energy (*viriya*) accompanied by effort of will.
03. Concentration of consciousness (*citta-s*)
04. Concentration of investigation (*vīmamsa-s*)

Pañca balāni include faith (*saddhā*), energy (*viriya*), mindfulness (*sati*) concentration (*Samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*).

Pañc' indriyāni are the five spiritual faculties which include faith (*saddhā*) energy (*viriya*) mindfulness (*sati*) concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*paññā*) with such firmness that they are irreversible.

Satta bojjhaṅga

Concentration (*Satisambojjhaṅga*)	
Investigation of the law	(*dhammavicaya bojjhaṅga*)
Energy	(*Viriya-bojjhaṅga*)
Rapture	(*Pīti- bojjhaṅga*)
Tranquility	(*passaddhi*)
Concentration	(*samādhi*)
Equanimity	(*upekkhā*)

Ariyaṭṭhāṅgikamagga-Noble Eight-fold Path that leads to the extinction of suffering:

01.	Right-view	(*sammā-diṭṭhi*)
02.	Right - Thought	(*Sammā- saṅkappa*)
03.	Right - Speech	(*Sammā- vācā*)
04.	Right -Action	(*Sammā- Kammantā*)
05.	Right - livelihood	(*Sammā-ājīva*)
06.	Right - Effort	(*Sammā- vāyāma*)
07.	Right - Mindfulness	(*Sammā- sati*)
08.	Right - concentration	(*Sammā- Samādhi*)

It will be remembered that when the Buddha delivered his first discourse to his former ascetic companions, the *pañcavaggiya* bhikkhus, Kondañña, was the first among them to understand the discourse. When he requested that he be ordained as a bhikkhu follower of the Buddha, the manner of ordaining adopted by the Buddha at that time was to merely state "Come monk, well taught is *dhamma*, fare the brahma-faring for making an utter end of all ill".

"Etha bhikkhavo... svākkhāto dhammo caratha brahmacariyaṃ sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāya 'ti" (Vin.I.12ff)

It is clear from this statement that the goal of *paṭipatti* and *brahmacariya* is one and the same-attainment of *nibbāna*. There are seven additional motives for the practice of *brahmacariya* which would apply to what motivates its practice.

01. Elimination of lust - *rāgavirāgatthaṃ*
02. Removal of fetters of existence - *saṃyojanapahānatthaṃ*
03. Destruction of predispositions - *anusayasamugghātatthaṃ*
04. Extinction of defilements - *āsavānaṃ khayatthaṃ*
05. Realization of the fruits of release through wisdom-*vijjāvimuttiphala- sacchikiriyatthaṃ*
06. Realization of knowledge and insight - *ñā nadassanatthaṃ*
07. Complete liberation from the wheel of existence-*anupādā parinibbānatthaṃ* (S.V. 27-29)

In numerous places in the Pāli canon are found the words *brahmacariya* and *paṭipatti* being given a common meaning as though they are interchangeable and synonymous with the practice of the Noble Eightfold Path.

"Katamā ca bhikkhave sammāpaṭipatti. Seyyathidaṃ sammādiṭṭhi...sammāsamādhi. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā paṭipatti ti" (S. V. 23).

"And what monks is right conduct? It is as follows: Right view and the rest.........right concentration. This, monks is called "right conduct".

Another instance is quoted below:

"Katamañca bhikkhave brahmacariyaṃ Ayam eva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo seyyathidaṃ sammā diṭṭhi...sammāsamādhi. Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave brahmacariyanl" (S. V 26 (10).

And what monks is the best practice? It is just this *ariya* eightfold way. That is, *sammā diṭṭhi... sammā samādi*. That is what is called *brahmacariya*.

Again another instance:

And what, monks, is the aim of this best practice? The destruction of lust, of hatred, of illusion, is called the aim of the best practice."

"katamo ca bhikkhave brahmacariyattho . yo kho bhikkhave rāgakkhayo dosakkhayo mohakkhayo. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave brahmacariyatthoti" (S. V. 27).

These passages make it very clear that the prescribed conduct, *brahmacariya*, *paṭipatti* and the practice of the Noble Eightfold Path are identical and have the same goal of attaining *nibbāna*.

Again, it is said:

"The ignorance, brethren, wherewith the wise man, whose body is so wrought, is cloaked, the craving whereto he is tied, that ignorance the wise man has thrown off, and that craving is withered away. How is that? The wise man has lived the divine life for the right withering away of ill, therefore the wise man at the breaking up of the body is not on his way to (another sense) body. He is not being on his way thither, is set free from rebirth, from old age and death, from grieving, from lamenting, from ills, from sorrows, from despairs - I say, he is set free from ill."

"Yaya ca bhikkhave avijjāya nivutassa paṇḍitassa yāya ca taṇhāya sampayuttassa ayam kāyo samudā gato. sā ceva avijjā paṇḍitassa pahānā sā ca taṇhā parikkīnā: taṃ kissa hetu? Acari bhikkhave paṇḍito brahmacariyaṃsammādukkhakkhayāya. Tesampaṇḍito kāyassa bhedā na kāyāpago hoti. So akāyupago samā no parimuccati jātiyā jarāmaraṇena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi upāyāseti parimuccati dukkhasmā ti vadāmi." (S. II p. 24)

Suvimalee Karunaratna

PAṬISAMBHIDĀ: (*pratisaṃvid*:Sanskrit), discriminating knowledge, a technical term used in Buddhism in connection with four kinds of knowledge which, taken as a whole, mean powers of comprehension and exegesis. The two terms refer to the same fourfold knowledge, but their etymology as well as the significance differ. The Pali term, *paṭisambhidā*, is derived from *paṭi* + *saṃ* + *bhid*, to break up, whereas the Sanskrit term, *pratisaṃvid*, is derived from *prati* + *sam* + *vid*, to know. The Mahāyā nists have attached greater importance to the four *pratisaṃvids* than the Theravādins did to the four *paṭisambhidās*.

It may be argued that *pratisaṃvid* is a wrongly Sanskritised form, that the original is the Pāli term, *paṭisambhidā*, and that the correct Sanskrit equivalent should be *pratisambhid*. It may also be argued that the Buddhists borrowed the Sanskrit word *pratisaṃvid* from some non-Buddhist source, and the Pali writers translated it as *paṭisambhidā*. The holders of the latter view find support in the occurrence of the word *saṃvid* in the *Yogasūtras* (*citta-saṃvid*; III, 34, p. 154), and in the *Taittiriya upanishad* (... *Samvidā deyam*, 1, ii, 3; p. 34), and also in the absence of the term from the early Pāli nikāyas (Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 261). As far as the *nikāyas* are concerned, the word is found only in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, a text which has undergone much editing at the hands of the later compilers of the *Tipiṭaka*, and in the *Paṭisambhidā magga*, which is a real *abhidhamma* treatise although it is included in the *Khuddaka nikāya*. Even the *Saṅgī ti Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (III, 207-71) which gives a long list of terms of technical importance omits *paṭisambhidā*. But the available evidence does not warrant one to come to any conclusion with regard to the origin of the term.

The Pali term is usually rendered by 'analysis', but the Tipiṭaka explanations of the four *Paṭisambhidas* suggest no emphasis on analysis. The Pali root *bhid* means 'breaking up', destruction or dissolution. The root that gives the meaning of 'analysis' is *vi*+ *bhaj*, and we find derived forms like *vibhajanā*, analysing; *vibhajjā* - *vyākaraṇiya-pañha*, questions that have to be answered by analysing; and, of course, *vibhajjavā da*, the doctrine of analysis which is identical with Theravāda.

The root *bhid* in the sense of 'breaking up' may also have the developed meaning of 'analysis'; and it may be held that to understand something thoroughly, one has to break it up, i.e., to analyse it. It is in this way that the term *paṭisambhidā* come to be rendered by 'analysis'. But it must be noted that it is 'knowledge' that suits the context better than 'analysis' in many a passage in which the *paṭisambhidās* are discussed.

The four *paṭisambhidās* are enumerated and explained in many a way in various places in the Pali literature (*A*. I, 22; II, 160; III, 113, 120; IV, 32-3; *Ps*. I, 88 ff.; II, 150 ff.; *Vbh*. 293-305; *VbhA*. 386-95; *Vism*. 372 ff.). They are *atthapaṭisambhidā*, *dhammapaṭisambhidā*, *niruttipaṭisambhida* and *paṭibhānapaṭisambhidā*. As these four are interconnected, it is desirable that they are discussed together.

The knowledge of objective meanings (*attha*), of their diversity and of determining, discerning, classifying, distinguishing, illuminating and elucidating them is the knowledge of *atthapaṭisambhidā*. The knowledge of conditions (*dhamma*), of the diversity of conditions and of determining them etc., is the knowledge of *dhammapaṭisambhidā*. The knowledge of definitions (*nirutti*), of their diversity and of determining them, etc., is the knowledge of *niruttipaṭisambhidā*. And the knowledge of intellect (*paṭibhāna*), of its diversity and of determining it, etc., is the knowledge of *paṭibhānapaṭisambhidā* (*Ps*. I, 89, 90, 119-20).

Five spiritual faculties (*pañcindriya*), five spiritual powers (*pañcabala*), seven constituents of enlightenment (*sattabojjhaṅga*) and the eightfold noble path are also designated as *dhamma* in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. The discriminating knowledge of them is *dhammapaṭisambhidā*; their objective meaning is *attha*; the discriminating knowledge of *attha* is *atthapaṭisambhidā*. Verbal expression or statement of *dhammas* and *atthas* is *Nirutti*. The knowledge of *Nirutti* is *niruttipaṭisambhidā*. The knowledge of *dhamma*, *attha* and *nirutti* and of the diversity of knowledge about them is *paṭibhānapaṭisambhidā* (*Ps*. I, 88 ff.).

The following five aspects of realisation are called *dhamma* in the *paṭisambhidāmagga*: i.e., vision (*cakkhu*), insight (*ñāṇa*), understanding (*paññā*), wisdom (*vijjā*) and light (*āloka*) with regard to Four Noble Truths, four applications of mindfulness and four bases of psychic power. The knowledge of *dhamma* is *dhammapaṭisambhidā* their objective meaning is *attha* knowledge of *attha* is *atthapaṭisambhidā*. The verbal expression of *dhamma* and *attha* is *nirutti*; knowledge of *nirutti* is *niruttipaṭisambhidā*. The knowledge of *dhamma*, *attha* and *nirutti* is *paṭibhānapaṭisambhidā*. (*Ps*. II, 150 ff.).

The *Vibhaṅga* has a twofold explanation of *paṭisambhidā* : the *suttanta* explanation and the *abhidhamma* explanation. According to the former, *atthapaṭisambhidā* is the analysis of phenomena (*dhammā*) and *dhammapaṭisambhidā* is the knowledge of conditions (*hetu*) of phenomena by which phenomena have happened or become. Thus *atthapaṭisambhidā* may be knowledge of decay and death, etc., that is, of suffering (*dukkha*). *Dhammapaṭisambhidā* is then knowledge of causes of decay and death, etc., that is, of the cause of suffering (*dukkhasamudaya*). Knowledge of the cessation of suffering (*dukkhanirodha*) is the *atthapaṭisambhidā*; and the knowledge of cause of the cessation of suffering; that is, the path leading to the cessation of suffering is *dhammapaṭisambhidā*.

Dhammapaṭisambhidā may also refer to the knowledge of the doctrine, the knowledge of the ninefold text in which the words of the Buddha is preserved (*navaṅga-satthu-sāsana*).

Of the third and the forth branches of *paṭisambhidā* , *nirutti* is always defined as verbal expression or statement, while *paṭibhāna* is explained as knowledge in the knowledges (*ñāṇesu ñāṇaṃ*).

In the *Abhidhamma* explanation, we find an inverted order in the first and the second branches: *Dhamma* is all states of consciousness. If they are moral or immoral, i.e., if they have karmic efficacy as causes, knowledge of them is called *dhammapaṭisambhidā*. Knowledge of their result and of all inoperative states is called *atthapaṭisambhidā*. Knowledge of the connotation and expression of *dhammas* as term-concept (*paññatti*) is *niruttipaṭisambhidā*, and the knowledge by which one comes to know of these knowledges is *paṭibhānapaṭisambhidā* (*Vbh*. 293-5; *VbhA* 386-95; *Vism*. 372 ff.).

Thus *atthapaṭisambhidā* may be interpreted as the discriminating knowledge of objective meaning. It does not refer to verbal meanings, but to the thing signified by the term. *Dhammapaṭisambhidā* is discriminating knowledge of reasons or conditions. *Niruttipaṭisambhidā* is the discriminating knowledge of meanings as given in the definitions, the meaning now being expressed. Hence *nirutti* may stand for connotation, or implied knowledge. *Paṭibhānapaṭisambhidā* is the discriminating knowledge of intellect to which things knowable by the foregoing three processes are presented.

These four kinds of discriminating knowledge can be placed in two categories: the plane of the trainee (*sekha*), and the plane of the trained (*asekha*). Those of the chief disciples come into the category of the plane of the trained. Those of the elder Ananda, the householder Citta, the layman devotee Dhammika, the householder Upāli, the laywoman devotee Khujjuttarā and others, come into the category of the trainee's plane.

Though they come into these two categories, they become, nevertheless, manifest in five ways, that is to say, as achievement, mastery of scriptures, hearing, questioning and prior effort. Achievement is the attainment of arahantship; mastery of scriptures is the mastery of the Buddha's words; hearing is hearing the *dhamma* carefully and attentively; questioning is discussion of knotty passages and explanatory passages in the texts, commentaries and so on; prior effort is devotion to insight in the dispensations of former Buddhas up to the vicinity of the stage of conformity (*anuloma*) and change-of-lineage (*gotrabhū*) by one who has practised the duty of going with the meditation subject on alms-round and coming back with it.

The Buddhas and the pacceka-Buddhas reach the discriminating knowledge through prior effort. Disciples do so through all these means and there is a special way of developing a meditation-subject in order to attain discriminations. But in the trainees, the attainment of discrimination comes about next upon the liberation consisting in the trainee's fruition (*sekhaphala*), and in the trained it does so next upon the liberation consisting in the fruition of the trained (*asekhaphala*), i.e., arahantship. For, the discriminations come to success in noble ones (*ariyā*) only through the noble fruition (*ariyaphala*), as the ten powers (*dasabala*) do in the perfect ones (*Tathāgata*: *Vism*. 374).

The knowledge of discriminations is one of the constituents of omniscience (*sabbaññuta-ñāṇa*) which is also called unobstructed knowledge (*anāvaraṇa-ñāṇa*) owing to the fact that its possessor does not have any obstructions in realising this fourfold knowledge (*Ps*. I, 132-3). This aspect of the fourfold knowledge is possessed only by the Tathāgata whose appearance in the world means the realisation of this fourfold knowledge (*A*. I, 22).

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* gives seven qualities that lead to the attainment of four discriminations by monks: the knowledge of the monk (1) if his mind is overwhelmed with sloth, (2) if his mind is muddled within, (3) if his mind is distracted from without; his awareness that (4) feelings, (5) thoughts, and (6) reflections in him persist, rise and set, and (7) grasping and penetration by wisdom of the essence of things as to their being helpful or not, low or lofty, dark, bright, or evenly mixed (*A*. IV, 32-3).

Sāriputta attained to this fourfold knowledge within a fortnight of his higher ordination and was able to explain them to others (*A*. II, 160; IV, 33). The monks

who attain to this fourfold knowledge become either faith-liberated (*saddhāvimutta*) by way of the spiritual faculty of faith (*saddhindriya*), or a bodily witness (*kā yasakkhi*) by way of the spiritual faculty of concentration (*samādhindriya*) or a possessor of vision (*diṭṭhippatta*), by way of the spiritual faculty of wisdom (*paññindriya*, *A.* II, 56).

The monk possessed of this fourfold knowledge becomes popular with his colleagues and commands their respect (*A.* III, 113). Accompanied, in addition, by the knowledge in the freedom of mind, he realises the unshakable (*akuppam*), that is Nibbāna (*A.* III, 120).

In Buddhist Sanskrit literature, too, we find the same fourfold knowledge, *pratisaṃvid*, but with a different emphasis. With the development of the bodhisattva ideal in Mahāyāna with a scheme of ten stages (*daśabhūmi*) leading towards supreme enlightenment (*bodhi*), four kinds of *pratisaṃvid* are applied to the career of a bodhisattva in his ninth *bhūmi*. They are *dharmapratisaṃvid*, *arthapratisaṃvid*, *niruktipratisaṃvid* and *pratibhānapratisaṃvid* (*Mhvu.* III, 32; *Sdmp.* 333; *Ssp.* 1449; *BB. XIII*, 4; *Dhsmg.* 51 etc.).

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* explains *pratisaṃvid* as the attainment and exposition of equality or sameness (*samatā*): "When one has reached equality or sameness (*samatā*) in one's own self or by oneself, the preaching that follows for the destruction of all doubts is designated *pratisaṃvid*. By transcendental knowledge, one knows the *samatā* of all things, and subsequently preaches the scripture and the doctrine by means of that knowledge (*Sūtral.* 139).

Dharma-pratisaṃvid is the reflective, absolute and irrevocable, knowledge of all phenomena (*dharma*) in all their forms (*svalakṣaṇa*) with regard to the extent and manner of their existence. *Arthapratisaṃvid* is the reflective, absolute and irrevocable knowledge of all phenomena in all their characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) with regard to the extent and manner of their existence. *Niruktipratisaṃvid* is the reflective, absolute and irrevocable knowledge of all phenomena in all their etymological and linguistic explanations with regard to the extent and manner of their existence. And *pratibhānapratisaṃvid* is the reflective, absolute and irrevocable knowledge of the verbal distinctions of all kinds as applied to all phenomena with regard to the extent and manner of their existence (*Bbh.*[1] p. 100 A).

A bodhisattva must acquire these four kinds of *pratisaṃvid* for the successful preaching of the doctrine. According to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* they are acquired in order to dispel others' doubts (p.139). In the scheme of the ten *bhūmis*, a bodhisattva acquires them in the ninth *bhūmi* when he appears before men as a preacher. The *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* distinctly associates *pratisaṃvid* with a bodhisattva's activity as a teacher. "The bodhisattva who is established in this *bhūmi* called *sādhumati* acts as a preacher of the *dharma* and guards the treasure of the religion or the Tathāgata. Having attained the position of a preacher he teaches the *dharma* with practical skill, combined with infinite knowledge, and with the speech of a bodhisattva, in which the four kinds of *pratisaṃvid* have been realised. The four *pratisaṃvids* of a bodhisattva constantly and continually abide with him (*Daśabhūmika Sūtra* , p. 76).

The *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, too, declares that a bodhisattva's equipment of the *pratisaṃvid* serves to destroy the doubts of all creatures (p. 104). The *Lalitavistara* says that the attainment of the *pratisaṃvid* leads to the acquisition of the eye of the doctrine (*dharmacakṣu* p. 25). They also confer certain power (*bala*) on a bodhisattva (*Lal.* 208). When he understands and can preach to others he reaches the final and perfect stage of knowledge (*Bbh.* 100ª). He has nothing more to learn beyond that (*ibid*). The same author values the *pratisaṃvid* so highly that he regards them as essential elements of *prajñā*, the highest wisdom. They appertain to that kind of wisdom which removes the hostility of other people and induces them to ask a bodhisattva for benefits (*Bbh.* 85ª). A bodhisattva thus acquires the fivefold practical wisdom relating to the *skandhas*, the physical elements, the sense organs and their objects, the formula of dependent origination and the relation of specific causation (*Bbh.* 100ª).

The *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* exalts the four kinds of *pratisaṃvid* to such an extent that it actually includes them among the permanent attributes of a Buddha, and inserts them right in the middle of the traditional formula of ten powers (*daśabala*), four grounds of self-confidence (*caturvaiśāraddya*) and eighteen special attributes (*āveṇikadharma*; *ŚsP.* 131).

Those who have mastered these four kinds of *pratisaṃvid* set rolling the wheel of doctrine (*dharma-cakra*; *Mhvu.* III, 321).

This remarkable innovation shows that the Mahā yānists attached greater importance to this fourfold knowledge than the Theravādins did.

Upali Karunaratne.

Reference

1 In this article the abbreviation *Bbh.* stands for the Sanskrit Manuscript Add. 1720 of the Cambridge University Library.

PAṬISAMBHIDĀMAGGA: *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the "path to analytical insight" is the 12th book (B.C. Law counts it as the 13th) of the *Khuddāka Nikāya*, the 5th collection of the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Theravada school of Buddhism. Comparatively it is one of the biggest books among the 15 books that comprise the *Khuddaka nikāya*. Unlike the majority of books in the *Khuddaka nikāya*, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is almost in prose, except for a limited number of verses quoted from elsewhere. The book is divided into three main *vaggas* (sections), *Mahāvagga*, *Yuganaddhavagga* and *Paññā vagga* and each *vagga* is divided into ten topics (*kathā s*). Each topic is again divided into a number of sub topics. Accordingly *Ñānakathā* of the *Mahāvagga* is divided into 73 sub topics . *Diṭṭhikathā* of the same vagga into 16 sub topics etc. Among the subjects taken up for discussion are various knowledges the Buddha is supposed to possess, divergent philosophies (*Diṭṭhi*) prevalent during the days of the Buddha, miraculous powers (*Iddhipāṭhihariya*) that the Buddha is supposed to possess etc. are observed. The *Saddhammapakāsini*, the commentary to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* says that in the nine fold division of the Buddha's teaching (*navaṅgasatthusāsana*) the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is included in the "*geyya veyyakarana*" divisions (*aṅga*). But the *Sāratthadipani*,[1] the *tīka* of the *vinaya* commentary *Samantapāsādikā*, contains a different view. There, it is said that in the three glossaries (*tīsu ganthipadesu*)[2], it is stated that whatever (Buddha's Teachings) that are not included in the eight *aṅgas* (divisions) are included in the *Paṭisambhidā(magga*.)

Paṭisambhidāmagga & Abhidhamma: On the examination of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* it will be clear that in form as well as in contents there is a similarity with the *Abhidhamma*, specially the early Abhidhammic literature. The subject matter is treated in the scholastic approach as in the *Abhidhamma* texts. As in the case of *Abhidhamma* "*mātikas*" are given at the beginning. But the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* gives "*matikas*" at the end too. The questions and answers method (*pañhapucchaka –naya*) followed in the Abhidhamma texts is followed in the *Paṭisambhidā magga*. An Abhidhamma text puts the questions "*katame dhammā kusalā katame dhammā akusalā katame dhammā avyakata*" etc.The *Paṭisambhidā magga* puts the same questions in a slighter different form "*kati kusalā, kati akusalā kati avyākatā* etc. *Dhī ghabānaka's* view with regard to *Khuddaka* texts recorded by Buddhaghosa in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* is important in the present context. It is stated that *Dhī ghabānaka* held the view that at the First Council the Theras rehearsed *Niddesa*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Suttanipata*, *Dhammapāda Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimā navatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Thera* and *Theri gāthā* and attached them to the *Abhidhamma piṭaka* and named them "*Khuddaka gantha*" (small books). It is clear from this statement that one time the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* was included in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. Some in this context say when the "*Khuddaka Ganthas*' were taken out from the *Abhidhamma pitaka* probably to create a separate *Nikāya* (5th *nikāya*) *Paṭisambhidāmagga* which is more relevant to *Abhidhamma* too has been taken out by an oversight.

Mrs. Rhys Davids says: *Paṭisambhidāmagga* has apparently "strayed away from what its collection the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*" (*JRAS* 1906).

It is seen that *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (and also *Niddesa*) is being quoted in the Chinese translation of the *Vimuktimagga* of Upatissa and the quotations are identified as those from *Abhidhamma*. Therefore it appears that the author of the *Vimuttimagga* has considered those books as *Abhidhamma* books. It is significant that the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* identified as *Paṭisambhidāmaggapakaraṇa*, the way *Abhidhamma* treatises are named, i.e. *Dhammasaṅganī pakaraṇa*. In the light of the above considerations scholars include *Paṭisambhidāmagga* among the intermediatory books between the *Suttapiṭaka* and the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*.

Controversies on *Paṭisambhidāmagga*: There is evidence that there have been controversies over the authenticity of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* from the early days. According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* the *Mahāsaṅghikas*, who broke away from the Theravāda at the end of the Second Buddhist Council, did not accept *Paṭisambhidā magga*. As reported in the *Dipavaṃsa* (Dpv. V. 37) *Mahāsaṅghikas* rejected *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Pariva ra* exegeses, *Abhidhammapakaraṇa* and part of *Jātaka* and made their own books. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (DA. II 566) and also *Manorathapurani* (AA III 159) record another controversy, according to which a Thera named Sudinna whom Malalasekera (*DPPN*. II. p. 1197) identifies as a famous commentator, rejected to accept all that did not bear the name *sutta* (*asuttanāmaham Buddhavacanam nāma natthi*). Among the books Ven.

Sudinna refused to accept (as authentic Buddha's teachings) *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is also included. It should be clear that from the early days authenticity of *Paṭisambhidāmagga* has been disputed from some circles.

The period of composition and the author: The commentary to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* attributes the authorship of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* to Ven. Sariputta, the chief disciple of the Buddha. The commentary further adds that Ven. Ananda learnt it from Ven. Sariputta and recited it at the First Council. This takes the origin of *Paṭisambhidāmagga* to the very lifetime of the Buddha. But the traditional view is not acceptable to the present day scholarship. There is internal evidence within the treatise itself that go against the traditional view. As already discussed, the treatment of the subject is abhidhammic in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. This points to a period before the formation of *Abhidhamma* texts or to a period *Abhidhamma* texts were in the process of being formulated. Further it has taken passages verbatim from *Vinaya, Dhīganikāya, Samyutta Nikāya* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. After examining the passages in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* from Vinaya and suttas Abenayaka [3] remarks:

The "*Paṭisambhidāmagga* seems to be a commentary written on the passages, which are taken from Vinaya and from the collections of *Suttapiṭaka*. In this respect the text seems to belong to the same class of literature as *Niddesa*". He[4] further points out that *Ānāpānakathā* of *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is more or less a commentary to the *Satipaṭṭhana* found both in the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima nikāyas*. The first sermon the Buddha is quoted in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and the latter part of this chapter in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is a commentary to the first sermon of the Buddha. *Paṭisambhidāmagga* presupposes the existence of *Dhammapada* and *Suttanipāta*, which shows it is posterior to both texts. Further elements of later developments in Buddhism is also noticeable in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. It contains *Pāṭihārikathā* and *Iddhikathā*, which describe miraculous powers attributed to Buddha. Buddha during his lifetime did not advocate Iddhipāṭihāriya as seen in the *Kevaḍḍhasutta* (*D I.* 211 ff). These superhuman qualities were attributed to the Buddha during the latter period. This takes the birth of *Paṭisambhidāmagga* to a later period when the Buddha was gradually attributed with superhuman qualities.

Under the circumstance the scholars are of the opinion that *Paṭisambhidāmagga* belongs to the later stratum of the *Khuddakanikāya* along with *Khuddakapāṭha, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Niddesa Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* and *Paṭisambhidāmagga* always coming after *Niddesa*. Taylor[5] considers it as one of the latest books of the canon.

As regards the attribution of its authorship to Ven. Sariputta by the commentator, there is no specific reason or evidence within the text. However Ven. Sariputta was the expert in analytical explanations praised by the Buddha himself and several analytical *suttas* in the *Nikāyas* are attributed to Ven. Sariputta. It may be the same reason behind the attribution of *Paṭisambhidāmagga* authorship to Ven. Sariputta by the commentator. However, it is clear that the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* has been composed by an expert monk after critical study of authentic teachings of the Buddha which are found in the first four *Nikāyas*.

The commentary to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* named the *Saddhammapakāsini* has been composed by Ven. Mahānāma while residing at the Parivena constructed by the minister Uttarajīva at Mahavihara Anuradhapura, three years after the death of King Moggallana. Some say that he was the same as Mahānāma the author of *Māhāvamsa*. But others object that Ven. Mahanama of Mahavamsa fame who was an uncle of king Dhatusena would have been too old to write books, if he was living by this time. They say that it should be some other thera of the same name. Jayawickrama [6] thinks he was the only Sri Lankan commentator among the commentators the others being all of South Indian origin.

It is mentioned in *Thūpavamsa* that Ven. Vacissara the author of Pali *Thūpavamsa* has written a *Līnatthavaṇṇanā* a glossary in Sinhala for *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. Another glossary by a monk of Mahavihara in Anuradhapura is extant which is not accepted as a scholarly work. In the Sinhala *Vimānavatthu Pakaraṇaya* translated in the reign of Kirti Sri Rajasinghe 1747-80, it is mentioned that when the Siamese *upasampadā* was brought during the reign of king Kirti Sri Rajasinghe in the 18th century.

Paṭisambhidāmagga was among the books brought from Siam, probably it was not extant in Sri Lanka at that time. *Paṭisambhidāmagga* is edited by Arnold Taylor and printed and published by the *PTS*.

K. Arunasiri.

References

1 *Saratthadipani* (Sinhala script) edited B. Devarakkhita Colombo 1914 p. 82
2 Nonextant three Sinhala Glossries *Cū lagaṇṭhipada, Majjhimagaṇṭhipada* and *Mahā gaṇṭhipada* apparently on *vinaya*
3 Abenayake Oliver *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddakanikaya* Colombo 1984 p. 102
4 op.cit. p. 162
5 *Paṭisambhidāmagga* Ed. Taylor A.C. Vol. II Preface IV
6 Kathāvatthu commentary Ed. Jayawickreme N.A. Introduction 1978 XII

PAṬIŚARAṆĪYA-KAMMA. In Buddhist ecclesiastical law, *Paṭsāraṇīya-kamma* is an Act of Punishment. It is intended to serve as an act of Reconciliation, which requires the offending monk to apologise to the aggrieved party in the lay community (*Vin*. II. p. 15f). The source referred to here tells us the story of a monk named Sudhamma who lived during the Buddha's time. He was in a residence provided for him by a very pious and devoted layman named Citta who looked after his needs with utmost care and concern (*Cittaṃ gahapatiṃ saddhaṃ pasannaṃ dâyakaṃkârakaṃsaṅghûpaṭṭhâhakaṃIbid*. p. 18). One day Sudhamma accused him of an alleged discourtesy, left him rudely, abusing him in an unbecoming manner (*hīnena khuṃsesi hīnena vambhesi. loc.cit.*).

The incident was eventually reported to the Buddha and he insisted that the Sangha enforced on him an act of Reconciliation *Paṭisâraṇīya-kamma*, requiring him to apologise to the aggrieved party, namely his faithful attendant Citta (*citta te gahapati kamâpetabbo'ti. loc. cit.*). Details of this act of Reconciliation (*Paṭisâraṇī ya-kamma* further specifies five failings on the part of a monk which compel him to be put under this punishment. They are that the monk labours to cause losses to layman, to bring about his ruin, to expel him from his area of residence, abuses laymen and disrupts the unity in the lay community (*gihīnaṃ alâbhâya parisakkati gihīnaṃ anatthâya parisakkati gihīnaṃ avâsâya parisakkati gihī akkosati, paribhâsati gihī gihīhi bhedeti. loc. cit.*).

Dhammavihâri

PAṬIVEDHA (from *paṭi-vyadhi*). The word literally means piercing, penetration, comprehension, attainment, insight, knowledge, i.e. penetrative knowledge into the phenomena of the five aggregates of existence or the four Noble Truths. This meaning comes out in the following canonical passage:

"Monks, the manifestation of one (unique) person is the manifestation of a mighty eye, a mighty light, a mighty radiance of six things unsurpassed. It is the realization of the four branches of logical analysis. The penetration of the various elements of the diversity of elements: It is the realization of the fruits of stream winning, of once-returning of non- returning of arahantship. Of what person? Of a Tathāgata. He is that person." (A.I.22)

In the Pali passage, the relevant words are '*anekadhātu paṭivedho hoti, nānadhātu-paṭivedho hoti.*', which is translated as "The penetration of the various elements of the diversity of elements".

When talking of *paṭivedha*, (as in the case of *vipassanā, sacchikiriya, yathābhūtañāṇa dassana Abhisamaya, añña ñāṇa*) what is being, referred to is penetrative Knowledge or insight into the transient elements of the psycho-physical process, elements which have nothing abiding in them and which are in a constant state of flux, coming into being due to conditions and passing away due to conditions. This meaning is made clear in another canonical passage:

"Monk, One thing, if practised and made much of.....there is penetration of diverse elements, there is discriminating knowledge of countless elements...what is that one thing? It is mindfulness centered on body....... "

" *Ekadhammo bhikkhave bhāvite bahulikate anekadhātu paṭivedho hoti nānādhātu-paṭivedho hoti, anekadhātupaṭisambhidā hoti. Katamasmim ekadhamme? Kāyagatā-satiyā*"(A. I. 44)

The humanistic foundation of the Buddha's enlightenment draws our attention to the fact that his quest was a very pragmatic one, the origin and cessation of human suffering. This led him to an in-depth examination of the psycho-physical process of the being; through a meditational technique *vipassanā* (insight) meditation which he himself had developed a take-off from *samatha* (tranquility) meditation. The origins of the latter would have been pre-Buddhist.

Certain stanzas in the *Suttanipāta* (vv 1113-1115) shed a considerable amount of light on the meaning of words such as *abbiññā*, *ñāṇa* and *vipassanā*, the contextual meaning of which are very close to *paṭivedha*. All these words connote types of knowledge which can be subsumed under *paññā* (wisdom), the culminating stage of the Noble Eightfold Path of *Sīla*, *Samādhi* and *paññā*. It becomes clear when reading these stanzas in the *Suttanipāta* that the insight sought is of the five *khandas*- the five aggregates of existence - in order to understand how *dukkha* originates and how it can be eliminated. The verses also make it clear what line of conduct enables an individual to acquire liberative knowledge. Ethical conduct (*Sīla*) which is listed in many *suttas* such as the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* and in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, is an important factor in the emancipatary path. Without the *sīla* base, *samādhi* cannot be attained, even momentary *samādhi*. When defiling dispositions are rampant, there cannot be *samādhi*, so they have to be disciplined and tranquilized. In the long run, '*vijjācaraṇa*' (Knowledge and conduct) are what conduce to correct knowledge or insight *sammā-ñāṇa-dassana*, which is inextricably linked with *sammā vimutti* (correct emancipation). The *Suttanipāta* stanzas, translateded by N.A. Jayawickrama, are the following, in which a youth Posā la, questions the Buddha:

"I ask O Sākya, of the knowledge of him who has transcended, perception of form and has abandoned (becoming in) all (material) existences and who perceives that nothing exists both internally and externally - how can such a one be led? ' (*Sn.* 1113)

The stanza implies that the knowledge that nothing permanent exists internally and externally is closely linked with transcendence of perception of form (*vibhū tarūpasaññissa*). This according to the doctrine leads to abandonment of all material existence, *sabbakā yappahāyino*.

The Buddha replies to Posāla that he, the Tathā gata thoroughly comprehending all supports of consciousness knows him who remains (with dispositions) and knows when liberated and when intent upon it." (*Sn.* 1114).

The next stanza re-inforces the concepts in the earlier lines:

"Knowing (the role of dispositions in) the arising of the sphere of nothingness and (knowing) (that delight is a fetter, and then gaining a thorough comprehension of it, he next gains an insight into it and this knowledge of that brahmana (sage) who has lived (the higher life) is (thus) of a true nature."

"*Akiñcaññasambhavam ñatvā 'nandi saṃyojanaṃ" iti evaṃ evaṃ abhiññāya tato tatta vipassati etaṃ ñāṇaṃ tathaṃ tassa brahmanassa vusimato ṭi*"

Another passage (*Vin.* 1.230) confirms the meaning- of *Paṭivedha* as penetrative knowledge of the (Four Noble Truths, which is concerned with the *dukkha* of the psycho-physical process and its eradication.

"...Monks, it is by not understanding, not penetrating the four ariyan truths that there is this long running on and faring-on both for me and for you. What four? Monks, it is through not understanding, not penetrating the Aryan truth of ill that there is this long running-on and faring-on both for me and for you. Monks, it is through not understanding, not penetrating the ariyan truth of the uprising of ill, the ariyan truth of the stopping of ill that there is this long long running –on faring on both for me and for you.

"Therefore, monks, if the aryan truth of ill is understood, is penetrated, if the aryan truth of the uprising of ill... if the aryan truth of the stopping of ill...if the Aryan truth of the course leading to the stopping of ill is understood and penetrated, then cut off is the craving for becoming, destroyed is the conduct for becoming, there is not now again- becoming."

Penetrative knowledge of the Noble Eightfold Path is referred to in another *sutta* (A.II.1.)

"Monks it is through not understanding, through not penetrating four things that we have thus gone on faring, thus gone or running this long time, both you and I. What four things?

"It is through not understanding, through not penetrating the Aryan virtue, monks, the Aryan concentration, the Aryan wisdom: it is through not understanding, not penetrating, the Aryan release that we have thus gone on faring, thus gone on running this long time, both you and I.

"Now, monks, when the Ariyan virtue, the Ariyan concentration, the Ariyan wisdom and the Ariyan release are understood and penetrated, cut off is the craving for becoming, destroyed is the cord of becoming, there is now no more again of becoming."

Another passage with a similar meaning is the following which describes the seven bases of Arahantship. These are grouped under the category of sevens in the *Saṅgītisutta* which follows a numerical grouping of terms and concepts like in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*.

"Seven bases of Arahantship. Herein, friends, a brother is keenly desirous of entering the training, and longs to continue doing so. He feels similarly with regard to insight into the doctrine, to the suppression of hankerings, to (the need of) solitude, to evoking energy, to mindfulness and perspicacity, to intuition of the truth." (*D.* III 253)

At another passage (*S.* III p. 261) Vacchagotta asks the Buddha:

"Pray, Master Gotama, what is the reason, what is the cause why these diverse opinions arise in the world? Such as "The world is eternal" or" the world is not eternal:, "The world is finite" or "The world is infinite", "The soul and body are one" "The soul is one thing, body is another". The Tathāgatha exists after death" or "the Tathāgata exists not after death" or "he does and does not exists after death" or "he neither exists nor not exists after death"?

The Buddha gives him a very comprehensive answer to this question. He says it is because of ignorance of the body, ignorance of the arising of the body, of the ceasing of the body and ignorance of the way leading to the ceasing of the body. The *Sutta* adds that it is also the ignorance of feeling, the arising of feeling, etc., also ignorance of perception, arising of perception, etc,. and similarly the ignorance of consciousness, etc.

In the same way it is not seeing (*adassana*) the aforementioned 3 aggregates of existence in terms of the Four Noble Truths, not comprehending (*ananubodha*), not penetrating (*appaṭivedha*) not discerning (*asalakkhaṇa*), not discriminating (*anupalakkhaṇa*), not considering (*apaccupalakkhaṇa*), not looking into (*asamapekkhana*) and not making clear (*apaccakkhaṇmaṃ*) with regard to body and with regard to the rest, i.e. feeling, perception, mental dispositions and consciousness in terms of the four Noble Truths.

It could be said that *paṭivedha* is like *anubodha* (understanding). If *paṭivedha* or *anubodha* is present in a person with regard to the five aggregates of existence in terms of the Four Noble Truths, it can be conjectured that comprehending, discerning, discriminating, differentiating, considering, looking into, making clear all will be present as discussed in the four branches of analytical knowledge (*Paṭisambhida*). *Paṭivedha* implies the absence of ignorance, the very primordial cause of the uprising of the five aggregates of existence.

There is a close connection between *paṭipatti* and *paṭivedha* for *paṭipatti* entails the correct conduct on the Noble Eightfold Path and without that, i.e. *Sīla*, *Samādhi* and *Paññā*, one cannot hope to attain experiential knowledge of the nature of existence. This is because the practice of that ethical path leads to the purification of one's perception through eradicating defilements, which distort perception, till the final liberative wisdom is reached. *Pariyatti*, study of the scripture, and its later meaning of learning by heart the scriptures, is not closely connected to *paṭivedha*. This is so because we can conceive of Paccekabuddhas who have penetrated the Four Noble Truths without the aid of *Pariyatti*, not to mention the Buddhas themselves.

The same meaning of *Paṭivedha* as piercing or penetrative knowledge of the Four Noble Truths is found in *Milindapañha* (p. 250).

"It is, sire, as whoever are those archers who are not clever, untrained, not learned in the craft, their thoughts wandering and being incapable of piercing the tip of a hair (their aims) fall short (of the target) and they depart. For what reason? Because the tip of a hair, being delicate and fine, is very difficult to pierce.

Even so, sire, whosoever, are those who are weak in wisdom, stupid drivellers, confused and slothful, if they go forth in the dispensation of the conqueror, being incapable of piercing that piercing of the Four Noble Truths that are of the utmost delicacy and fineness, then falling short (of the target) and departing from the Dispensation of the Conqueror they soon revert to the secular life. For what reason? Because of the difficulty of piercing the (Four) Truths which are of the utmost delicacy and fineness. Thus they show forth its character of being one that is hard to pierce."

Paṭivedha is also described as the summum bonum of the Path in *Milindapañha*. p. 1.

"...then the venerable Dhammarakkhita spoke thus to the venerable Nāgasena: "As a herdsman tends the cows, Nāgasena, but others enjoy the products, even so are you, Nāgasena, though remembering the three *Piṭakas*- the word of the Buddha- not one who even partakes of the life of reclusehsip."

"Let that be, revered sir, this extent suffices" and during the night following that self-same day he attained arahantship together with the analytical insights with penetration of Truth. All the *devas* applauded the venerable Nāgasena, the earth roared, the Brahmas clapped their hands and deva-like perfumes and powders and deva-like flowers of the Mandārava rained down."

The *Saṃyuttanikāya*(p. 91) states:

"....Deep indeed is this causal law, and deep indeed it appears. It is through not knowing, not understanding, not penetrating, that doctrine, that this generation has become entangled like a ball of string, and covered with blight, like unto *muñja* grass and rushes, unable to overpass the doom of the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, the constant faring on."

Paṭisambhidāmagga I (p. 105) explains,

"The truth of suffering is realized by insight through higher knowledge

The truth of the origin of suffering is realized by insight through abandonment

The truth of suffering's cessation is realized by insight through penetrative knowledge.

The truth of the Path is realized by insight through meditation."

Considering these statements it is understood that *Paṭivedha* is insight into the Four Noble Truths. Those statements further explain (by means of analysis) that insight is gained through higher knowledge, *pariññā*, that the origin of suffering is identified with the abandonment of grasping or clinging, that suffering's cessation is realized through experiential knowledge. Here we should take into account the Teachings in the *Nikayas* which show that experiential knowledge does not mean something like a vision of the truth that arises suddenly but becomes clear through meditation on the five aggregates of existence; then *dukkha*, *anicca*, *anatta*, the Four Noble Truths, the Path and the twelve links of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* become manifest.

The object of the Noble Eightfold Path, which is based on *Sīla*, *Samādhi*, and *Paññā* is not attaining some metaphysical goal but *yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana* or seeing things as they have come to be which implies emancipatary knowledge- *vimutti*. This ultimate goal cannot be reached without *paṭivedha*.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

PATTANIKKUJJANAKAMMA. *Pattanikkujjana* means literally turning the bowl upside down. *Pattanikkujjana kamma* refers to a formal act of the Order which censures a lay devotee for discrediting or treating a bhikkhu with scorn. The act refuses alms from such a householder. "Turning the bowl upside down" is the term used for the formal act and it does not imply that an offender's bowl is actually turned upside down in the assembly of the *Sangha* but is a symbolic term used for the formal act of the Order.

There is an account in the *Vinaya* (*Vin*. II 124-126) which narrated an incident where the Licchavi Vaddha was instigated by two bad bhikkhus to bring an unfounded charge against Bhikkhu Dabba, the Mallian.

According to the narrative the Buddha inquired into the charges and found that Bhikkhu Dabba, the Mallian, was innocent. The narrative goes on:

"Then the Lord addressed the monks, saying. "Because of this, monks, let the Order turn the Licchavi

Vaddha's bowl upside down, let it impose non-eating (*asambhogam samghena karotu*) with the Order. Monks, if a lay follower is possessed of eight qualities his bowl may be turned upside down. If he tries for non-receiving (of gains) by monks, if he tries for non-profiting by monks, if he tries for non-residence for monks, if he reviles, if he speaks dispraise of the Awakened One, if he speaks dispraise of the *dhamma*, if he speaks dispraise of the Order, I allow you, monks, to turn a lay follower's bowl upside down if he is possessed of these eight qualities."

The account goes on further to explain the procedure to be followed when performing the formal act of *Pattanikujjana kamma* on a householder offending against a bhikkhu.

"...The Order should be informed by an experienced competent monk, saying: "Honourd sirs, let the Order listen to me. The Licchavi Vaddha is defaming the venerable Dabba, the Mallian, with an unfounded charge of falling away from moral habit. If it seems right to the Order, the Order may turn the Licchavi Vaddha's bowl upside down. It may impose non-eating with the Order. This is the motion. Honoured sirs, let the Order listen to me. The Licchavi Vaddha is defaming......... of falling away from moral habit. The Order is turning the Licchavi Vaddha's bowl upside down; it is imposing none-eating with the Order. If the turning upside down of the Licchavi Vaddha's bowl and the imposing of non-eating with the Order is pleasing to the Venerable ones they should be silent; he to whom it is not pleasing, should speak. The Licchavi Vaddha's bowl is turned upside down by the Order (and there is to be) no eating with the Order. It is pleasing to the Order; therefore it is silent. Thus do I understand this."

Thus, the misdeeds on the part of lay followers which result in rupturing the harmonious relations existing between lay followers and the Bhikkhu Sangha are dealt with by the Sangha Act called *Pattanikkujjana kamma*. It covers the misdeeds mentioned above.

The procedure to be followed when formal acts are passed in the assembly of the *Sangha* is covered by the term *kicchādhikaraṇa* (See *Vin* II p. 89 and Book of the Discipline, *Cullavagga* IV p. 118). The footnote on *apalokanakamma* states that the Order has to be "pure" at the time the formal act is passed. That is, the Order living within the boundary have to assemble, bringing the leave of absence of those who cannot attend for a very valid legitimate reason. Also all attending have to be 'pure' in the sense that they should not have transgressed any *Vinaya* rule when they assemble. The formal act has to be carried out having announced it three times for the approval of the complete Order. The formal motion when it is put to the assembly is called *ñattikammam* and when the motion is followed by a resolution announced once it is called *ñattidutiyakammam*. When the motion is put to the assembly and the resolution announced three times it is called *ñatticatutthakammam*.

The formal act of *Pattanikkujjana kamma* can be revoked, that is, the 'bowl set upright again' in a manner of speaking, by another formal act passed in the assembly of the Sangha. This act is called *Paṭisā raniyakamma* and is an act of reconciliation.

This act of Reconciliation restores the harmonious relationship that existed between lay followers and the Bhikkhu Sangha, whether the rupture was caused by a lay follower or a bhikkhu. When the rupture is caused by a bhikkhu the act covers misdeeds committed by the bhikkhu such as the following:

1. If he tries for non-receiving of gains by householders
2. If he tries for non-profiting by householders
3. If he tries for non-residence for householders
4. If he reviles and abuses householders
5. If he causes householder to break with householder
6. If he speaks dispraise of the Buddha to householders
7. If he speaks dispraise of the Dhamma to householders
8. If he speaks dispraise of the Sangha to householders
9. If he jeers at a householder with a low thing, if he scoffs at him with a low thing.
10. If he does not fulfill a promise made in accordance with the rules to the laymen.

Such a motion can be introduced in the assembly of monks if the offending layman wishes to reform himself and be accepted again as a benefactor of the Buddhst Sangha. He must show that he acknowledges his fault and he must ask for pardon from the *Sangha*.

In the case of the Licchavi Vaddha, he went to the Buddha and asked for pardon. He said:

"Lord, a transgression has overcome me in that I, foolish, misguided, wrong that I was, defamed master Dabba, the Mallian with an unfounded charge of falling away from moral habit. For this, Lord, let the Lord acknowledge my transgression as a transgression for the sake of restraint in the future."

"Truly a transgression overcame you, friend Vaddha, in that you, foolish, misguided, wrong that you were, defamed Dabba, the Mallian, with an unfounded charge of falling away from moral habit. But if your friend Vaddha, having seen the transgression as a transgression, confess according to the rule, we acknowledge it for you. For, friend Vaddha, in the discipline of the Noble, this is growth: Whoever having seen a transgression as a transgression confess it according to the rule, he attains restraint in the future."

Then the Buddha addressed the monks:

"Well, now monks, let the Order set upright the Licchavi Vaddha's bowl, let it grant eating with the Order. Monks, if a lay follower is possessed of eight qualities, his bowl may be set upright; if he does not try for non-receiving (of gains) by monks, if he does not try for non-profiting by monks, if he does not try for non-residence for monks, if he does not revile and abuse monks, if he does not cause monks to break with monks, if he does not speak dispraise of the Awakened One, if he does not speak dispraise of dhamma, if he does not speak dispraise of the Order, I allow you monks to set upright a lay follower's bowl if he is possessed of these eight qualities."

The procedure to be followed for "setting upright the bowl" again in the assembly of the monks is called *Paṭisāraniyakamma*, Act of Reconciliation. Now it should be enacted as recounted in the same passage quoted earlier (*Cullavagga* V pp. 175-176).

"And thus, monks, should it be set upright: Monks, let Licchavi Vaddha, having approached the Order, having arranged his upper robe over one shoulder, having honoured the monks' feet, having sat down on his haunches, having saluted them with joined palms, should speak thus to them: "Honoured sirs, my bowl was turned upside down by the Order, I am not eating with the Order. But I, honoured sirs, am conducting myself properly, I am subdued, I am mending my ways and I ask the Order for the setting upright of the bowl." This it is said should be asked for. Then an experienced competent monk announced the following:

"Honoured sirs, let the Order listen to me. The Licchavi Vaddha's bowl was turned upside down by the Order, he is not eating with the Order, but he is conducting himself properly, he is subdued, he is mending his ways, he asks the Order for the setting upright of the bowl. If it seems right to the Order, the Order may set upright the Licchavi Vaddha's bowl, it may grant eating with the Order. This is the motion. Honoured sirs, let the Order listen to me. The Licchavi Vaddha's bowl was turned upside down..........he asks the Order for setting upright the bowl. The order is setting upright the Licchavi Vaddha's bowl, it is granting eating with the Order. If the setting upright of the Licchavi Vaddha's bowl and the granting of eating with the Order is pleasing to the venerable ones, they should be silent; he to whom it is not pleasing should speak. The Licchavi Vaddha's bowl is set upright by the Order (and there is) eating with the Order. It is pleasing to the Order; therefore it is silent. Thus do I understand this."

The *Paṭisāraniya kamma* (Act of Reconciliation) is concerned with restoring the harmonious relationship that existed between the lay followers and the *Sangha* before a rupture occurred. The rupture may have resulted on account of a misdeed on the part of lay follower as in the case of the Licchavi Vaddha (*Vin*. II 124-5) or a misdeed on the part of a *bhikkhu* as in the case of Bhikkhu Sudhamma who derided the lay follower Citta (*Vin*. II 15 ff)

Suvimalee Karunaratna

PATTHANĀ: (Wish-hope). It is human nature to wish for and hope for various things in life. People who are born in adverse circumstances always hope to be rich in the future in this life itself, or failing that, at least in the next life; people who are ugly hope to be beautiful and attractive; people who have no children hope for children; people who are not popular hope to be popular, and in this way we see that people live on hope eternally.

It had been believed from very ancient times that there are unseen powers that could fulfill hopes of beings on earth. During early Rgvedic times people believed that there were presiding deities over wind, rain, sun, moon, twilight, etc. and that these deities presided over the destinies of man on earth, and people believed that by praying to them and by placating them they could get their hopes fulfilled. A remnant of such beliefs is evident from the episode of Sujāta (*J.* 1, 68) who had prayed to the presiding deity of a great tree, and having got a son came there with a pot of milk porridge to be offered to the deity as a mark of gratitude. Then as we come to the time of Brāhmanas a marked development is seen in this field. Mantras and Ritualism had developed to a very high pitch and a correct performance of rituals was believed to have in it the efficacy of fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of the performer of rituals.

Buddhism rejected the idea of external forces that determine the career of beings on earth. It is man's actions that determine his career. If he selects the path of progress and do good and be virtuous he will be retributed accordingly in this life and in the lives to come, and if he selects to behave otherwise he will accrue the fruits of his actions. In the *Metta Sutta* (*Sn.* v. 143) it is said that a man who has an aim to achieve something should work on that line diligently. In this respect the thoughts of men are important because all things are activated by thoughts (*cittena nīyati loko* – *S.* 1, 39). The same idea is presented in the lines: "Mind is the precursor of all things (*manopubbaṅgamā dhammā*)". Thus in this particular context, hope, too, has a place in human conduct. In this world, when activities of beings are analysed, it is seen that it is some kind of hope that ultimately culminates in some kind of action, for instance a man, seeing another leading a comfortable life, living in palatial houses and going about in luxurious conveyances develops a desire to lead such a life himself and hopes to achieve his aim some day.

If he desires to achieve it in this life itself he will follow a course of action by which he can acquire the means to achieve his aim. If he cannot achieve it in this world and if he is too poor even to think of the means of achieving the same, he will hope to achieve it in an after life and with that hope perform meritotious deeds that, he thinks, would help him to fulfill his hope in a future life.

Buddhism recognises the importance of a fervent hope in the lives of human beings. Normally after performing a good deed Buddhist devotees utter a stanza to this effect: 'By the force of this meritotious deed let me not come to associate bad people; and let me associate the virtuous alone, till I attain *nibbāna* (*iminā puññа kammena mā me bāla samāgamo-satam samāgamo hotu-yāva nibbāna pattiya*), and when this hope is expressed in thought or word before a Buddhist monk, he too utters a statement to this effect: "Whatever you wish for may it be won by you soon; let all your hopes be fulfilled, like the moon on the fifteenth day (*icchitaṃ pattitaṃ tuyhaṃ khippameva-samijjhatu-pū rentu sabbe saṅkappā cando paṇṇaraso yathā* - *DhpA.* IV, 200). Even in the case of a Buddha we see that the course of action which culminates in the attainment of Buddhahood, starts with a fervent hope to become a Buddha, which is expressed in the presence of another Buddha, who, knowing this would proclaim that the former's hope would be fulfilled during such and such a time in the distant future. Sumedha Pandita developed such a hope at the feet of Dīpaṃkara Buddha (*J.* 1, 15-16). *Avadāna śataka* contains stories about devotees who make various offerings to Buddhas and pacceka Buddhas and hope to become Buddhas and pacceka Buddhas in the future. In the case of all of them their hopes are proclaimed to become fulfilled in the distant future (*BST.* No. 19 chap. 1 & 3), by the Buddha at whose feet the hope is cultivated. The story of Suvaṇṇatilakā (*RSV.* p. 74 ff) illustrates how a fervent hope harboured after performing a meritorious deed was fulfilled in a later life. A devoted damsel goes to a temple and makes an offering of flowers to the Buddha and hopes to be extremely beautiful, attractive and healthy, and consequently she was born as a very beautiful girl in her next life.

Hope or *patthanā* is not always accompanied by good or meritotious actions, and not always motivated by *taṇhā* or desire to achieve things for one's own self. There are instances of *patthanā* being motivated by hatred or *dosa*, where people vow vengeance on others for harm done to them. A good instance is the *Kālayakkhinī* episode coming in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (1, 47-51). A man brought a second wife as his first wife could not bear him a child. When the second wife was pregnant for a few months the first wife caused an abortion on the former through fear that if a child was born to her she could become the husband's favourite. The same thing was done when

she was with child for the second and third times and she died at the third abortion. While dying she vowed vengeance on the first wife and hoped that in the next life she be born in a position to eat up the progeny of the first wife. Having died she was born as a cat in the same household. The husband who came to know about the whole affair beat the first wife to death and she was born as a hen in that same house. When the hen laid eggs the cat devoured them and after sometime she prayed on the hen herself. As the hen died in the grip of the cat she vowed vengeance on the cat. The hen was reborn as a leopardess and the cat as a doe. The leopardess ate up the young ones of the doe as they were born and finally ate up the doe herself. As the doe died she again vowed vengeance on the leopardess. In their next birth the leopardess was born as a young girl and the doe as a *yakkhinī*. The young girl was married to a wealthy householder. When a babe was born to her, the *yakkhinī* came and snatched it away. The same thing was done the second time also. The *yakkhinī* comes again when the third was born, but it was saved by the intervention of the Buddha.

It has become the custom of many a present day Buddhist in Ceylon to appeal for help from gods and deities to get their hopes fulfilled, and in this respect resorting to the god of Kataragama has become very common. His aid is sought for various things- for success in Business ventures, success in political struggles, success at examinations, recovery from ill-health etc.

W.G. Weeraratne

PATTIDĀNA. Among the religious practices popular among Buddhists of Sri Lanka and other Buddhist countries, the twin ritual of *pattidâna* 'gifting of merit' and *pattânumodanâ* 'approval of' or 'rejoicing in' other's merit, occupies a prominent place. It is a practice among the Buddhists to dedicate to the dead, the *devas* and all beings in general, the merit they have gained by the performance of religious rituals such as making offerings of food, drinks, flowers, lamps etc. to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. This practice is invariably adhered to at funeral and post-funeral rituals when the departed one is offered merit gained by gifting to Buddhist monks their material needs such as food, drinks, robes etc. It is also the custom among Buddhist monks to dedicate to gods the merit they have gained by delivering a sermon on the *dhamma*

Derived from *pa-*√*âp* (*pâpunâti pâpnoti; skt. prâpnoti*) to reach, attain, arrive at, obtain etc., the word *patti* (skt. *prâpti*) is used in early Pali texts in the sense of 'obtaining, acquiring, getting, entering into,' as well as 'attainment and acquisition.' In the *Culla Niddesa* the word is defined as *lâbhâ paṭilâbhâ, adhigamo, phusanam, sacchikiriyâ.* In addition to its early usages the word *patti* is found used in post canonical Pali commentaries in the specialized sense, the one relevant to the present context, of merit gifted for the benefit of another.[1] Probably the word has been used in this sense, quite strange to the early Pali texts, considering the alleged capability of merit to reach any one including those reborn in the *pettivisaya*, one of the *five* destinies open to beings still wondering in *samsâra*.

According to Monier Williams[2] the word *prâpti* carries several meanings in Sanskrit literature. The following are among those listed by him: "the power (of the wind) to enter, penetrate, everywhere; the power of obtaining everything (one of the eight supernatural faculties); lot, fortune and luck". It is quite possible that the use of the word *patti* in the sense of merit used in *post* canonical Pali literature may have been influenced by any one of these usages. As referred to above it is believed that *patti* can reach the miserable beings of the *pettivisaya* and transform their lives to a position of even heavenly beings, as shown by numerous instances in the *Petavatthu*. It is also sometimes told that the divine pleasures of heavenly beings can be enhanced by the power of merit reaching them. This view, though not referred to in early Buddhist texts had become very popular in later periods, as portrayed by various didactic tales found in commentarial works as the *Jâtakaṭṭhakathâ, Petvatthu Aṭṭhakathâ, Vimânavatthu Aṭṭhakathâ* and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathâ*. Lady Visâkhâ who built a monastery for the Buddha and his disciples dedicated the merit gained (*puññam pasutam*) as a "gift of merit" (*pattidânavasena*).[3] Another person bestowed the "first merit" (*paṭhamam pattim*) of a donation he made, to his enemy.[4] The popularity of the custom is illustrated by a number of phrases used in relation to it, e.g. *pattim dehi*, "give the merit," *pattim dammi*, "I give the merit", *puññabhalam pattim katvâ demi*", 'I give the fruit of the meritorious act as a gift of merit", *pattim gahetvâ* "having received merit" are some of the uses found in these popular stories.

Puñña: The word *patti*, as shown above, has come to be used in the sense of merit gifted to others, only in later Buddhist writings. The word used in early works in the sense of meritorious action, virtuous action as well as the resultant merit was *puñña* (Skt. *punya*). The etymology of this word, accordingly to modern scholars,[5] is not very clear. However, the commentator Dhammapâla seems to trace it to √*pu*, 'to purify' (*santânam punâti visodheti*).[6] Going by the canonical explanation of the word *kamma*,[7] the common term for good, evil as well as neutral action, *puñña* as good action, should mean "good volition". (*kusala cetanā*). Thus *puñña* is necessarily a mental condition of the agent. Although *puñña* is at times used synonymously with *kusala*, "wholesome action" it is nevertheless defined as "action productive of wholesome results in the three spheres of existence."[8] *Puñña*, therefore, is good retributive action. The *Vimânvatthu Aṭṭhakathâ*[9] explains the word as wholesome action, such as charity and moral discipline. It is called the foundation for a happy life after death.[10] Even Sakka, the king of gods is said to live on the fruits of his meritorious deeds in the former lives.[11] The Buddha, before his enlightenment tells Mâra that he does not need any merit probably because merit is needed for the betterment of samsâric life[12] *Kamma* which includes both meritorious (*puñña*) and demeritorious (*apuñña*, *pâpa*) is said to be owned by beings. "Beings have *kamma* as their own, O Brahman youth; they are heirs to *kamma*, *kamma* is matrix, *kamma* is kinsman, and *kamma* is their refuge"[13] "you are responsible for your own *kamma*"[14] tells king Yama to those brought before him for judgment. They must experience their bitter consequences by themselves. Another discourse[15] emphasizes that *puñña* is private; it is a treasure that cannot be removed by thieves. In a discussion of the question "whether the earth is a result of *kamma*" it is stated quoting the same text by the Theravâdin that "one should not say that the *kamma* result is held in common with others"[16]

Can this *kamma* or *puñña* which is described as private and so intimately connected to the mental process of a person be gifted or transferred to another as it is suggested on the face value of the "gift of merit" (*pattidâna*) concept or as it is accepted by many Buddhists? Could or should one depend on the merit transferred by others to achieve one's happiness? If such a position is tenable would not that be in conflict with the well known statement that one's purity or impurity depends on one's own actions, and no outsider can purify a person.[17] There is no concept of a vicarious salvation in early Buddhism. One's emancipation has to be worked out by one's own effort. Even Buddhas are only teachers.[18] A concept of a gifting of merit" cannot definitely secure a comfortable position within such a context.

Merit which brings happiness in a life after death did not occupy a significant position in early Buddhism, the main aim of which was emancipation from samsâric existence rather than a prolonged samsâric life. In fact on one occasion the Buddha rejects the view that one who sees fear in death should perform meritorious deeds which bring happiness. In its place he advocates the abandoning of worldly pleasures for the sake of peace.[19] Strangely, the same idea rejected here is attributed to the Buddha in another context[20] showing how more liberal views were introduced in the process of popularization of Buddhism. It also shows how merit is given a place in Buddhism as an asset to worldly happiness. Yet the idea of gifting merit to others or its socialization is not advocated even in canonical texts with a popular appeal, like the *Petavatthu*.

The view that merit is not transferable is quite clearly seen in the *Cûla Saccaka Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikâya*.[21] The Jaina monk Saccaka, converted by the Buddha, invites the Buddha and his disciples for a forenoon meal at his monastery. The food etc. needed was supplied by Saccaka's benefactors at his request. At the end of the meal Saccaka tells the Buddha that "the merit and the power of merit" of the gift should be for the happiness of his benefactors. The Buddha does not give his assent, but states that the benefactors will get the merit and the power of merit for coming to a gift worthy person like him (Saccaka) who is not free from attachment, hatred and delusion. But Saccaka will get the merit and the power of merit for coming to a gift-worthy person like me (i.e. the Buddha) who is free from attachment, hatred and delusion.

The message is very clear. Merit generated in the mind of each person, depending on various conditions, including the donor's intention and faith as well as the spiritual achievements of the recipient, cannot be bestowed on another, person. In other words it cannot be duplicated in another's mind where the same conditions would not be present.

The idea of the possibility of one's merit benefiting another, especially a departed person, was one of the controversial questions discussed in the *Kathâvatthu*:[22] "Do they (the departed) subsist on what is given from here?" was the question raised by the Theravâdin. The opponent Siddhatthikas and Râjagiriyas according to the commentary[23] - replied in the affirmative. Some of the arguments raised by the Theravâdin against the opponent's view relates to the Buddhist theory of *kamma*. "Is one the agent for another"? "Are happiness and sorrow caused by another"? "Does one act and another experience the results"? The opponent rejects all these, suggesting that their views on *kamma* were not different from that of the Theravâdin. Anyhow the debate demonstrates that the early Buddhist schools had not abandoned the early Buddhist view that "*kamma* is one's own" and that it cannot be held in common with others. The very question discussed in the *Kathâvatthu*, as shown above, affirm that the result of a *kamma* cannot be owned in common with others.

Dakkhiṇâ: As already stated the *Petavathu* does not refer to any gifting or transference of merit which is often mentioned in this work as dedicated to the departed (*petâ*) is not merit but *dakkhiṇâ* or sometimes *dâna*. The *Petavatthu* commentary interprets *dakkhiṇâ* as *dâna*.[24] Thus both terms mean "gift." However there seems to have been a preference to use the word *dakkhiṇâ* for gifts specially made to religieux for the benefit of the dead.

In the *Vedas dakṣiṇâ* means a "prolific cow", "a good milk cow" and also the "fee" or "present" given to an officiating priest at a sacrifice which consisted originally of a cow.[25] In a Vedic sacrifice this fee paid to the officiating priest was considered an essential feature of the sacrifice, without it the sacrificer would not be able to enjoy the results of the sacrifice in heaven. The *dakṣiṇâ* follows the sacrifice to heaven while the sacrificer goes to heaven holding on to the *dakṣiṇâ*.[26] Moreover the *dakṣiṇâ* acts as an antidote to any failure in the sacrifice.[27] The vedic religion insisted that only the officiating Brahman priest had the right to receive the *dakṣiṇâ* for he prepared for the sacrificer another self—i.e. the sacrifice—that becomes himself in the future world.[28] However before long *sramaṇa* religions also claimed for their religieux the right to receive *dakṣiṇâ*. The community of disciples of the Buddha claimed to be worthy of receiving *dakkhiṇâ* (*dakkhiṇeyyo Bhagavato sâvakasangho*). They are the noblest among the gift-worthy. Yet Buddhism never tried to limit the right for *dakkhiṇâ* to its religieux. Generally all recluses and brahamans are recognized as gift-worthy in Buddhism. To them people offer *dakkhiṇâ* "which lead to rebirth in heaven, that redounds in happiness and has bliss as its result"[29]

In Buddhist literature *dakkhiṇâ* seems to have acquired special significance when it came to be used for a gift made to a virtuous person, especially a Buddhist monk and dedicated to manes. This however was not by any means exclusively used in this sense in Buddhist literature. It is the duty of children to dedicate *dakkhiṇâ* to their dead parents[30], yet the *Sigâlovâda sutta* where this occurs does not explain either the connotation of the word or the mechanism of benefits of the gift made in this world reaching the dead.

The Pali English Dictionary (*PED*) explains this special usage of the word *dakkhiṇâ* as a "donation given to a holy person with reference to unhappy beings in the *peta* existence (manes) intended to induce alleviation of their suffering, an intercessional expiatory offering; *don attributif*." The idea expressed here may apply more to some of the *petavatthu* stories and even to some of the later Buddhist Sanskrit stories than to what is expressed in early discourses as the *Sigâlovâda sutta*. Even then it is doubtful whether the lexicographer has grasped the true spirit of the Buddhist ritual.

It should be noted here that the dedication of *dakkhiṇâs* could be made for the benefit of beings other than manes. Thus *devas* can benefit from them according to some discourses and also the *Petavatthu*.[31] Further it also should be noted that terms like *dâna* and *saddha* are also used to indicate gifts dedicated to the dead.[32] The *Petavatthu*[33] also uses *dâna* in the same sense.

Like the terms *kamma* and *puñña* the word *dakkhiṇâ* also seems to have been interpreted, even within canonical contexts, as the result arising from the donation. "Having made a gift to an ordinary person devoid of moral virtue", says the *Dakkhiṇâvibhaṅga sutta*[34] "one can still expect a thousand fold *dakkhiṇâ*." In another context the words *dakkhiṇâ* and resultant *puñña* seem to have been used synonymously. Here Vessavana, a guardian deity of the world, requests a female lay devotee to feed a group of monks led by

Ven. Sariputta and dedicate (*âdiseyyâsi*) the *dakkhiṇâ* to him. She fed the monks as requested and at the end of the meal tells Ven. Sāriputta "Sir, let all the merit (*puññanihitam*) of this donation be for the happiness of the great king of gods, Vessavana."[35] She substitutes *puñña* for *dakkhiṇâ* possibly indicating the manner how a word meaning a donation has come to acquire a meaning of the resultant merit. Here also we observe how an idea rejected earlier by the Buddha is given some canonical acceptance. In the commentarial works also *dakkhiṇâ* at times is interpreted to mean *pattidâna* "gifting of merit"[36]

Although early *suttas* refer to *dakkkhiṇa* being dedicated to dead kinsmen, no attempt has been made to explain how this should be done or how its benefits accrue to the dead. The Brahman practice of feeding Brahman priests at *srâddha* ceremonies performed for the benefit of the dead was well known at the time of the Buddha.[37] Probably the Buddha's followers also continued this practice even after their conversion to the new religion, but substituting Buddhist monks for Brahman priests. Since Buddhism at its early stages was not much concerned with ritualistic practices, such matters must have been left to the discretion of the laity. But later popular demand must have necessitated their own interpretation of such customs and concepts underlying them.

A Brahman named Jânussoni once questioned the Buddha regarding their practices for the benefit of the dead kinsmen. "We Brahmans, O good Gotama, offer gifts, perform *sâddhas*, saying, 'may these gifts benefit the departed kinsmen, may the departed kinsmen enjoy these gifts.' Do these gifts benefit the departed kinsmen, O good Gotama, do they enjoy them"? The Buddha's reply was that the departed kinsmen are benefited at the proper place. Explaining he further states that only those reborn in the *Pettivisaya*, the "realm of the fathers" could benefit by them. But those reborn as *devas*, human beings, animals or inmates of the hell cannot be benefited by such gifts.[38]

Although the word *dakkhiṇâ* is not used in this context it is clear that *dâna* and *sâddha* are used in the same sense. The discourse does not refer to any gifting of merit generated by alms offered to monks or brahmans. It simply refers to a direct subsistence of the beings of the *Pettivisaya* on what is presented from here. "By that he keeps up there, by that he exists there" (*tena so tattha yâpeti tena so tattha tiṭṭhati*).

In the *Petavatthu*, specializing in stories regarding the dead, especially those dealing with the alleviation of the suffering of those reborn in the *Pettivisaya*, it is the *dakkhiṇâ* or *dâna* gifted to virtuous persons that is used as the means of achieving this. The *Tirokuḍḍa* story in this work makes the statement: "Those who are compassionate give to (or on behalf of) those (departed) relatives appropriate food and drink, pure and delicious, at the proper time (declaring), may this be to (or for) my relatives, may the relatives be happy."[39] More instances could be quoted. Whatever the word used what is dedicated is always a material gift and not the resultant merit. The *Petavatthu* also clearly states that the benefits accrue to the departed ones immediately the intension is declared by the donor (*ṭhânaso upakappati*). For instance in one story it is said, "immediately after dedication was made the consequences appeared (in the form of) food, drink and clothing, this is the fruit of the gift."[40] The benefits received by the dead correspond in kind, at least symbolically, to the gifts made in this world. Yet qualitatively and quantitatively, depending on the virtues of the recipient, the results far out weigh the gift. In quality they are always divine, in quantity almost inexhaustible.

The *Petavatthu* also stresses the need to have a "proper recipient" of the gift offered for the benefit of the dead, and the declaration of the intention of the donation, for the gift to be really beneficial to the departed. The latter however is the more important. The spiritual quality of the recipients could affect the quality of the benefit derived by the dead but cannot completely withhold such benefits. But without a dedication no benefit would accrue to the dead. This essential dedication is expressed by such words as *anupadassati*, *anvadisati*, *âdisati*, *uddisati* etc. the latter two being the more popular. Both these are derived from the verb *disati* "to show" convey the meaning of "pointing out," "announcing" etc. The donor who makes the gift has to announce or point out to the intended departed person or persons. In other words the attention of the departed person has to be drawn to it. Without this the departed one would not be able to derive any benefit from it.

Then what is the mechanisms of the transference of the benefits of the gift (*dakkhiṇâdâna*, or *sâddha*) which appears to the departed immediately? At least in the case of a god it is said to appear even without

his knowledge or expectation and he looked for its cause after he observed the enhancement of his prosperity.[41] We may have to look for an answer for this in pre-Buddhist religious beliefs.

In Brahmanic belief the sacrificer unites with results of the sacrifice (*iṣṭâpûrta*) in heaven.[42] Both fathers (*pitr*) and gods enjoy the funeral offerings (*svadhayā madantā*) in heaven.[43] The dead leave here all blemishes and unite with a new body with full vigour in heaven.[44] This new and blemishless body is created when the dead body is cremated at the funeral, which in itself is considered a sacrifice.[45] One can assume from these facts that a fresh divine object is created in heaven in place of the sacrificed object here, for the enjoyment of the sacrificer when he reaches heaven, or for the departed one or god for whose benefit the sacrifice is intended.

Not only in India, but also in other cultures of the ancient world people believed that the material needs of the dead, gods etc. could be conveyed to them either directly or by some other ritualistic means. In India such offerings were made directly to the "fathers" or gods who were believed to descend from heaven to enjoy them or by casting them into the sacrificial fire which conveyed the sacrificial objects to those intended, or else by offering them to Brahmin priests who accepted and consumed them on behalf of the "fathers" and the gods. Similar ritualistic practices were observed in other countries too. In India a Brahmin priest is compared to the sacred fire.[46] The dead are also at times said to take sustenance directly from the Brahman priests who are fed at the *srāddha* sacrifices.[47]

At first Buddhists seem to have followed the Brahmin practice replacing the Brahmin priests with Buddhist monks. In the *Janussoni* episode referred to above the Buddha did not reject the brahmanic practice but gives his own interpretation of it. Virtuous recluses and brahmans (*samanabrâhmanâ*) are called the "gift worthy fire" (*dakkhineyyaggi*) by the Buddha who gave his own interpretation and analysis of the three sacred fires, and sacrifices of the brahmans[48] A departed one (*peta*) cannot accept anything directly from a human being.[49] What is given to a virtuous monk or layman dedicating it to the departed one (*peta*) directly benefits the latter. "If you were to offer him (Buddhist arahant) a suit or two assigning it to me you will see me furnished with garments"[50], says one *peta*. Many such instances could be found from the *petavatthu*. This is not much different from the above mentioned Vedic belief. Possibly Buddhists at first believed with brahmans that a fresh object corresponding to the objects gifted appeared for the use of the intended deceased person. The view that the dead subsist on what is given from here (*ito dinnena yāpenti petā kâlakatâ tahim*)[51] may have arisen from this.

Buddhist scholarship was apparently not satisfied with the idea. Probably there were differences of opinion on the matter among various Buddhist schools of thought as reflected in the *Kathâvatthu* controversy cited above. In that context the Theravādin queries whether the departed use robes etc given from here. The opponent denies any such possibility. However the Theravādin has to admit the canonical references to the departed benefiting from what is given from here.[52] The opponent also puts a crucial question. "Do not the departed (*petā*), when a gift is given here on their behalf, approve of it, purify the mind, generate joy, and experience happiness?" And the Theravādin agree." Then you should say," rejoins the opponent "that they subsist on what is given from here".[53] Apparently there was very little difference between the two sides and so the debate ends inconclusively. The Theravâdin had to wait for the commentator to restore it for them on the lines suggested by the opponent but with canonical support.

The *Kathâvatthu* commentator suggests that the opponent has misunderstood the *sutta* statements and although he has denied it, believed that the departed do subsist on what is given from here. In actual fact, states the commentary, they do not use the articles offered here for "articles of use arise for them there due to their own approvel" (*attano anumoditattā*)[54] and the departed do this when they see the alms being offered on their behalf" (*dânam dadamânam disvā*). Clearly for the commentator nothing passes from the alms given here to the departed one. It is the "approval" (*anumodanâ* of the departed one (*peta*) which does the trick of the benefits accruing to him or her. The necessity of this "approval" is never mentioned in the *Petavatthu* text. It is introduced by the commentator and may have been taken either from early texts or directly suggested by the non Theravādin schools as found in the *Kathâvatthu*.

Anumodanā: The second component of the twin-ritual mentioned at the beginning was *pattânumodanâ* translated "approval of a meritorious act" or as understood by some "rejoicing in the merit" conferred by an outsider. But in common belief it has come to mean the "receipt of merit gifted by another."

The transitive verb *anumodati* is formed by prefixing *anu-* to the intransitive verb *modati* "to rejoice." In early Buddhist texts *anumodati* is used in two senses, viz (i) "to approve" and (ii) "to gladden," to "cheer up". The first sense is exemplified by instances where a person approves the act or words of another. For instance the Buddha approved the answer given to his first question by Ven. Sâriputa.[55] In the latter case a person speaks out to gladden the heart of a person for his good action. For instance the Buddha gladdened the layman Ugga with a few gladdening verses after partaking of a meal offered by him.[56] In another instance a group of *devas* cheered up another *deva* who was about to pass away.[57]

When used in the sense of approving, the word *anumodati* also could convey the associated sense of joy and delight. This verb is in fact often found preceded by another verb *abhinandati* "to delight". "Definitely, monks one should take delight in and approve the words without being crafty and deceptive."[58] The approval also can be accompanied by a clear mind[59] a prerequisite for generating merit. When queen Maddi for instance, approved of king Vessantara's gifting of their children, she must have done it with a feeling of sympathetic joy in his action[60]. In fact the verb *modati* is derived from the root √*mud* and is related to *muditâ* sympathetic joy.

When the Buddha enjoined his disciples to deliver an *anumodanâ* sermon at the end of a meal offered by a benefactor, what he expected was the delivery of a *dhamma-talk* to gladden the heart of that faithful devotee. Examples of such sermons found in early texts consisted mainly a few verses.[61] A more elaborate one is found in the *Brahmâyu Sutta*[62] where four causatives *samdasseti, samâdapeti, samuttejeti* and *sampahamseti* are used to describe the sermon. Significantly there is no mention of a "gifting of merit" (*pattidâna*) in any of these instances.

As referred to above the word *anumodati* does occur in early Pali texts used in the sense of approving or appreciating another's meritorious deed even without any invitation from the agent. This is said with special reference to human beings who could derive some benefit to themselves by such an approval. For instance it is stated in the *Anguttara Nikâya*[63] that when some one offers alms (*dakkhinâ*) for those who stand by approving it and for those others who give a helping hand "the gift is not empty, they also become sharers of merit."

The *Dhammapada*[64] confirms this idea when it says, "a wise man approves giving and thereby becomes happy hereafter". The commentary adds, "he due to the merit of gladly approving (another's) act of giving, is at ease enjoying divine bliss in the world beyond."[65] Probably this was the idea used by later scholars in trying to devise a mechanism for the transfer of the benefits of a meritorious act to the departed without contravening the bounds of the principle of *kamma* accepted in Buddhism. For here an approver of a meritorious deed of another generates merit for oneself by that wholesome mental act done by oneself. Therefore no merit paves from the donor here to the departed beneficiary. However in the case of the inmates of the *Pettivisaya*, and may be the *devas*, the result of the dedication appears to them immediately (*ṭhânaso upakappati*) which may not happen in the case of human beings always. The *Petavatthu* commentary explaining what happens in the case of the departed (*petâ*) says: "If, when a gift is made on behalf of the *petas*, and they (*petas*) approve of it, they become released at that moment itself by its result[66]

Views of the Milindapañha: The rational view of early Buddhism, also upheld by later scholiasts seems to have undergone certain changes in some of the post-canonical Pali works. Earliest among them, possibly giving the lead was the *Milindapañha*, usually dated in the 1st century B.C. In the disquisition of this work[67] on the making of donations for the benefit of the departed ones several important changes from the views on the same subject in the canonical texts could be seen. In the early texts[68] the word used to express the idea of the benefits of such a donation accruing to the departed is *upakappati* to benefit. But the word used in the *Milindapañha* is *pâpuṇâti* 'to reach'. As observed above the word *patti* in the head word is derived from this same *pâpuṇâti*. The *Milindapañha* also states that when some one makes a donation and wishes it should reach (*pâpuṇâti*) them the departed

ones could enjoy its consequences (*vipâkam anubhavanti*). The question also is raised whether the consequences (*vipâka*) of an evil act also could reach the departed ones. But the *Milindapañha* negates it. Only merit (*kusala*), but never demerit (*akusala*) can be shared with others. The reason given is, that "merit is more" (*bahukam*) because it can grow even after a lapse of a long period when the original act is reflected upon. Demerit is "little" (*thoka*) because the doer usually regret one's act later. So it does not increase and hence it cannot be shared. This double standard applied to merit and demerit does not appear to be logical, nor is it convincing. The view of Nāgasena that *kusala* can be shared with any person one wishes (*yaythicchikena*) also appears to be a new idea. For according to him it is clearly the "consequence" (*vipâka*) of the act which reaches the intended person. As observed above this idea has been rejected by the *Kathâvatthu* for *kamma-vipâka* cannot be held in common with others (*asâdhâranam aññesam*)

The *Milindapañha* states that when a person makes a donation, wishing the results should reach the departed ones (*petā*), not all of them are capable of receiving them. In the first place it appears to contradict the earlier statement that *kusala* is sharable with any one. Any way the work says that those who have reached the hell, heaven and the animal world cannot receive them. Here the author has completely forgotten those reborn as human beings. Then he says that of the four *petas* three viz *vantâsikâ khuppipâsikâ* and *Nijjhâmatanhikâ*, cannot receive them. Only the *Paradattûpayjîvina* "those living on what is given by others" are capable of receiving them. The *Anguttara Nikâya*, in the Buddha's reply to *Jânussonî*, does not make this division of *petas*. According to that text all inmates of the *Pettivisaya* can be benefited by such donations. The *Milindapañha* also has dropped the name *Pettivisaya* from its disquisition completely.

But even this group of persons who can benefit can do so only if they remember it (*saramânâ yeva labhanti*). Probably what is meant is not the remembering of a past act but being aware of the act of donation done by the erstwhile relatives and friends. Anyway the idea of *anumodanâ* introduced by the commentators is absent from the text. But when dealing with demerit the *Milindapañha* states that an evil act (*pâpam kammam*) cannot be shared with one who is not a co-agent or one who has not approved of it (*na sakkâ saha akatena ananumatena saha pâpam kammam samvibhajitum*). The author seems to intend that these conditions, especially approval, is not needed in the case of good acts. We have already seen that *anumodanâ* also means approval. Thus the need for an approval of a good act has not been raised by him. It is quite possible that the ideas expressed by the *Milindapañha* have influenced the later popular views on the transference of merit.

On the other hand it is possible the *Milindapañha* has been influenced by some sources extraneous to the Theravâda tradition. Dedication of merit for the benefit of all beings was an important tenet in early Mahâyâna Buddhism. Whether such thoughts influenced the author of the *Milindapañha* is not known. But we know that the *Aṣṭâsaśrikâ Prajñâpâramitâ sûtra*, said to be the earliest Mahâyâna sūtra, gives the twin virtue of *anumodanâ-parinâmanâ* – rejoicing in and bestowing of merit – even a higher place than the three classical virtues of charity, discipline and meditation. This work also has been dated in the 1st century B.C. Moreover the existence of a Chinese translation of a Sanskrit version of a *Milindapañha* has led some to speculate that the original *Milindapañha* was a *Sarvâstivâdin* work later translated into Pali.

In the view of early Buddhist canonical texts any being including humans could derive some benefit from the good acts of others if they can sincerely approve or appreciate such acts (*anumodati*). It is true that in all such cases that could be cited, the good acts concerned are gifts made to the *sangha*. The words denoting them would be either *dâna* or *dakkhinâ* and rarely *saddha*. This however does not preclude the possibility of deriving such benefits by approving other kinds of wholesome acts. But when it comes to the *Petavatthu* the wholesome act is always a gift made to the *sangha* or to some other virtuous person. The main aim of such gifts is to supply the material needs of the departed ones (*petâ*) who expect their former relatives to assist them. What they receive from these gifts always correspond to what is gifted in this world. Therefore, naturally, the *Petavatthu* is not concerned with any other form of good acts. In the *Milindapañha*, however, it is clearly stated that the results of any wholesome act, such as observing the moral precepts and keeping the Sabbath (*uposatha*) also can be shared like the results of making gifts. It is not clear what the

departed ones receive as a consequence of such acts. However, it is clear that the concept of helping the dead through such acts has undergone change. This new thinking is the basis of Buddhist popular rituals even today.

The views of popular Buddhist stories: In popular religious tales found in Pali commentaries, gifting of merit is often mentioned. In gifting of *merit* is done not merely for alleviating the suffering of the departed ones (*petas*). By this time it was widely accepted that fellow human beings can share merit and derive benefits therefrom in this life or the next. Lady Visākhā is said to have dedicated the merit she earned (*puññam pasutam*) from constructing a monastery for the Buddha and the Sangha as a gift of merit (*pattidāna vasena*) to her friends. One of them was reborn after death in the Tāvatimsa heaven by the power of merit that was bestowed.[69] An attendant of a Brahmin who backed his master's meritorious work to receive assistance from a deity, overcame his own defect by receiving merit bestowed by his master[70]. The *Dhammapada* commentary[71] also carries a legend that at the request of Sakka the Buddha instructed the monks to bestow merit on *devas* and all beings at the conclusion of a *dhamma* sermon, a custom invariably followed by all Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka even today.

The belief that one can benefit from the merit of others may have led to the strong desire expressed by some to receive merit of the good act done by others. Some were ready to forego even monetary gains in exchange for merit[72] while others show a keenness to pay ready cash to buy merit from another.[73] Such stories reflect, on the one hand, the great value attached to merit over and above material considerations or was it far enhanced material gains after death? while on the other hand a certain lowering of spiritual standards also could be seen taking place in the process. For such ennobling qualities as selfless, compassion and appreciative joy that were connected to the twin-virtue of bestowal and reception of merit, seem to have been left and when it was transformed into a commercial transaction. There are also signs of an over possessive attitude towards one's merit reflected in some of these stories. Some showed a reluctance to bestow merit on certain categories of people, e.g. women.[74] King Duṭṭhagamaṇī is reported to have desired to get all the merit for himself from his construction of the great *stūpa* and disallowed any one to work at its construction without remuneration.[75] Going on the *Mahavamsa* statement one could doubt the historicity of the *Thupavamsa* view. But it reflects the popular attitude towards merit derived from one's own good work, at the time of writing that chronicle. However, it is also important to note the view expressed by an aid of the king who conveys the above desire of the king that merit earned by working at the construction cannot be erased off by any form of remuneration made by the king. That probably comes much closer to the Buddhist spirit.

The attitude towards this concept and the practice prevalent among most Buddhists today reflect the ideas found in these popular Buddhist tales in the commentarial literature and could be traced back to the *Milndapañha*. The Sinhala terms *anumodan karai* and *anumodan vei* are used in the sense of "bestowing merit" and "receiving merit" as also confirmed by two usages *pindei* and *pinlabai* respectively. The after-meal *anumodanā* sermon by Buddhist monks is today used to make the donors dedicate merit they have gained to the dead, the *devas* and to all beings in general and not merely to gladden the donors as enjoined by the Buddha. Thus practice is clearly seen in Buddhist Sanskrit literature[76] where the term *dakṣiṇā desanā* is used in place of *anumodanā* sermon. There the *dakṣiṇā* is dedicated by the recipient of the gift at the request of the donor and not by the donors as mentioned in Pali sources.

Views of later scholars: With all these developments at popular level it is significant how Buddhist scholarship as late as even the 12[th] century A.C. adheres to the same scholarly view regarding the dedication of "meritorious deeds" held by early Theravāda scholars. The commentator of the *Petavatthu* states that "sacrificing or gift-making as a gift of merit also can be considered a wholesome deed of charity as the sacrificing of a gift-worthy object".[77] The *Saddhammopayāna*,[78] the only extant Pali work attributed to an author of the Abhayagiri fraternity, explains *pattidāna*, not as a gift of merit but as a gift of objects such as food and cloth made on behalf of others, with no expectation of benefit to oneself. On the other hand *pattānumodanā* is the "approval" or "rejoicing in" what is given as queen Manti did at the gifting of children by Vessantara.

74 ibid. i. 270

75 Thupv. Ed. Dhammaratana Thera Saccasamuccaya press p.83 *kevalam pana mahâcetiye kammam aññesam apattikam katvâ karomîti adhippâyena evam kâreti*

76 *BHS* s.v. âdisati

77 *PvA.* 9 *deyyadhammapariccâgo viya dânadhamma pariccâgopi dânamayam kusalakammam*

78 *JPTS*, 1887

217 *Param uddissa yamdânam annavatthâdi diyate pattidânantitam âhu yuttasaddhammadesakâ* 218 *Maddîva puttadânasmim dinnassabbhanumodanâ pattânumodanâtiha vuttâ uttamavâdinâ*

79 *Upâsakajanâlankâra Ed.* H. Saddhâtissa, *P.T.S, London. 1965 p. 289 kusala- kammâdhikârattâ pana parassa kammâdhikârattâ pana parassa kammasseva anubodhitabbattâ kammasseva anubodhitabbatâ kammam eva dâtabbam anumodantenâpi kammam eva anumoditabbanti idam ettha âcariyânam sannitthânam*

PATTINI. Pattini is the most popular goddess in the folk religion of the Sinhalese and Tamils of Sri Lanka. Her story of origin is depicted in a Tamil poem called *Silappadikâram* or the Ankle Bracelet. *Silappadikâram*, a poem attributed to the last part of the third *Sangam* and subsequent centuries, i.e. between the third and seventh centuries A.C. is included among the five great poetical works (*mahâkâvya*) of Tamil literature. This poem was composed by Prince Ilango Adigal, a brother of King Senguṭṭuvan, who ruled over the Western coast of South India, is considered to be a Jain. As Alan Danielou, the translator of this epic poem into English, in 1965, points out all the three great religious systems of India, namely, Brahmanism or Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism harmoniously co-exited in Southern India during the period of compilation of this poem. The date of its composition is still a matter of contention among scholars and one can easily surmise that the absence of references to the Pallavas in the South and any other paramount power in the North would indicate that the work belongs to a date anterior to the Gupta-Pallava period of Indian history.

Furthermore, the attendance of King Gajabâhu, the King of Lanka (Sri Lanka), whose participation at the festivals held in honour of the goddess of Chastity, is mentioned in the poem; and according to the accepted view of Sri Lankan Scholars his reign began in 171 A.C. at Anuradhapura. After considering all the available information the book is assigned by Ramachandra Dikshitar, the translator of the poem in 1939, to 171 A.C., and this date cannot be far from the exact date of its compilation and no argument would be raised against it if we can fix the date of the poem to the second century A.C.

Though we are now unable to trace the chronological history of the development of the cult of the goddess Pattini in Sri Lanka, she has acquired a predominant position in the rituals of the whole country. The story of Pattini has developed into various versions among the folk retualists in Sri Lanka. Before we discuss them in detail it is appropriate here to illustrate with the assistance of available sources, literary and otherwise, the development of this cult in Sri Lanka,

Literary sources of the earlier period do not find much favorable mention regarding the development of religious beliefs of the people and hence, we are uncertain about the influence of the Pattini cult had in the country during the first few centuries after it was introduced in the second century A.C. The author of *Râjâvaliya* who must have taken the reference from oral or written records available to him, suggests that the belief in Pattini would have been a feature in the religious setting of Sri Lanka. A bronze statue of Pattini, which belongs to the seventh or eighth century, was found in 1830, in the Eastern Province. In the Leslie De Saram Collection of the Colombo Museum is a statue of Pattini and there is also another statue of Pattini of the ninth or tenth century.

The presence of these images in Sri Lanka from the seventh century onwards is enough evidence to surmise that the goddess Pattini had a special niche in the pantheon of deities in the island from those early days. Therefore one can infer that the South Indian deity has been completely absorbed and adapted to Buddhist and Sinhalese religious background as a future Buddha by the Sri Lankans in order to fill a gap caused by the nonexistence of a powerful female deity among the array of deities in the pantheon. Thus she was known as pattini Ammâ (Mother Pattini), *Mâṇi MâṇiyanVahanse* (Mother of Mothers) and was attributed with the power to eradicate the diseases

known as *ammâvarunge leda* (mothers' Diseases such as mumps, chiken-pox and measles. In some areas *deyyanne leda* (gods' diseases) is the term used for this group of diseases and here we note the recognition of Pattini as the only deity in the belief system of the Sinhala Villagers capable of eradicating such diseases.

Associated with the cult of Pattini is the game of *pora pol* played in times of pestilence. The whole village in the Low county is divided into two groups called *Uḍupila* and *Yaṭipila* (Upper team and the lower team) where during this ceremony consisting of a contest of cracking the coconuts pitched by each of the two teams contesting in the name of this goddess.

The belief in the Pattini cult ever since the introduction of the worship of this goddess has been maintained throughout the history of the Sinhala culture. Even during the Kandyan period the erection of a shrine dedicated to Pattini as one of the four main *devâles* around the vicinity of the Temple of the Tooth is ample evidence of her acceptance by the Buddhists. Although the allegiance to the deity dwindled after the arrival of the Portuguese, she has occupied a greater place among the folk rituals of the land. There exist two traditions among the Buddhist villagers. Concerning the birth of Pattini one tradition speaks of seven births of Pattini and here she is named *Sat Pattini* or Seven Pattinis and the other mentions of twelve births and thus this group is known as *Dolaha* or *Dolos Pattini* or the twelve Pattinis. In Western Province, at Baṭakättara Devâlaya, Piliyandala, a ritual called *Sat Pattini Maḍuwa* is performed annually by the priests or the Kapurâlas of the Devâlaya in which the seven births of Pattini are enacted by seven kapurâlas in the presence of the devotees who gather to pay homage to Goddess Pattini. Among the compositions of folk ritualists, there still prevails an array of writings including the birth stories of Pattini, invitation songs (in the Kandyan, Sabaragamuwa and low country areas) called *Kol Mura kavi* and supplications and songs of praise of the goddess called *Pattini Mal Yahan Kavi*. *Pattini Savdama* is also included in the group of sixty-four *Savdamas* (dance sequences) in the Kandyan dancing system and even now there are exponents of Kandyan dancing who are proficient in this dance sequence.

Apart from this an index named *Kavi Bäṅdi Paṭuna* of the Sabaragamuwa mentions of thirty-five *Kol Mura* texts, which should be performed in a ritual in honour of Pattini. These texts are called *Pan tis kolmura* and they belong to various periods starting from the 15th century. The thirty-five *Kol Mura* texts are as follows:

1.*Yahan Sähälla* 2.*Visituru Katâva* 3.*Maḍu Puraya* 4.*Pahan Gämbura* 5.*Dan Kaṭinaya* 6.*Panḍi Naḷuva* 7.*Amâ Rasaya* 8.*Patasa* 9.*Solî Pura Sâgataya* 10.*Pattini Pätuma* 11.*Amba Vidamana* 12.*Himâlaya Vana Vistaraya* 13.*Kâveri Ganga Diya Helî ma* 14.*Karikal Upata* 15.*Ganga Bäñdî ma* 16.*Diya Keli Katâva* 17.*Kovil Pevî ma* 18.*Turagun Nängun Nägî ma* 19.*Sendu Keliya* 20.*Laṅda Saraṇa Kara Dun Avavâda* 21.*Ruvan Naluva* 22.*Tapas Gamana* 23.*Mâdevi Katâva* 24.*Dû keḷi Katâva* 25.*Vali Nâdaya* 26.*Kannuran Katâva* 27.*Vesi Madama* 28.*Pälañda Maravî ma* 29.*Mara Ipäddî ma* 30.*Vittiya* 31.*Sat Pattini Katâva* 32.*Vadi Pûjâva* 33.*Gajabâ Katâva* 34.*Gaṇaruva Katâva* 35.*Gevan Pana*.

Considering all these aspects it can be inferred that Pattini occupies a significant place in the village folk rituals and folk dancing of Sri Lanka, on par with the main deities, Viṣṇu and Kataragama and Saman. Judging from the fact that Viṣṇu and Kataragama are not propitiated in the Kohomba Kaṅkâriya ritual of the hill country one can argue that Pattini is the only deity who is venerated and placated in the ritualistic performances throughout the island.

Ritual dances such as the annual *Gam Maḍuva, Devol Maḍuva, Mal Maḍuva, Pahan Maḍuva Dâna Maḍuva Pûna Maḍuva, Kiri Maḍuva, Gî maḍuva, and Hallum Maḍuva* are performed in honour of this goddess. After collecting the harvest, the villagers set apart a portion of paddy of rice, first harvested from the field. In Kandyan areas this portion is called *Ak Yâla* and in the Low country it is known as *Deyyane Vî* or *Pin Vî* or the paddy of the gods and the paddy for giving in charity. The person who collects these portions of paddy or rice is known as Pattini hâmi or Kapurâla or Kapu Pattini, and it is his duty to go from house to house to collect the first portions of the paddy or rice from the fields belonging to each household, and organize the community ritual to get rid of epidemics, and invoke blessings of the pantheon of gods. At the beginning all these rituals originated with the cult of Pattini but at a later date beliefs in other deities were assimilated. The Seven Devol Gods who are said to have come to the country from South India,

(pattern of the Dispensation). The *Peṭakopadesa* is divided into eight chapters *Ariyasaccapakāsana* (Display of the Noble Truths), *Sasanapaṭṭhāna* (Pattern of the Dispensation) *Suttadhiṭṭhāna* (Terms of Expression in the Thread), *Suttavicaya* (Investigation of the Thread). *Hāravibhaṅga* (Modes of Conveying in separate treatment), *Suttatthasamuccaya* (Compendium of the Thread's meaning), *Hārasampāta* (Modes of conveying in combined treatment), *Nayasamuṭṭhāna* [2] (Moulding of the Guidelines).

It is clear that the four chapters of the *Nettippakarana* are included in the eight chapters of the *Petakopadesa*. Although there is no dispute among the scholars as regards the similarity of the contents, there is no consensus as regards their chronology. Prof. E. Hardy thinks that the *Peṭakopadesa* presupposes the *Nettippakaraṇa*. Lankananda Ven. Labugama thinks *Peṭakopadesa* is posterior to *Nettippakaraṇa* and points out that the matters not discussed in the *Nettippakaraṇa* are taken up for further discussion in the Peṭakopadesa. Winternitz too considers Petakopadesa as a continuation of the Nettippakarana. Arabinda Barua is also of the same view. Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli [3] does not agree with Hardy's thesis that the *Peṭakopadesa* presupposes the *Nettippakaraṇa*, which is based on the verse *Solasa hara netti pañcanaya sāsanassa pariyettha Aṭṭharasa mūlapada kaccāyana gotta niddiṭṭhā* found in the (*Peṭakopadesa* (p.3.). Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli points out that *Netti* in the present context does not refer to the treatise *Nettippakaraṇa* and it means "Guide lines." Rejecting the view that the *Peṭakopadesa* presupposes the *Nettippakaraṇa* he further adds "But the rest of the internal evidence all show that the *Nettippakaraṇa* must be quoting and often improving on, the older *Peṭakopadesa*".

After a careful comparison of both treatises Ñāṇamoli[4] observes "*Netti* is economical neat and not un-ingenious in the marshalling of its complex exemplifying subject matter never redunt though sometimes elliptic careful to avoid tangle discussions (*Peṭakopadesa*) on the other hand is sometimes redundant does not always subordinate well the exemplifying matter to the elements. *Netti* is severely tidy regular and formalistic in the details of its compilation, the beginning and ending of its paragraphs and placing the verses....... (*Peṭakopadesa*) is sometimes so loose and inconsistent in its paragraphs ending that the reader is puzzled to know where a paragraph or a section begins or ends, its untidy and inconsistent........" After scrutinizing the above data Nanamoli concludes "All this considered, then, neither book can be called a "continuation" [5]. But one of them must be rather re-written version of the other. In fact the *Nettippakaraṇa* is always so much more polished than (*Peṭakopadesa*), as *Mahavamsa* is than the *Dipavamsa* and so different in this particular way as not only to preclude their being by the same writer, but to make it inconceivable that *Peṭakopadesa* was compiled by any one who has written or read the *Nettippakaraṇa*." (For further details of this comparison the reader is referred to the "Guide" by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli *PTS*. London 1977 Translator's Introduction p. xxiii-xxv).

It is significant that Ñāṇamoli has observed several instances where the *Peṭakopadesa* appear "further from the suttas" such as "nine types of Arahants", use of the term "*Parihānidhamma*" to a path attainer, "Ten Powers of a Perfect One", exposition of four "*Patisambhidā*" which differs considerably from the suttas etc. (For further details reader is referred to *op. cit*. xxii).

The scholars in the *Peṭakopadesa* have noted certain peculiarities. It has no prologue or *Panāmagathās* (obeisance verses). While other Theravāda treatises pay homage to the single Buddha at the beginning, *Peṭakopadesa* pays homage to many Buddhas "*namo samma sambuddhānaṃ paramatthadassinaṃ sīladigunapāramī pattānaṃ* (homage to Buddhas who show the ultimate Truth and who have reached extreme end of virtues). This is a deviation from the Theravāda tradition and the reason for which is not clear.

Furthermore there is no commentary written to the *Peṭakopadesa*. Dhammapāla wrote the commentary to the *Nettippakaraṇa* only. Possibly Dhammapāla would have thought that when the commentary is written to *Nettippakaraṇa* it would be sufficient because both treatises more less deal with the same subject matter. However, *Gandhavamsa* says a *Tikā* (sub-commentary) has been written to the *Peṭakopadesa* by a teacher named Udumbaracariya. *Peṭakopadesa* is edited by Arabinda Barua and published by the *PTS*. 1949.

K. Arunasiri.

References

1 *Nettippakarana* edited by Prof. E. Hardy P.T.S. 1961 Introduction XX
2 Nanamoli op.cit. Translator' s Introduction xviii points out that the name of the last chapter of the *Petakopadesa* appearing as Suttavebhangiya in the *Petakopadesa* text is a mistake. The epithet applied to the author has been erroneously used as the name of the chapter. The correct name of the chapter should be Nayasamutthana
3 The Guide (*Nettippakarana*) translated by Bhikkhu Nanamoli PTS. London 1977 Translators Inntroduction xxv-xxvi
4 Nanamoli *op.cit*. translators Introduction xxiii-v
5 The commentator Dhammapala in the prologue of his *Nettippakarana* commentary says that he collated with the Petakopadesa (*petakena sansandetva*). But he says nothing about either work being a "continuation" of the other or about their relationship

PETAVATTHU, VIMÂNAVATTHU. The *Petavatthu* and, almost its twin, the *Vimânavatthu* are two of the fifteen texts identified by the Commentator Buddhaghosa (*DA*. I. p. 17) as comprising the *Khuddaka Nikâya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. The two works which, can be described as depicting the two sides of the same coin have been composed to instill in the minds of the not so intellectually matured Buddhist devotees the twin doctrines of *Kamma* and rebirth which had come to be regarded as the mainstay of popular Buddhism in all Buddhist countries under all denominations. While the *Petavatthu* attempts to depict in general the evil consequences of unwholesome actions experienced after death, the *Vimânavatthu* on the contrary tries to depict the benign consequences of wholesome deeds after death.

It is worthwhile noting here that, according to Buddhaghosa, the schools of reciters (*bhânaka*) of both the *Dīgha Nikâya* and the *Majjhima Nikâya* had accepted these two texts as one single work under the title *Vimâna- Petavatthu* (*DA*. I. 15) and not as two separate works. This would confirm that the common features of the two texts were noted even at an early date. Modern scholars also speak of the close relations, between the two texts. Thus for instance Rhys Davids, discussing the *Petavatthu vis-a vis* the *Vimânavatthu*, says it is "really only the other half of one and the same work."[1]

Most of the modern scholars are almost unanimous that many of the books included under the *Khuddaka Nikâya* are of late origin. Of the present two works Rhys Davids says, "And the whole of that little book of verses together with the *Vimânavatthu* is certainly very late in tone as compared with the *Nikâyas*" (*ibid*). There is enough internal evidence from the two texts to prove that they contain material of much late origin than the time of the Buddha. Serissaka of the Serissaka Vimâna avers that one hundred years have elapsed since his birth in there (*VvA*. 344). Since he claims to be the chieftain Pâyâsi who lived in the time of the Buddha in his last birth, we have to accept that the story in the text, actually it is included in both the *Vimâmavatthu* and the *Petavatthu*, originated hundred years or so after the demise of the Buddha. The same story (*ibid*. 380) and a number of other stories in both texts refer to the city of Pataliputta, which became the capital of the Magadhan Kingdom long after the demise of the Buddha. At the time of the Buddha's passing away it was still a border village named Pataligâma being fortified by the Magadhans against the Vajjians (*D*. II. 86ff) and the Buddha who visited the place on his last journey to Kusinârâ predicted the future of the place as a great city.

The *Petavatthu* refers to a certain Sub-king of Suraṭṭha named Pingalaka who had come to pay respects to a certain Maurya King. The commentary asserts that this was a reference to Emperor Asoka and that the event took place two hundred years after the Buddha (*SHB. PvA*. p.174, 175,179). In many instances the commentators refer to verses added to the texts by participants of the Buddhist Councils (eg. *VvA*. 49,108,294 etc.) proving that they were not completed before the passing away of the Buddha. The Serissaka Vimâna story, found in both the texts was added by the Elder of the second council led by the Elder Yasa, according to the commentator (*VvA*. 352). While the *Nandaka Peta* story, according to the commentator, was added by the Elders of the third Buddhist Council (*SHB. pvA*. 183)

The two texts also refer to the cult of stûpa worship seems to have been popularized by Emperor Asoka. The *Dhâtuvivaṇṇaka* story of the *Petavatthu* speaks of a person who suffered the consequences of criticizing the worship of the Buddha's bodily relics (*ibid*. 152). On the other hand the *Vimânavatthu* (*Vvu*. 200ff) refers to instances of beings enjoying the happy results of

the medium of a virtuous person or persons who could be a virtuous Buddhist monk or even a layman. However the best to play this role is a spiritually perfected *arahant* or the Buddhist *sangha*, the community of monks and nuns. What is gifted to such a person of the *sangha*, dedicating it to the dead, if accepted, reach the dead immediately. This however is modified in the commentary where the benefits reaching the dead person is made conditional on a sinsere approval of the act with a joyous heart (*anumodanā*) by the dead (*ibid.* p. 7, 21).

Included in the text are also a few poems dealing with the futility of mourning for the dead. It brings no benefit what so ever for the dead. Instead the relatives of a deceased should conduct religious activities as described above which would be the only service they could do to them. The *Goṇa, Uraga, Kaṇha, Ubbari* and *Maṭṭakuṇḍali* stories are devoted to this subject.

The *Petavatthu* is popularly regarded as a book of stories of unhappy and miserable ghosts, sometimes also called 'hungry ghosts'. But the above discussion would prove that this is not the whole truth. In the early *Nikāyas* the word *peta* (*skt. preta*) meaning 'the departed', 'the dead and gone', is never used in the sense of a particular class of spirits. It is used mostly in the sense of 'the dead' and rarely in the sense of a corpse. But in the *Petavatthu* it has been mostly used in the sense of a species of non-human living beings identified with the dwellers of the *Pettivisaya*, one of the three or four sub-human woeful states. Possibly Buddhists have been influenced in this by the post-vedic Brahmanic usage designating thus the disembodied dead on their way to the seat of Yama (s.v. *pattidāna-pattānumodanā*). Yet not completely disregarding the early sense of the word the *Petavatthu* has included within the collection not only stories of the so-called 'hungry–ghosts', but also stories of a class called *petā- mahiddhikā* or *vimāna-petas* and so forth as shown above. Therefore the common factor which unites all the poems in the *Petavatthu* is not the 'hungry ghosts' but the subject of 'death and the dead'.

The *Vimānavatthu* is a much larger collection of versified stories. Altogether there are eighty-five main poems divided into seven cantos. Some of the poems are very short consisting of around seven or eight stanzas while the longer ones like the *Serissaka* poem have more than fifty stanzas. Unlike in the *Petavatthu* there is a homogeneity in the subject matter of the poems and in the arrangement of the scheme of the poems. From the beginning to the end of the collection the poems deal with a set of happy divine beings, occupying celestial mansions (*vimānas*), sometimes rendered into English as 'aerial cars' or 'chariots', extremely beautiful and luxurious, enjoying the splendid consequences of some wholesome activities done in their immediately past birth as human beings.

Throughout, the scheme of the poem is the same. A Buddhist monk, an arahant or some ordinary person or a group of persons and sometimes Sakka, king of gods, having seen the splendors of the divine mansion and the luxuries enjoyed by the occupant, give a brief description there of and questions him or her on the meritorious deed, or the pure religious life in the past birth which brought about such a gain. The occupant of the mansion, in answer, gives the courses, which led to such results. In longer poems like the *Serissaka* the conversation is much longer and the courses and the results are given in more detail.

In most of the shorter poems the background story seems to have been supplied by the commentator. In this respect, however, the *Guttila Vimāna* story needs some special comment. Under this same name are collected as many as thirty-six short poems, which differed only in the material gift, proffered in the past birth or any other religious duty performed to bring about the present results. Probably, because of their similarity, the commentator adopted this device to curtail his work of inventing thirty-five more background stories. The poem itself does not mention even the name Guttila in it.

Doctrinal Developments

As pointed out above these two texts have given a very important place to the twin-doctrine of *kamma* and rebirth and, that too, in a developed form perhaps more appealing to the ordinary masses. When in early Buddhism the primary place is given to the ending of *kamma* and rebirth with only a secondary interest shown in gaining a happy after life through meritorious action, the present two works seem to give the primary place to the latter ideal with only rare attention paid to the former. Even in the case of the ideal emphasized its basis of kammic activity has taken a different turn in these younger texts.

The view, "In whichever way that man does a deed in some way he will experience (its result)", is rejected in early Buddhism (*A.* I, 249). The same discourse also states that an insignificant evil action done by a person of generally good character will have little effect like a grain of salt thrown into a mass of water like the Ganges. On the other hand the same evil action by a person of general evil character will be more effective like a grain of salt in a small cup of water. The effects of an insignificant good action also could be understood in the same manner. According to the *Kukkuravatika Sutta* (*M.* 1,389 ff) it is the cumulative effect of bodily, vocal and mental action over a period of time that makes a person to be reborn in a pleasurable or painful environment corresponding to the *kamma*. Coming into contact with the environment that person would experience pleasurable or painful feelings. Even in the *Culla kammavibhanga Sutta* (*ibid.* III. 202 ff) where relations between the *kamma* and the effects are given in detail, it is the types of *kammas* rather than the individual *kammas* that is emphasized. In the case of the effects of material gifts what is emphasized is the effect they could have on the recipient rather than the retributive effect on the donor. Thus a giver of food gives strength, a giver of clothes gives complexion etc. (*S.* I, 32).

In the *Petavatthu* and the *Vimânavatthu* it is the punishment or the reward, which reverts to the doer of the act for each individual action perpetrated that is always spoken about. And that punishment or reward always correspond to the action done. It is also received multiplied manifold to the insignificant act performed in the last birth. Commentators have coined the term *Kammasarikkhatâ* (*Vvu.* p. 6), also called *Kammasarikkhaka* (*Pvu. SHB*, 184, 203), meaning 'corresponding to the act' or 'in accordance with the act' to designate this new conception. Thus a woman who provided a seat to a virtuous monk received in consequence a golden couch, which could be moved at will with great speed. The commentary expanding on it says that the woman had covered the seat with a yellow piece of cloth, which resulted in the golden colour of the couch (*Vvu.* 27ff). Two persons, a brahamin youth and outcaste woman who had saluted the Buddha with devotion just prior to death resulted in their rebirth in beautiful mansions (*ibid.* 322ff., 104ff) without the aid of any other *kamma*. A hunter who lived by deerstalking was reborn a naked *peta*. But the upper part of his body with the head was wreathed beautifully with flowers. This was the result of his one-day distributing some flowers among the village boys (*Pvu, SHB*, 121ff). A Buddhist monk who was cursed with a foul mouth was reborn a *peta* with a golden coloured body but with a putrid mouth infested with worms. The golden colour was the result of his monkhood although he was a pretender (*ibid.* 9 ff). Another powerful *peta* (*petā-mahiddhikā*) was fully naked but was riding a powerful white stallion. He had for fun hidden for a while the garment of his friend who was bathing. This resulted in his nakedness. But generally he was a good person. He had placed the skull of an ox in a puddle on the road to assist pedestrians to cross it easily. This was the cause of his white stallion (*ibid* 160). Thus both these texts are united in enunciating the concept of *kamma*-correspondence. Even an insignificant wrong act could accordingly bring dire consequences in the very next birth like an immediacy *Kamma* (*ânantarika*). It is the same with insignificant good acts. Nothing, it seems, goes unpunished or unrewarded. This quite obviously contradicts the above *Anguttara Nikâya* discourse. However it must have helped to popularize Buddhism among the uneducated and the less intelligent stratas in society who could not easily grasp the profound teachings of the Buddha.

Socio- religious Significance

Early Buddhism was, without much contradiction, a religion for the intellectually advanced and not for the masses. The Buddha himself declared that his teachings were for the intelligent (*paññâvantassa*) and not for the unintelligent (*duppaññassa*). This did not in any way mean that the ordinary unintelligent were completely excluded from the Buddha's attention. His compassionate attitude to all humanity, which cut across all natural or man-made divisions, induced many from lower stratas of society to flock to him. Persons like the bhikkhu Suneeta, a man from the streets, was able to make a great success of his religious life. Opening the doors of the Sangha to women also gave the opportunity for many uneducated and socially neglected women to find some solace within the Buddhist fold. The *Therigâthâ* gives many instances of women of this class who found a place in the sun through Buddhism.

But the majority of ordinary men and women who chose to follow the teachings of the Buddha did not

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

Volume VII , Fascicle 3

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

Founder Editor-in Chief

G. P. MALALASEKERA, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Professor Emeritus

Editor-in Chief

W. G. WEERARATNE, M. A., Ph. D.

VOLUME VII

FASCICLE 3 : Petavatthu' – Saddhammapajjotikā

2005

PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SRI LANKA

Published by the Department of Buddhist Affairs,
Ministry of Buddhasasana,
Sri Lanka.

Printed at The Govt. Printing Dept. Sri Lanka.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM
EDITORIAL BOARD

a stingy and unrestrained man" (*ibid.* 167) was the description of Ambasakkhara, the Licchavi chief.

Chastity and purity in marital life are much appreciated in Buddhism. Men and women who overstep the third moral precept are often met with in the *Petavatthu*. There were also those who, when caught, denied one's transgression and deprecated themselves invoking on themselves dire consequences in the next birth. They also have to reap the painful harvest as they wished.

Jealousy among co-wifes led to a lot of family feudes. In the *Mattā Peta* story (*ibid.* 62ff) is a good character portrayal of a jealous senior co-wife who harassed the younger woman preferred by the husband. Causing abortions in one's partner was often practised in such cases (eg. *ibid.* 26, 29). The *Petavatthu*, as shown above did not spare the errant Buddhist monks for their misdeeds. This in fact, is a social critique of some sort. By bringing these up, and promising dire consequences for the perpetrators, the *Petavatthu* seems to be doing a form of social classing. On the other hand it is trying to drive into the heads of the laity as well as monks of the importance of moral discipline for peace and harmony in society.

The characters of the *Petavatthu* poems are drawn from various stratas in society. Men, women, the rich and the poor, princes and serfs, householders and monks all play important roles in them. However in the *Vimānavatthu* there is a marked difference. All the main characters are naturally lay men and women for it is to them that the message of the text is directed. Yet of all these lay followers the majorities happen to be women. Of the eighty-five main stories fifty have females in the main role. There are also another thirty-five in the minor stories within the *Guttila Vimāna* story. Thus there are altogether eighty-five female roles in the poems. It is a signicant development in Buddhist canonical literature. If we leave aside the *Therīgāthā* concerned with the ordained female disciples and a much later addition, the bhikkhuni section of the *Apadāna* dealing with their past lives this is the only work that gives such an important place for women. This fact has not been taken into consideration by those who have commented on this work.

On its onward march into various nooks and corners in India the compassionate message of the Buddha attracted people from all walks of life. As pointed out above this is made clear even from passages in the early discourses and the *vinaya* texts. The *Therīgāthā* and the *Bhikkhunī Apadāna* show that dominant monks could not ignore the females as they formed a prominent segment in the Buddhist society. Many of the females in the *Vimānavatthu* are not women of great means. They were mostly ordinary poor village women with slave girls, destitutes, outcastes and daughters-in-law in the iron grip of their mothers-in -law added to the stock. Their position in life can be gauged by the poor quality of the gifts made. Often the comment is made (eg. *Vvu.* 28, 31), which is supported by the commentator (*ibid.* p. 5), that the material quality of a gift makes no difference to the rich retribution if it is given with a pure heart to the spiritually qualified. The same is found in the *Petavatthu* too. When a gift is made for the benefit of the dead, it is not the pecuniary value or the material quality but the sincere wish of the donor and the spiritual or moral quality of the recipient that mattered. Sometimes the gifts made were the begged food, or a piece of cloth or a pair of slippers picked from the street by a Buddhist monk (*Pvu. SHB.* 130ff). This would show that the Buddhist monks of the two texts were not merely the patrons of the rich and powerful but the poor, the uneducated and the destitutes of the society also received their compassionate attention. Buddhism had in fact expanded into the lower stratas of society and the Buddhists were eager to win supporters from even the lowest who were ignored by the Brahman priesthood.

C. Witanachchi

References

1. Rhys Davids, T.W., *Buddhist India*, Susil Gupta (India) Ltd, 1950, p. 113.
2. Bhandakar, D.R., *Asoka*, University of Calcutta, 1955, p. 268.
3. *ibid.* p. 115
4. *ibid.* p. 269
5. Abeynayake, Oliver, *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, Colombo, 1984, p. 83
6. *ibid.*
7. *ibid.*
8. *ibid.*
9. *Minor Anthologies* Vol. IV *SBB* Vol. XII Tr. J. Kennedy and H. S. Jehman , 1942, p. 138
10. *ibid.* p. VIII
11. *Vvu.* 211 *ajjhagā amatam santimNibbānampadam accutam*

PETTIVISAYA, Sometimes also *Pittivisaya*, "the Realm of the Fathers" is the third of the five destinies after death (*pañcagati*) open to any unemancipated being according to Pâli sources. In later Pâli literature this same plane of existence is also called *petavisaya*, *petaloka*, and sometimes also *yamaloka* and *yamavisaya* which can be rendered 'realm of the departed' 'world of the departed', 'world of Yama' and 'realm of Yama' respectively. Since the world *peta* has been used to denote a specific species of beings the first two terms may also be rendered 'realm of the *petas*' and 'world of the *petas*' respectively. Anyway the word *pettivisaya* found in early Pâli sources has been relegated to the background in later sources specially by such terms as *petaloka* and *petavisaya* so much so that even the etymological significance of the term *pettivisaya* has been forgotten by Buddhist writers.

Petti in the Pâli term *pettivisaya* is obviously related to the Vedic *pitṛ*, *pitar* 'father'. Such other terms as '*pettika*' 'paternal', *petteyya* 'father-loving', *petteyyatâ* 'reverence for one's father', *pettanika* 'living out of what is inherited from father', and above all *petti* for 'father' in *mâtā-petti bharamjantum*[1] show the close relationship between Vedic *pitṛ* and Pâli *petti*. The term *petti-pitâmahâ* is also used sometime for ancestors[2]. The word *peta* (Skt. *preta*), on the other hand, is derived from the √i, 'to go', prefixed with *pa* (Skt. *pra*) and could be rendered 'gone past', 'departed', 'gone before', 'dead' 'departed one', etc. (*ibid* s. v. peta)

Pitṛ / Preta in Vedic / Hindu thought : The term *pettiviśaya* or *pettivisaya* naturally takes our minds back to the realm of fathers (*pitṛloka*) in Vedic literature and *pitṛyâna* in the upanishads. In early Vedic literature fathers (*pitṛ*), in the ancestors, were thought to be resident among gods in the third and the hightest heaven, in the abode of Yama, the King of the fathers. This was the destiny that the Ṛg Vedic Aryans yearned to attain after death. But these views underwent gradual change and the world of the fathers came to be separated from that of the *devas* thus those travelling on the path of the *devas* (*devayâna*) came to be regarded as not returning to this world whereas those travelling by the path of the fathers (*pitṛyâna*) were believed to return once the result of the sacrifices offered in this world (*iṣṭâpûrta*), are exhausted.

In the *Purāṇas* Yama is transformed into a judge who decides the destiny of the dead, whether to punish them in hell or reward them in the city of Yama, which seems to be the same as the former 'world of the fathers'. The disembodied soul, of the dead journeys to the seat of Yama in a *preta-body* created by consuming the lumps of food offered to the newly deceased person during the first ten days after death[3]. If these lumps of food are not offered the disembodied soul wanders in great misery in an uninhabited forest[4]. If, during the first year after death, the sixteen monthly *śrâddhas* are denied to any newly deceased person, no matter even a hundred annual *śrâddhas* are offered later on, his or her 'condition of a departed one' (*pretrya*) becomes firmly fixed[5]. The departed ones in these conditions of a *preta* have to undergo much suffering. To liberate such a *preta* from the suffering in pretahood one has to perform a special ritual like the Nârâyanabali[6]. But normally at the conclusion of all the required *śrâddhas*, said to be forty eight in all during the year, ' the condition of a departed one' (*pretavya*) is destroyed and the deceased becomes a member of the assembly of the fathers[7].

Affinities between Pâli Pettivisaya and Vedic Pitṛ-loka : Besides the etymological links revealed by the references cited above there are also obvious relics of the older concept scattered throughout the Pâli canonical works, which confirm the ultimate connection between the Vedic and Buddhist concepts. In-spite of the fact that Yama is more popularly known to the Buddhist tradition as the ruler of the *niraya*, the hell, sometimes the *pettivisaya* is still referred to as *yama-loka*. For instance a discourse in the *Saṃyutta Nikâya*[8] substitutes *pettivisaya* by *yamaloka* in an enumeration of the woeful states. In the *Petavatthu*[9] *pettivisaya* is also referred to as *yamavisaya* and the inmates of the *pettivisaya* are called *yamassa thâniyo*[10] and *Yamalokikâ*[11]. The obvious link between these terms is exemplified by the *Paramatthadipanî*[12] gloss as *yamassaṭhâne pettivisaye*.

In the *Kunâlajâtaka*[13] *pettivisaya* is called *petarājavisaya* and the commentator takes this to mean *petavisaya* and *Kâlakakañjaka-asura-visaya*[14]. It is probable that in this context *peta-râja* is the same as Yama and it may be derived from *pitṛ-râja* through *petti-râja*. In the *Mahâbhârata* Yama is also called *Pitṛ-râja*[15]. But in a verse quoted in the *Kathāvatthu* (p. 597) *Pettirâja* and Yama are represented as two different personages. Probably by the time this verse was composed they had come to be regarded as two

different individuals. The *Mahā Nārada Kassapa Jātaka*[16] refers to the two dogs Sabala and Sâma who attack the dead with their iron teeth. These certainly are the two brindled dogs-Śabalau Suânau of Yama referred to in Vedic texts[17]. In an attempt to prove the existence of a life after death the same *Jātaka* also asserts the existence of a class of beings called 'the fathers' (*pitaro*) besides the *devas*[18]. The *Brahmanadhamma Sutta* too refers to the fathers among those who decried the first slaughter of a cow[19]. The fathers in these contexts are undoubtedly the *pitrs*, 'the manes', who are so frequently mentioned in Vedic texts as a class of beings separate from the *devas* and presided over by Yama, the king of the dead.

However there is something more important to establish the link between the *pettivisaya* of the Buddhist texts and the *pitrs* of the Vedas. In a statement attributed to the Buddha a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikâya*[20] states that the dwellers of the *pettivisaya* depend for their sustenance on whatever there is as food of the dwellers in that existences or on whatever is given by their friends and associates, relatives and kinsmen of the former birth. This in fact is also the case with the dwellers of the *pitṛ loka* in the Vedas. Vedic hymns describe how the *pitṛs* are offered sacrifices by their former relatives and how the fathers come to receive these offerings and how they enjoy in heaven the offerings made to them[21].

Apart from such stray references, which prove the historical links between the Buddhist *pettivisaya* and the vedic *pitṛ loka* and the stories of a certain class of powerful *petas* (*petâ mahiddhikâ*), found in later Pâli works, who are said to enjoy some form of happy existence, there is nothing much in common between the Vedic fathers and the dwellers of the *pettivisaya*. Even these powerful *petas*, also called *Vimâna-petâ*, unlike the Vedic 'fathers' are not dwellers in any heavenly world. They are said to dwell in 'terrestrial' mansions (*vimâna*) situated for the most part in remote and desolate corners of the earth, sometimes on trees and even in mid-ocean. It is even possible that they are an addition to the Buddhist pantheon from a source other than the Vedic religion.

The picture of the *pittivisaya* presented in the Pâli canonical sources, rather hazy though it may look, is a far cry from the *pitṛ loka* of the Vedas aspired to by the Vedic Aryans. There in the highest heaven 'fathers' meet the two kings, god Varuna and Yama enjoying the offerings made to the dead[22]. They also have the opportunity of travelling in the same car with god Indra and other gods[23]. In the Vedic hymns fathers are a happy lot feasting together with Yama[24] and, to them are attributed many difficult feats[25], which demonstrate their power and importance in the Vedic system.

In contrast the *pettivisaya* of the Buddhist discourses is one of the sub-human woeful states of existence (*apâya*) wherein are born evil doers to suffer for their past evil actions. As a place of woe the *pettivisaya* is said to be preferable to the realm of animals (*tiracchânayoni*) and therefore, by inference, to the *niraya* (*M.* I. 193). In comparison the suffering in the *pettivisaya*, seems to be less harsh than that in the above two planes of existence. Yet it is described as a place where suffering is found in abundance (*dukkha-bahula*). Those born here experience feelings abundantly painful[26]. According to the commentary suffering itself is found in abundance in the *pettivisaya* (*dukkhameva bahulam*). But the possibility of some form of happiness is not completely ruled out. There is the possibility that the inmates of this state also can enjoy some sort of happiness however rare that may be[27]. This may be the reason why this plane of existence is preferable to the other two planes of woe. The opportunity of receiving the benefit of gift made on their behalf by their erstwhile kinsmen and friends could be the reason for this rare respite falling to their lot. Actually according to later sources they can be freed from their suffering by such gifts.

The Buddha has compared the *pettivisaya* to a tree, growing on uneven ground, with sparse leaves and foliage casting a patchy shade (*kabaracchâyo*). A tired man, fatigued with heat and thirst, taking shelter in the patchy shade of this tree experiences feelings abundantly painful[28]. Yet we could understand that this is a much more desirable place to a cesspit or a pit full of burning charcoal to which the animal birth and *niraya* respectively are compared to in the same discourse[29].

Pettivisaya and Petavisaya/Petaloka.- In some of the later canonical works like the *Petavatthu* and post-canonical Pâli commentarial works, *pettivisaya* has come to be regarded as synonymous with *petavisaya* or *petaloka* and, hence, the dwellers of the *pettivisaya* are identified with *petas*, 'the departed'. *Petas* of the *Petavatthu* often describe themselves as dwellers of *Yamaloka* or *Yamavisaya*[30]. The *Yamaloka*, according

to the Vedic conception should be the same as *Pitṛloka*. In later Hindu works the dead reach Yama only when their *petahood* is destroyed and not before that. Their *petahood* is only an intermediate state between death and the *Yamaloka*. But Buddhaghosa explains *pettivisaya* as 'the realm of those who have reached *petahood* or departedness'[31]. Since this interpretation makes the *pettivisaya* the abode of *petas*, the dwellers of the *pettivisaya* (*pettivisayakā*) automatically become identified 'the departed' (*petā*). Attempts are also made to interpret *petti* in terms of *peta*. Thus the *Vibhaṅga* commentary[32] says *petti* is so called 'because of departedness' or because of 'having gone past' or 'having departed'. The original meaning of the word is thus completely obliterated.

This is almost the same interpretation given to the word *peta* in the *Majjhima Nikâya* commentary[33]. "*Petas* are those who have gone to the condition of the departed, the dead". The acceptance of this interpretation given to the word *petti* in *pettivisaya* would lead us to a very difficult position. For if *petti* is taken to be synonymous with *peta*, as quite correctly pointed out by the commentators as the departed ones, the dead, then the *pettivisaya* would become 'the abode of the dead'. It logically follows that all the dead should be reborn in the *pettivisaya*, a position more in line with the early Vedic view. The next step for us would be to reject the earlier expressed view, attested to by the discourses of the Buddha, that the *pettivisaya* is only one of the five destinies open to all beings who are non-arahants. This certainly is not an acceptable position and the commentaries have definitely erred in not considering the possibility of an alternative interpretation for *petti*. One cannot say that erudite scholars like Buddhaghosa and Dhammapala were ignorant of the use of the word *petti* in the sense of 'father'. In fact in the *Jâtaka* commentary[34], traditionally attributed to Buddhaghosa, *petti-pitâmahânam* is glossed *pitu-pitâmahânam*. Therefore the probable cause for this error must have been a strong tradition prevalent at the time, which identified *pettivisaya* with *petaloka* or *petavisaya* and the inmates of the *pettivisaya* with *petas*, which the commentators could not ignore.

Peta in Early Discourses of the Pâli Canon: However, there is nothing in the early parts of the canon to conclude that the Buddha or his close disciples had used the term *peta* as synonymous with *pettivisayikā*, the term used to designate the dwellers of the *pettivisaya*. In these early discourses there is no trace of any concept of a *petaloka* or *petavisaya* identical or separate from the *pettivisaya*. Nevertheless the word *peta* occurs in these discourses but without any reference to an abode or a plane of existence corresponding to it.

In most of the instances where the word *peta* is used in these early texts it is found coupled by another term, *Kâlakata*, 'dead'. For instance the *Sigâlovâda Suttanta*[35] includes among duties of children towards their parents the offering religious gifts made on their behalf when they are dead and gone. According to the *Sutta Nipâta*[36] one does not see a loved one who is dead and departed. The *Niddesa*[37] gloss clarifies that *peta* in this context is 'the dead and departed' and not any specific class of beings. The same work adds, 'one does not see (it), will not see (it)', does not realise, experience or obtain (it)'. Even in a later canonical text like the *Petavatthu* a *peta* is not always a dweller of the *pettivisaya*. In a number of stories of this work, eg. the *Kaṇha Petavatthu*[38] the word *peta* is used in its original sense as a 'departed one'. But in a majority of cases in the *Petavatthu* what is denied of them in the *Niddesa* is no longer true, for the *petas*, here, can make themselves visible to any human being.

These instances amply demonstrate that the word *peta* was used by the early and some of the later canonical works like the *Niddesa* to mean the dead in general and not for any specific category of the dead. This is also proved beyond any reasonable doubt by another discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[39]. There a brahaman named Janussoni questions the Buddha whether the gifts (*dâna*) and funerary offerings (*sâddha*) made by them with the wish that they benefit their dead kith and kin actually profit them and whether they enjoy them. The Buddha's answer was that only the dead and departed kinsmen who are reborn in the *pettivisaya* (*pettivisayikā*) would benefit from such gifts etc. Those dead and departed (*petākālakatā*) reborn among *devas*, human beings, animals and the inmates of *niraya* would not benefit from them. It is clear from this discourse that the dwellers of the *pettivisaya* were simply called *pettivisayikâ* and never *petā*, which was the general term applied for all the dead irrespective of the plane of existence (*gati*) where they were reborn after death.

Peta and Pubbapeta: The word *peta* used in the Pâli discourses is sometimes prefixed by another term *pubba* (Skt. *pûrva*) thus forming the term *pubbapeta* (cp. Rv. *pûrve pitaro*). Once, it is said, discussing all of wandering ascetics were discussing of sorts of subjects among which was included the topic *pubbapeta* 'the formerly departed'[40]. *Pubbapetâ* are included among a variety of persons benefited by the birth of a noble man (*sappurisa*)[41]. Offerings to the *pubbapetas* is one of the five offerings one should make with one's righteously earned wealth[42]. The Brahman Dhananjâni tells Ven. Sariputta that duties towards the formerly departed are among the many duties he has to perform[43]. According to the *Petavatthu*[44] a person can offer gifts on account of one's formerly departed relatives. As this is a term found frequently in the early discourses it is worth trying to find out whether early Buddhists had in mind a distinct clan of the dead when they used this term.

Buddhaghosa's comments do not indicate that he saw a big difference between this term and the more frequently used *petâ kâlakatâ*. The *Monorathapûranî*[45] twice explains the term as "relatives gone to the world beyond". But Dhammapala's[46] explanation is slightly different. He calls them ' certain former fathers'. The use of the term *pitaro* naturally recalls the Vedic 'fathers' (*pitarah*). This could also indicate some link between the Pâli *pubbapeta* and the Rg Vedic *pûrve pitarah*. But the word 'fathers; although it could refer to the dead in general, would be more meaningful if taken to mean one's ancestors, for the word 'father' also indicates the link of kinship between the subject and the object of reference. Explanations of the Pâli commentators also bring out this link. To Buddhaghosa they were relatives gone to the world beyond and to Dhammapala they are 'certain former fathers'. Therefore it is probable *pubbapetâ* refers to one's ancestors and not to the dead in general referred to as *petâ* or *petâ kālakatâ*. Hence B.C. Law's[47] view that Buddhist *petâ* are their departed relatives may not be completely so. It should be amended to *pubbapetâ* or *petâ ñâtisalohitâ*.

This conclusion seems to be further supported by the *Milindapañha*[48], which has taken up for discussion the same problem raised, as above, by Janussoni. But the *Milindapañha* replaces *petâ ñâtisalohitâ* with *pubbapetâ*. In Nagasena's reply he refers to the formerly departed ones reborn in the *niraya*, in the heavens, among animals and *petas* of four kinds, which last category replacing the *pettivisayikâ* in the Buddha's reply. Nagasena also omits those reborn among human beings from his list. But what is important is that this work use *pubbapetâ* in place of *petâ ñâtisalohitâ* showing that these two terms are taken to be synonymous.

A group of Strange Creatures: In the *Samyutta Nikâya*[49] is found a series of stereotyped episodes dealing with a class of undesignated, but utterly miserable beings. Each of these stories brings to our notice a description of a different set of beings, seen on different occasions, by Arahant Mahâ Moggallâna on the slopes of the mount Gijjakûta. The Arahant makes each revelation in the presence of the Buddha in response to a query put to him by Arahant Lakkhana who was living with him at the time. The Buddha confirms the existence of those strange beings seen by the Elder. Further more he says that he himself had witnessed them and also reveals the past evil actions of these beings commited as human beings for which they suffer now. In their former lives as human beings they had been living at Râjagaha or some other place.

The same series of stories is found in identical terms in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[50]. However on each of these occasions Arahant Mahâ Moggallâna is accused by other monks of speaking falsely of phenomena beyond the human ken. But the Buddha came to the defence of his second chief disciple confirming his visions and declared him to be free from any offence.

The most important point about these stories is that in spite of these beings possessing the closest resemblance to the miserable *petas* of the *Petavatthu* and other later works the *Samyutta Nikâya* discourses or the *Vinaya piṭaka* never use the term *peta* with reference to them. In both these sources Mahâ Moggallâna exclaims, "O it is unbelievable, it is so strange that there should be a creature like this, that there should be a *yakkha* like this, that there should be one with such an individuality (*attabhâva-paṭilâbho*)". It seems that the term *peta* has not yet been used to designate any particular class of beings. However the use of the word *yakkha*, not found in some manuscripts[51] is significant. It may be a link between early Canonical stories and the later *Petavatthu* stories. The word *yakkha* is sometimes found in the *Petavatthu* as an alternative for *peta* or as complementary to it[52].

But in the *Petavatthu* the term *yakkha* is applied mostly to the class of *petas* called *petâ mahiddhikâ* and not to the miserable types.

Buddhaghosa, in the commentaries to both these texts, true to the belief and the spirit of the time, designates these strange creatures as "beings reborn in the *Peta-loka*"[53]. The transition is seen clearly in the *Dhammapada* Commentary. This work contains a number of stories of similar beings said to have been seen by Mahâ Moggallana under similar circumstances. The visions reavealed in the presence of the Buddha designate the strange beings as *petâ*. In the titles of the stories, too, the word *peta* is used; eg. *Kâka-peta-vatthu, Ajagara-peta-vatthu, Ahi-peta-vatthu* etc.[54] This shows how the word *peta* has progressed from the generic to the particular.

For the completion of this study a number of other uses of the Pâli word *peta* in canonical works have to be examined.

Peta and the Southern Quarter : The *Átânâtiya Suttanta*[55] uses the word *peta* in introducing the southern quarter presided over by Virûlha, the lord of the Kumbhaṇḍas. People are said to speak of *petâ* when speaking of this quarter[56]. The commentary takes the word *peta* here in the sense of ' the dead'. The south is the direction by which, they say, (the dead) ought to be taken out[57] for cremation. If the commentator was correct then the *petâ* here should mean the dead bodies, which are usually carried out of a city through its southern gate. This custom is confirmed by the *Mahâparinibbâna Suttanta* (*D*. 11. 160) according to which the Mallas wanted to carry out the Buddha's body for cremation through the southern gate. The execution of criminals also was done in ancient India in the cemetery out side the southern gate of the city.

The matter is, however, complicated by the presence of a number of other nouns, all in the same Nominative plural as *petâ* and qualified by the same verb *pavuccanti*. These terms, refer to tale-carriers, back biters, killers, the wicked, the crafty and brigands who according to the commentary are criminals ordered to be taken out by the southern gate for execution of the sentence imposed on them[58].

Rhys Davids who has translated the *Digha Nikâya* into English has, however, taken all these latter terms as qualifying *petâ*, which he renders '*peta*-folk'. May be he was influenced by the use of the word in such works as the *Petavatthu*. He has also taken the liberty to say that the *Peta*-folk live in the south[59]. In Hindu mythology too the South is called '*yama-dis*', 'quarter of Yama', the King of *pitṛs* and, therefore of the dead. The path to the *pitṛ-loka* is via the southern course of the sun, *dakṣiṇâyama*.

In spite of all these links between the dead and the South it is difficult to imagine why Rhys Davids call peta-folk as 'rough of speech, backbiters, murderers brigands and crafty minded'[60]. According to the tradition as found in the *Petavatthu*[61] the *petas* do not cultivate, engage in cattle –breeding or buying and selling. They are a lot of miserable beings living on filth and on what is given to them by their erstwhile kinsmen. One cannot expect to find any criminals among them.

The problem can, however, be resolved if we take *petâ* as qualifying the rest of the nouns rather than the other way about. These various types of evildoers, dead and departed would be reborn in *pettivisaya*, the world of Yama, regarded as a woeful state in Buddhism. Since the world of Yama is, by tradition, said to be in the South, the dead evil doers are spoken of with reference to the same southern quarter. Taken in this sense the word *petâ*, in the present context, would fit into the same usage of the term in early *Nikâya* literature to mean 'the departed'.

Peta-seyyâ: One discourse in the *Anguttara Nikâya*[62] refers to four postures of sleeping. The first of these is called *peta-seyyâ*, '*peta* sleeping posture'. "The *petas*", explains the discourse, "mostly lie on their back. This monks is called the '*peta*-sleeping posture'". It is clear from this that sleeping supine is known by this name. But then who or what is a *peta* in this context?

The commentator surprisingly takes a liberal view in this and offers two interpretations. At the outset he says " the dead, it is said are the *petas*", but then goes on to offer an alternative explanation. "Or else those born in the *pettivisaya* are named *petâ*"[63], the traditional explanation. The reason for this latter idea is that these *petas* who are mere skeletons, with very little blood or flesh in their bodies, cannot sleep on their sides. Thus they always sleep on their backs, as it is the only

comfortable posture for them. However fascinating this alternative explanation is, it is unlikely that it is the real meaning of the term *peta-seyyâ*. Buddhaghosa is apparently paying deference to a popular view of the period. The first explanation given by him, also preferred by F.L. Woodward[64], conforms more to the general use of the word in the early *Nikâya* literature. It certainly is the more acceptable explanation. Customarily in India the dead bodies are laid on their back. There is also conformation in the *Mahāpadâna Suttanta*[65] that dead bodies were also referred to as *petâkâlakatâ*. Here the Boddhisattva Vipassi, on his way to the pleasure garden, observed a crowd on the roadside and some commotion. Coming to know from the charioteer that a person had died; he goes to see this strange phenomenon unknown to him until then. What the discourse says is that "he saw there the dead body" referred to as *petam kâlakatam*. The word *peta* is used here to describe what he saw. But when the charioteer speaks to him about death he does not use the word *peta*, only the word *kâlakatâ* is used there.

Peta- pariggaha: This phrase occurs in the list of exceptions to the rule of the second *Pârâjikâ* in the *Suttavibhanga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[66]. This term, which literally means, 'the *peta*- possessed' indicates that a monk, who takes, without consent, anything in the possession of a *peta*, is not committing an offence under this *Vinaya* rule. But then what does the word *peta* means in this context?

The story, which introduces this particular exception to the rule found in the *Vinaya* text (*ibid.* 58), is as follows. Once a monk, looking for rags to make a robe, removed the shroud from an 'unbroken corpse' on which a *peta* had taken abode. Not paying any heed to the pleadings of the *peta*, not to remove his cloth, the monk walked away with it. The dead body (*sariraṃ*), raising itself up, pursued the monk up to the door of the monastery, which was close by. The monk hurriedly entered his cell and closed the door upon the pursuer, which fell down at the doorstep. When this was reported to the Buddha he ruled that no offence involving an excommunication (*pārājikā*) has been committed by the monk. But he laid down the rule that no monk should take the shroud off an 'unbroken corpse' (*abhinne Sarîre*), which has not started to disintegrate.

This story suggests that the word *peta* in the *Vinaya* text should be taken as a person born a *peta* and not a corpse. The commentator agrees but expands on it. He explains, "here those born in *pittivisaya*, those who, after death, are born on the same body and also *devas* such as the Câtummahârâjkâ are all counted as *petā*"[67]. It is not clear why Buddhaghosa did not include those reborn on the same body under the *pittivisaya* category. It may be he wanted to give a special place to the type referred to in the *Vinaya* text. But the most infringing thing about this commentarial gloss is the incursion of *devas*, at least some of them, under the designation *peta*. In a manner all living beings looked at from the angle of the immediately past birth, can be called *petâ*. But this cannot be the reason for Buddhaghosa's comment here. If so all human beings also have to be included under the category. Therefore one can surmise that the commentator wanted to show that the *vinaya* rule applied only in human society. The rule also exempts things possessed by animals (*tiracchânagata-pariggaha*) from the rule Since no mention of *devas* is found in the text Buddhaghosa has taken the liberty to include them under the term *petâ*.

Thus the *vinaya* text and the commentary seem to agree to a great extent. But according to the latter the *peta* occupying the corpse was the former owner of that body now reborn on it out of greed for the shroud[68]. The text simply states that a *peta*, not necessarily the former owner of the body, had come to live on it. However we cannot be certain that either of the stories reflect the real position behind the enactment of the rule. It is not improbable that this rule was laid down in deference to a popular belief that a deceased person does not leave the body immediately after death or before disintegration sets in. In that case the *peta* referred to in the original rule must be the 'departed one' who has not yet abandoned its former body.

Heedless Monks Compared to Petâ: In one discourse a god named Jantu compares heedless monks to *petas*[69]. Here too the term *peta* seems to carry the meaning 'dead body' rather than the class of beings known by that designation. 'cast out' (*apaviddhâ*) and 'without refuge' (*anâthâ*) are the dead bodies in the cemetery. There is none to protect them or ward them against the demons or the animals who could attack them. The commentator also confirms this view. *Petâ*, he says "are the dead people abandoned in the cemetery"[70]. Further confirmation could be found in the oft quoted *Dhammapada* stanza which calls heedlessness the abode of death and compares 'the heedless' to 'the

dead'. The dead, here too, should refer to the dead bodies, lifeless and cast out, forlorn and refugeless, incapable of doing anything and abandoned in a cemetery, rather than 'the dead' who are always, quite paradoxical though it may be, taken to be very much alive and active.

Petas of the Petavatthu: In the *Petavatthu* the *pettivisaya* of the older canonical texts has been identified with the *petaloka* or *petavisaya*, sometimes also called the *Yamaloka*, *Yamavisaya* or *Yamassaṭhâna*. Thereby the dwellers of the *pettivisaya*, earlier called *pettivisayikâ* have now become *petâ*, sometimes also referred to as *Yamalokikâ* and *Yamassaṭhâniyo*. Whereas in the early texts only the *pettivisayikâ* out of one's departed kinsmen and blood relatives (*petâñâtisâlohitâ*) receive and enjoy the benefits of gifts made on their behalf by erstwhile relatives, friends and associates. In the *Petavatthu*, the dead and departed in general are said to subsist on what is given from here[71]. No distinction is here made between the *petâ kâlakatâ* and the *pettivisayikâ* as in the Buddha's reply to Janussoni quoted above. In fact Dhammapala's gloss (*PvuA*. 29) has identified *petâ* here with those born in the *pettivisaya*.

However one cannot say that the compilers of the *Petavatthu* or even its commentator have accepted this interpretation of the word *peta* to the complete exclusion of the older one. In fact an awareness of the older version along with the new one is very much evident from the many tales included in the work. All the *Petavatthu* tales do not deal with those born in the *pettivisaya*. A few, e.g. the *Maṭṭakuṇḍali Petavatthu* and the *Revatî Petavatthu*[72] are concerned with persons reborn in celestial mansions in the Tavatiṃsa heaven. At least one[73], possibly also a second[74] deal with rebirth as human beings. Another[75] is the story of four merchant's sons of Savatthi reborn after death in the *niraya* named Lohakumbhi. The *Piṭṭhadhî talika*[76] story deals with the benefit of making gifts on behalf of the dead and, a few like the *Uraga petavatthu*[77] deal with the futility of mourning for the dead. The common factor in all these is either death or the dead and not a person reborn in the *pettivisaya* or the *petaloka*. The translator of the *Petavatthu* into English, H.S. Guhuman has, therefore, quite correctly rendered the title 'Stories of the Departed'. The following gloss found in the commentary makes it quite clear that the commentator was aware of this interpretation of the word; "*petas* mean" says he, "those from whom life, warmth and consciousness have gone out[78]". This also is the interpretation given to a dead body by Ven. Sariputta in the *Mahâvedalla Sutta*[79].

Pettivisaya of the early canonical discourses, as already shown, is one of the woeful states (*apâya*), the experiences of whose dwellers are said to be mostly painful (*dukkha-bahula*). In conformity with this conception the *petaloka* is also taken generally to be a place of misery, teaming with suffering beings, in the popular imagination of Buddhists.

Most of the *petas* in the *Petavatthu* stories conform to this view. *Tirokuddha petavatthu*, together with its commentary, is perhaps the most important of all the stories in the work. It has contributed the most in forming the *peta* image among the Theravâda Buddhists. The *peta* portrayed here is a miserable creature who comes back to his or her former home in expectation of receiving the sympathy and munificence of his erstwhile relatives. They come back to their former homes, but cannot enter them for some reason and stand outside the walls or on the door-step or at cross roads[80]. But as a result of the gravity of their past evil actions their relatives would not remember them even when abundant food and drink is served. But the compassionate give them at the proper time, pure, delicious and fitting food and drink, dedicating them with the words "may this be for my relatives, may the relatives be happy". The departed relatives who gather there rejoice in the abundant food and drink dedicated and bless them from whom they receive it[81].

According to the *Aṅguttara Nikâya*[82] the dwellers of the *pettivisaya* have their own form of food and they also depend on what is given by their kinsmen etc. But this discourse does not say what sort of special food these beings have. If we accept the commentarial view it is nothing but spit, mucus and the like[83] which would bring them in line with the majority of the *petas* of the *Petavatthu*. However the *Tirokudda* story gives a slightly different view. "There is no cultivation there, nor is here any cattle breeding or trading of any sort, buying and selling with gold-the departed are sustained there with what is given from here[84]". The purpose of this poem may be to emphasize the absence of any traditional form of production or economic activity in the land of the *petas* and not to indicate the absence of any form of special sustenance peculiar to them. Since even in the *Petavatthu* not all *petas* live on filth, the

above commentarial view could be a later concept not reflecting the older view.

Miserable Petas of the Petavatthu: The picture of the *petas* presented to us by most of the *Petavatthu* stories is that of a species of pathetically miserable living beings. Often in emaciated bodies, with protruding bones, and prominent veins. Ugly and naked they roam the earth in hunger and thirst. Even the waters of the Ganges cannot quench the thirst of some[85]. The very air they breathe becomes flame-coloured for others[86]. In their natural surroundings the food they get is nothing but blood, pus, spit and mucus[87]. Any dark nook or corner of the earth, cesspit, or cemetery is the proper habitat for a *peta*[88]. However acute may be their need these *petas* cannot receive from any one even a scrap of food, a drop of water, or piece of cloth or, as a matter of fact, anything handed out physically[89]. Their material needs can be satisfied only, by proxy as it were, by conferring them on a virtuous person, and dedicating it to the intended *peta*. However not all the stories of the miserable *petas* found in the text indicate that they were relieved of their suffering by gifts made by their former relatives etc. Perhaps this led to the fourfold division of *petas* found in later sources. The physical appearance and the painful experiences of these beings, both male and female, is the reflection of evil actions done in their former births[90].

Petā-Mahiddhikā: However this popular image of the inmates of the *peta*-world does not cover the complete concept of the *petas* of the *Petavatthu*. This text contains quite a number of stories of a category of *petas* who are given the general appellation *petā-mahiddhikā*, '*petas* of great power'. Some of them are also called *Vimāna-petā* from the divine mansions in which they are believed to live.

Petas, both male and female, of this category can be divided into different classes depending on their habitat, the nature of their experiences or the manner in which they obtained their present life etc. Some of them live in beautiful mansions (*vimāna*) provided with immense worldly enjoyments. The *Khallātiya Petavatthu*[91] provides the tale of one such female *peta*, dwelling all alone in a golden mansion in the mid-ocean. She was extremely beautiful, but had one shortcoming. She had only her long and flowing tresses to cover her nakedness. The *Rathakāra peti* [92] also lived in a splendid mansion provided with all pleasures, but one. She was not fortunate enough to enjoy the company of a male. In two stories by the same name[93] we meet with two *vimāna petas* who enjoy throughout night all sense pleasures which ravishes at day break giving place to hellish suffering for the *petas* during the day. Another such *vimāna-peti*, golden hued and enjoying to the fullest the pleasures of the fine senses, but lacking male company, is eaten up by a ferocious hound at mid-night. Completing its task the hound casts the skeleton into a pond from which she emerges in full splendour to enjoy another day[94]. Another *peta* who sits in all splendour digs into his own back and eats his own flesh[95]. There seems to be one factor common to all these stories. They are provided with all sense pleasures but they all have some shortcoming, which prevent them from enjoying to the fullest the pleasures they have got. Such defects in the pleasures they have won probably are the main feature that characterizes their life as *petas*, for their pleasures are not, as in the case of *devas*, unmixed or absolute (*ekanta*).

A category of 'happy' *petas* found in the *Petavatthu* are those who were relieved of their painful life by gifts offered by their former relatives, friends etc. on their behalf. In these stories in the *Petavatthu* these *petas* appear in the presence of their benefactors in their newly won splendour to thank them and also to exhibit the visible results of their gifts. Most of them had earlier appeared before the same persons in their pathetic conditions to plead for their intervention to relieve them from misery.

In one such story[96] a *peta* comes to a Buddhist monk, his former brother, and pleads with him to give alms on behalf of himself and their parents, also reborn as *petas*. "By the gifts you give, we the evil-doers shall subsist", says he. They received splendid food, clothing, a beautiful pond, a mansion and a chariot as a consequence of the very insignificant gifts the monk made. A *peti* pleads with her former son to make donations on her behalf; " perhaps I shall be relieved from the meal of pus and blood", she hopes, by that gift[97]. Transferred by the result of the gifts, made to the monks on his behalf, she appears before the benefactor attired in silks and adorned with ornaments. Another *peta* is transformed into a *peta* of great power by the donations made by a king. Being honoured and shining forth in great beauty he appeared before the

lord of men and says, "I am a *yakkha* of great power, no man is equal in power to me[98]". The *Nandaka story*[99] and the *Ambapeta story*[100] speak of two *petas* enjoying the results of donations made on their behalf by their former daughters. Both of them also entertained some travellers who had sought shelter in the shade of the trees forming their habitat.

The physical splendour of these *petas* and *petis* and the vastness of the worldly fortunes possessed by them were enough to camouflage their real nature in the eyes of the human beings who met them. On several occasions these humans, dazzeled by their splendor were puzzeled as to their real identity. " Are you a *deva* or a *gandhabba* or Sakka Purindada. Not knowing we question you; how may we know you"?

"Neither am I a *deva* nor a *gandhabba* am I, no, not even Sakka Purindada. I am a *peta* great king, who has from Surattha hither come".[101]

Another man who was so certain that the being helping him was Sakka himself says, " your hand, is entirely of gold, is dripping with honey and streams of gifts are issuing from its five figures: various sweet juices are trickling from it. I believe you are Purindada". But as in the earlier case the reply was in the negative. He was a *peta* who had come thither from Bheruva[102].

There is seemingly nothing in the life of this last mentioned *peta*, which could be a deterrent to his happiness. The great banyan tree on which his mansion stood was in a far off desert. If it can be called a shortcoming of this type, it is quite insignificant *vis-a vis* the worldly pleasures and powers at his command. " I would not be easily subdued", says he, " by a deva or a human being or a sovereign. A *yakkha* am I endowed with the highest potency. I go a great distance (in a flash) and am blest with beauty and strength". The king Pāyāsi who was reborn in an empty *vimâna*, formerly occupied by another, as an earth-dwelling *deva* (*bhumma-deva*) had been appointed by Vessavana, the guardian deity of the northern quarter to help people lost in the desert. His only worry was the impermanency of the divine pleasures he enjoyed[103]. The pleasures of these beings, although not entirely unmixed with some form of pain, far outweigh the unhappy experiences they had. But yet they all, according to the *Petavatthu* conception, are *petas*.

We should also note here that even the miserable *petas*, once relieved of their suffering by gifts made on their behalf and transformed into the same category as *petā-mahiddhikā*, become difficult to be identified even by their benefactors. In one story[104] even Ven. Sāriputta cannot identify the *peti* in her transformed form as the miserable one whom he helped by making some donations to the monks. He even addresses her as a goddess (*devī*). This indicates the remarkable changes brought about by the gifts. However it is very rarely that one would find an indication of these *petas* losing their '*peta*-hood' as a result of gifts made by their relatives etc.

Thus we find a wide spectrum of beings included in the category of beings designated *petas* in the *petavatthu*. At the lower end of the scale are the most miserable creatures roaming the earth in search of human excretions for food. At the opposite end are the *petâ-mahiddhikā*, who almost *deva*-like but sans that designation. The one common factor, which binds them together, is that they were all, in their previous existences, human beings. Now as *petas*, 'departed ones' they experience the good or evil consequence of their actions in the previous birth. In the case of the *petâ-mahiddhikâ* the good consequences of their former good actions are often mixed or marred by the painful results of some evil action they had done in the past birth. One also notes occasionally some bright spot, consequences of a good act amidst the painful experiences of a miserable *peta*.

Probably going on the stories of the miserable *petas* in the *Petavatthu* as mentioned above later *Milindapañha*[105] has categorized the miserable *petas* into four groups, viz. 1. Eaters of vomit, (*Vantâsikā*), 2. those tormented by hunger and thirst (*Khuppipâsino*), 3. those Consumed by thirst (*Nijjhâmatanhikā*) and 4. those living on what is given by others (*Paradatthûpajivino*). Quite contrary to the older view, which does not make any such claim for the dwellers of the *Pettivisaya*, the *Milindapañha* states that only the fourth category of these can be benefited by gifts made by those in this world. The Buddha's reply to Braman Janussoni does not make any such distinction.

Evolution of the Concept of Pettivisaya / Petaloka: Already we have seen the philological links between the Vedic *pitr* and Pāli *petti* in *pettivisaya*. But the Buddhist *pettivisaya*, unlike the happy abode of the vedic fathers, is a woeful state (*apāya*) where the experiences of the inmates are mostly painful (*dukkha-bahulā*). Unlike the immortal fathers of the Rg Vedic Aryans the dwellers of the *pettivisaya*, like any other living beings, are mortal. *Pettivisaya* is not the only destiny open to the dead. It is just one of the five places of rebirth (*gati*) available to *saṁsāric* beings. Then what could have led to these new features in the Buddhist conceptions?

Certain changes in early Vedic thinking had already taken place by the time of the rise of Buddhism. By the Upanishadic times it had already been accepted that those who go by the Path of the Fathers should return to this world to replenish the exhausted stock of *iṣṭāpūrta*. Buddhists also accepted the mortality of the dwellers of the *pettivisaya* but under their own terms. They also are subject to the principles of change and cessation like all phenomena. Buddhism never admitted any category of immortal elements.

The acceptance of the theory of *kamma* and rebirth also makes it incongruous for Buddhists to maintain the older concept of immortal fathers who have to be continuously supplied with their material needs from this world. Like all other planes of existence the *Pitr* world also should be a temporary residence for beings wandering in the wilderness of births and deaths. The fathers like all other beings, are in that existence due to certain *kamma* they had acquired in their past existence. The exhaustion of the force of that *kamma* and other conditions should naturally result in the end of their lives in that existence. Therefore it becomes quite illogical for them to try to maintain their ancestors forever in that world. As a matter of fact the fathers for whom their children make offerings may have already left their temporary residences in the *pitr*-world.

Reviewing this problem Gombrich says, "these *pitaras* were to receive offerings (*bali*) from their male descendants and their obligation persisted illogically despite the new doctrine of rebirth first mentioned in the *Upanishads*. Buddhists resolved the illogicality, but retained some incongruity[106]. But is here, in actual fact, an illogicality in this practice. Hindus, in their *śrāddha* rituals, offer only three balls of rice (*piṇḍa*) for three generations of fathers, viz. father, grandfather and great-grand father. It is very rarely, in the *Mahā pitr yajña* that three more generations are fed in this manner. When a new generation is added to the host of fathers the oldest of the three generations is dropped from the ritual, thus maintaining the regular three generations.

Since one does not know the length of the life span of a father there is apparently nothing illogical for one to keep on making such offerings for a certain length of time. It becomes illogical only if the fathers are to be thus maintained forever. The custom of maintaining the newly dead by the living has been universal. But as time passes and more and more newly dead are added to the host of ancestors the older generations are gradually forgotten and finally fall into oblivion. Where the theory of rebirth is accepted these forgotten dead are those who have left that sphere of existence and reborn elsewhere. However there could still be others who have been there for centuries and therefore needing the support of their descendants in the human world.

The Buddha has given a fitting reply to the problem under examination in the discussion he had with the brahaman Janussoni on gifts made for the benefit of the dead[107]. If, says the Buddha, gifts made has not reached the *pettivisaya*, other kinsmen and blood relations reborn there would enjoy the benefits from the gift. Pressed further by the brahman regarding the fate of the gift, if not even other dead blood relations etc. have reached the place, the Buddha states, "that brahman is impossible, it cannot come to pass, that that place should be empty for so long a time of blood-relations dead and gone"[108]. The Pāli phrase *iminā dīghena addhunā*, translated by Woodward as "for so long a time' would be more meaningful if understood in the context of the other statements of the Buddha that the beginning of the *saṁsāra* cannot be known[109]. One cannot know for how long one has been in *saṁsāra*. It is impossible that a person who has been one's Kinsman during the journey through *saṁsāra* is not found in the *pettivisaya* at a given moment.

But how did Buddhism, according to Gombrich, resolve this so-called illogicality? " A clan of *pretas* was invented, the hungry ghosts, who roamed the dark corners of the earth, just slightly better off than if they were in hell, and liable to reform just like all other clans of beings" (Gombrich, *ibid*. 197). If by this Gombrich meant the dwellers of the *pettivisaya*, who, in the

ultimate analysis, were a group of *petas* in the sense of 'the dead in general', the early canonical discourses never described them as roaming the dark corners of the earth. If by this he meant the miserable *petas* of the *Pettivisaya* then one cannot say that they were a creation of Buddhism completely. It also should be noted that not only these miserable creatures but some of the *petâ-mahiddhikâ*, like the powerful *peta* of the *Ambasakkhara Petavatthu*[110], were benefited by the gifts made by human beings to get rid of the defects in their lives.

Accepting that *peta* and *preta* mean 'the departed' Gombrich says that, "this term is linguistically confused with *pitaras*[111]". But he does not indicate at what stage this confusion took place in Buddhism. There was no such confusion in the early canonical stages where *pettivisayikâ* are taken to be only a section of the *petâ kâlakatâ*, the dead in general. There is also the possibility that initially the confusion was conceptual and linguistic interpretations were made to resolve this confusion.

The Intermediate Existence-Antarâbhava and Preta: As customary in ancient societies both primitive and advanced, Indians also seem to have believed in an intermediate existence between death and the entry into the world of ancestors, the *pitṛloka*. The *Gṛhya Sûtras* record the periodical offerings that should be made to the newly deceased person during this period (*ekodiṣṭa srâddha*), usually one year, and the final *sapiṇḍikaraṇa s'râddha*, the ritual uniting the newly deceased with the host of ancestors. However the *Gṛyha Sûtras* are silent about the life led by the deceased during this period, or what happen to them if the offerings are not made or withheld. The later *Purânas* have compensated for this lack of information in the *Gṛhya Sûtras*. We know from them that funerary and post-funerary rituals are essential for the safe passage of the deceased through the intermediate zone to the seat of Yama. If these rituals especially those during the first ten days after cremation, are not held the *preta*-hood of the deceased is confirmed and the disembodied soul of the deceased has to experience immense pain and suffering.

As an illustration one can cite the story of King Babhruvâhana in the *Garunḍa Purâna*[112]. The King, once on a hunt in a forest, met with an ugly and miserable creature described as a *preta*. " Now he beheld a departed one (*peta*) of terrible appearance, hunchbacked and fleshless, with hair erect, dirty and senses discomposed by hunger and thirst". This description of the *preta* tallies exactly with that of the miserable *petas* of the *Petavatthu*. The question put to him by the king also recalls the questions put to *petas* in the *Petavatthu*. "O black-complexioned and gaping-mouthed by what bad deeds did you reach this state of the departed, dreadful to see and highly unhappy?" The reply was that although he had performed all religious duties and various good deeds he had no children, relatives or friends to perform for him the rituals for his higher body (*aurdhvadaihikam*). If the sixteen monthly *s'râddhas* are not performed " the condition as the departed becomes firmly fixed". Some Mahâyâna texts also contribute to this view when it is said that *pretas* are those whose life in the intermediate existence has been fixed due to various reasons. Absence of detailed descriptions of such beliefs in the early Vedic texts does not in any way prove that they were not prevalent among common masses in those early periods.

Buddhist texts refer to the parental wishes that their children should dedicate alms on their behalf after their departure. This could not have been a Buddhist innovation or a belief peculiar to Buddhists. Buddhists must have picked it up from the contemporary society. The Buddha wanted his followers to honour this social custom, but said that only those reborn in the *pettivisaya* can be benefitted from such gifts. Probably the belief in an intermediate zone was not acceptable to him. But it must have been prevalent in some other religions of the time and among the common masses. Buddhists could not completely ignore the deeply rooted traditions and customs of the people.

The Buddha's ruling, referred to above, that a monk should not remove a shroud from an unbroken corpse (*abhinna-sarîra*) may point to a belief that the deceased person does not leave the body immediately after death. According to Buddhaghosa[113] a corpse is treated as 'broken' three days after death. This may be because decomposition sets in about that time making it impossible for the deceased to cling to the body any more. This may have been a common belief at the time.

It was also a common view among many ancient peoples that a deceased does not leave the body immediately after death. The deceased was believed

to stay in the body or hovering around it for a few days before it realizes that it cannot re-enter the body. The disposal of the body was also considered essential to induce the deceased to leave on its journey to the world beyond. Some took steps to provide food and drink and other necessities to the deceased during this period. Thai Buddhists, who like to keep a dead body at least for a few days without disposal, feed Buddhist monks during this period and transfer merit to the deceased by pouring water, sometime on to the hand of the corpse. According to the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*[114] the deceased realizes it is dead only after three and half or four days from the moment of death. The ritual reader of the Book try to impress upon it that it is now dead and should not cling to the body or its friends and relatives. This work presents a mixture of Vijñanaváda Buddhism and pre-Buddhist Tibetan eschatological beliefs.

Buddhists were confronted with such beliefs that were deeply rooted in contemporary society. They could not completely ignore them and tried to accommodate them within the framework of their belief system. Thus beings in the intermediate zone had to be given a place among the many varieties of beings they had taken into their system. The out come possibly were the different categories of *petas* in the *Petavatthu* and even the Mansion-dwellers of the *Vimānavatthu*. Thus it becomes obvious that Buddhism did not create a special category of 'hungry ghosts' as claimed by Gombrich. They were already there and were known to ancient Indians and others all over the world. Buddhists merely provided them a slot within their cosmology.

Is Petahood in the Petavatthu a Transitional Stage?: The two terms *pettivisaya* and *petaloka* are used indiscriminately in the *Petavatthu* to designate the plane of existence of the *petas* whose stories are related therein. But it is very seldom that we get any indication in this work of a conception of a transitional existence of the dead. In a few stories, however, the *petas* say that they will soon pass away from that state to be reborn in the *niraya*[115]. One could possibly argue here that the *pretahood* is a transitional stage. But, on the other hand, most of the *petas* claim that they have reached *Yama's* world[116]. This shows that, in the Hindu sense, they have already completed the journey through the intermediate zone. Yet there are also instances[117] where both the miserable ones as well as happy ones are shown travelling together on the same path[118]. According to the commentary the happy *petas* here are terrestrial *devas* (*bhumma-devā*) going to an assembly of *yakkhas* and the two miserable ones were following them. It is possible that this story shows some influence of Purānic conceptions. According to the *Garuṇda Purāna* the souls of both the evil and the good travel to the abode of Yama by the same road. But the experience of each, painful or happy, depend on the *karma* acquired before death and the rituals performed, by their relatives, after death[119].

Further Categories of the Departed: Besides these directly designated *petas* there may have been many other classes of beings under different names, who could broadly be counted under the common designation of 'the departed' (*petā*). These are, eg. *yakkhas, nāgas, gandhabbas, kumbhandas, pisācas, bhūtas, rukkha-devatā bhumma-devás* and so forth, who were very often believed to be the spirits of dead human beings. The term *yakkha* is in actual fact found used with reference to *petā-mahiddhikā*, some of whom are either tree-spirits or *vimāna-petas*. The close association of the term *ganddabba* with the concept of intermediate existence (*antarābhava*) and rebirth is well known. So the terms *pisāca* or *pamsu-pisāca, bhūta* and *nāga* are also closely associated in the Indian mind with eschatological beliefs and rebirth. Similarly some of the tree-spirits, as in the case of the *Ankura Petavatthu*, could also be spirits of the dead. Some of them, however, have been raised to the position of devas or retainers of *devas* of the lowest of the six heavens in Buddhism, the Câtummahârâjika[120].

Influence of the Hindu Concept on Mahâyâna: A statement found in the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*[121] shows that at least some Mahayanists have been influenced by the Hindu concept of the possibility of *pretahood* becoming fixed in the intermediate existence. This text often refers to the older Buddhist concept of rebirth as a *preta*. However it also makes the statement, *pretas* (or unhappy spirits or shades) and malignant spirits of certain orders are those who by changing their feelings (or mental attitude) while in the Intermediate state assumed that very shape which they thereafter retained, and became *pretas*, evil spirits and *rakshasas*, possessed of the power of shape-shifting. All *pretas* who exist in space, who traverse the sky, and the eighty thousand species of mischievous spirits, have become so by changing their feelings (while) in

the mental body (on the Basdo-plane). But the most significant thing is that Buddhists have not, even in this late stage, abandoned the ethical factor so important in early Buddhism. So it is not the non-performance of funerary rituals but the changing of feelings that transforms an intermediate being into a *preta*.

Petas Become Dwellers of the Pettivisaya: It is the same ethical factor that has been utilized in the *Petavatthu* to convert the 'departed' (*pretā*) in the intermediate existence into 'dwellers of the *pettivisaya*' (*pettivisayikā*). Buddhists were not ready to grant the Hindu view that a deceased person could remain in the intermediate existence due to the non-performance of certain funerary rituals. For each being, according to Buddhism, is a manifestation of his or her past *kamma* "Beings are heirs to their own deeds" says the Buddha, because "from what one has become (here) is the rebirth of a being. What one does, by that one is reborn. When reborn (appropriate) contacts contact such an one"[122]. So the *pretas*, if there is a class of beings by that name, should be nothing but manifestations of their own past *kamma* largely evil in nature. Thus the ritualistic factor is replaced in Buddhism by the ethical. Buddhism found no difficulty in accommodating *pretas* in the *pettivisaya*. There may have been other factors, which helped in this identification. For instance, both, at least partly, depended for their sustenance on offerings made by their former relatives and friends, and both experienced painful feelings, either due to past evil *kamma* or the non-performance of funerary rituals. The seeming similarity of the two terms *preta* (*Pâli peta*) and *petti* also may have helped very much in this identification. Commentators helped by interpreting the word *pettivisaya* in terms of *peta* as the realm of those who have reached the departed condition (*peccabhâva*). Thus the *pretas* of the intermediate existence were accommodated within the Buddhist system of the 'five destinies' (*pañcagati*). The word *preta* being the more popular even among Buddhists it replaced *pettivisaya*, which was pushed into almost oblivion.

How gifts Dedicated to them affect Petas: Inclusion of a category called *petā-mahiddhikā* some of whom were almost *deva*-like may have raised a problem for Buddhists. The early Pâli texts have described the experiences of the dwellers of the *pettivisaya* as largely painful (*dukkha-bahula*). How could one accommodate *deva*-like beings in such a condition? In most of the *Petavatthu* stories even the miserable *petas* whose life is transformed by gifts dedicated to them are described as *deva*-like. How could one explain this situation.

Early canonical texts, which call the *pettivisaya* a 'woeful state' (*apâya*), never refer to such drastic changes taking place in the lives of its inmates by gifts made on their behalf by their blood-relatives etc. of the past birth. They merely state, "by that there he subsists, by that there he stays"[123]. Canonical verses of the *Tirokudda Petavatthu* also agree here " the dead and gone subsist there on what is given from here"[124]. The departed ones who come to their former homes merely accept the food and drink set apart for them and bless the benefactors[125]. No drastic change in their lives is referred to in both these instances. But this sudden and drastic transformation is referred to in most other stories of the text.

Hindu texts also seem to take a similar view regarding the monthly *śrâddhas* offered to *pretas* on their way to the abode of Yama in the first year after death. For instance in the fifth month he receives the rice balls at the city of Krauncha and departs to Krûrapura[126]. He is said to be satisfied with the rice balls and jars of water given. They merely subsist on them but no transformations takes place. But, to relieve the misery of a *preta* whose Condition is fixed due to lack of appropriate funerary rituals, a special ritual like the *Nārāyana–bali* is needed. When it is performed to liberate the *preta* trapped in the intermediate existence, he is immediately freed and is reborn in the *deva* world[127].

It would have been very difficult for Buddhists to adopt this view as it is. It lays clear emphasis on the importance of active and personal participation of a person in one's progress both mundane and supra mundane. *Kamma* is entirely a personal matter. "Purity and impurity depend upon oneself; no one can purify another" says the *Dhammapada*[128]. According to the *Kathāvatthu*[129] one cannot experience the result of another's *Kamma*.

However Buddhists seems to have gone more than half way presented by a majority of stories in the *Petavatthu*, yet not in the *Tirokudda* story, is that alms

given in this world on behalf of the *petas* could change their miserable life entirely just short of granting a new birth in a celestial plane of existence. Misery in the life of a *peta* is replaced by happiness, want by plenty and ugliness by beauty. A small and insignificant gift made to a virtuous person, preferably a virtuous Buddhist monk, in an entirely different plane of existence, without any physical contact, with it, effects a miraculous change in the life of a *peta*.

However it is not clear whether Buddhists had a clear conception of the fate of a *peta* who receives aid from its former relatives and friends in this manner from the living world, i.e. whether the *peta* merely receives better living conditions in the same plane of existence or a happy new life in a higher plane of existence. The *Petavatthu* verses themselves are, at times, not very clear on this. Where one *petī* says that she would be happy, with all her desires fulfilled, once the alms given to Buddhist monks is dedicated to her[130] another pleads with Ven. Sāriputta to relieve her from the 'woeful destiny' by dedicating to her such a gift[131]. The term *duggati* is used as a synonym for *apāya* and, the *pettivisaya* is one of them.

Actually this is what has happened in the commentary. According to Dhammapala's gloss on this line, what the *petī* desired was freedom from the birth as a *peta*[132]. The same view is expressed by Dhammapala in a number of other instances as well. For instance when a *peti* wishes to be relieved of meals of pus and blood the commentator takes it to mean " relief from the *peta* life inclusive of meals of pus and blood"[133]. In the prose narrative of another story Dhammapala makes a *petī* state, "make him confer that gift on me. Thus shall be my release from this *peta* world"[134]. In another instance he directly refers to the death of a *peta* to be reborn a *yakkha*[135]. When compared with the material found in the early canonical texts and even in the majority of *Petavatthu* verses there is a definite conceptual development in these commentarial comments probably influenced by contemporary Hindu thinking.

This Hindu view seems to have had a permanent place in some of the non- Theravāda Buddhist schools. For example the Buddhist Sanskrit *Avadānas*, probably of Sarvāstivāda origin, are quite unequivocal about their view. In one of the stories narrated in the *Avadānaśataka*[136] as merit is being conferred on her, a *preti* passes away with a believing heart, and is reborn among the powerful *pretas*, the *pretamahṛddhikas*. In another story a *preta* passes away with a believing heart in the Buddha and was reborn among the *pretamahṛddikas*[137]. These instances show the undoubted Hindu influence in which Buddhism was gradually engulfed. These *pretamahrddikas* are the parallels of those relieved of *pretahood* and reborn among devas in the Hindu stories. It is also possible that the Buddhists brought about this conceptual change because the life of a mainly happy being like a *petamahiddhika* (*preta-mahṛddhika*) did not entirely fit into a woeful state like the *pettivisaya* described as largely painful.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1] *S.*I.228

[2] *PED* s.v. *pitar*

[3] Dakshinaranjan Shastri, *Origin and Development of the Rituals of Ancestor Worship in India*, Calcutta 1963 p. 295

[4] Garuda Purāna I. 45

[5] *ibid.* 50.

[6] *ibid.* 46.

[7] *ibid.* 67 *Sa bhavet pitr-pankti-bhak*

[8] I. 34 *nirayamtiracchānayonimyamalokamupapajjare*

[9] II. 8.2.

[10] *ibid* I.2.9.

[11] *ibid* I. 6.2.

[12] *PvA.* 34.

[13] *J.* V. 452.

[14] *Ibid* 455.

[15] Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* s.v. pitr

[16] *J.* VI. 247.

[17] *Rv.* x. 14, *Av.* I. 8.1.9.

[18] *attheva devā pitaro ca atthi loko paro atthi jano yamāhu.*

[19] *Sn.* n 310.

[20] V. 269 ff.

[21] *Rv.* x. 15.

[22] *ibid* x. 14.7.

[23] *ibid* x.15.10.

[24] *ibid* x. 15.8, 14.10.

[25] Arthur A. Macdonell, *A Vedic Reader for Students*, Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 176

[26] *M.I.* 75 *tam enam passāmi aparena samayena dibbena cakkhunā...... pittivisayam uppannam dukkhabahulā vedanā vediyamānam*

[27] *MA* II. 35 f. *sukham parittaṃ kadācikarahaci anubhavitabbaṃhoti.*

[28] *M.* I. 75.

[29] *ibid* 74f.

[30] *Pv.* I. 6.2 e.g. *ahaṃ bhadante petīmhi duggatā yamalokikā pāpakammaṃkaritvāna petalokamito gatā.*

[31] *MA.* II. 37 *peccabhâvam pattânam visayoti pettivisayo.*

[32] p. 454 *petatāya petti ito peccagatabhâvenāti attho; petticeva pettivisayo.*

[33] I. 159 f *petāti peccabhâvaṃgatā kālakatā matā.*

[34] II. 48 f.

[35] *D.* III. 189 *atha ca pana petânaṃ kâlakatânaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ anupadassâmi*

[36] V. 807 *evaṃ piyâyitaṃ janaṃ petaṃ kâlakataṃ na passati.*

[37] *Nd.* I. 126 *petā vuccati matā Kālakatā.*

[38] *Pv.* II. 6.

[39] V. 269ff.

[40] *M.* I. 513.

[41] *A.* IV. 244 *sappurisa.*

[42] *ibid.* II 68, III. 45 *pubbapeta-bali.*

[43] *M.* II. 186 *pubbapeta-karaṇīyā.*

[44] I. 4. *Pubbapete ca ārabbha*

[45] *AA.* III. 100, IV. 127. *paralokagata-ñāti.*

[46] *PvA.*17. *pubbe keci pitaro.*

[47] Law, B.C., *Buddhist Conception of spirits*, Luzac and Co. 1936. p. 5.

[48] p. 294.

[49] II. 254ff.

[50] III. 104ff.

[51] *S.* II. 255 n. 4.

[52] *Pv.* II. 9.1.

[53] *SA.*II. 216, *VinA.*II. 506. *petaloka-nibbattaṃ sattaṃ*

[54] *DhpA.* II. 63ff.,III. 67 ff.

[55] *D.*III. 194 ff.

[56] *ibid.* 197 ff. *yena petâ pavuccanti pisunâ piṭṭimaṃsakâ pâṇâtipâtino luddhâ corânekatikâ janâ ito sâ dakkhiṇâdisâ itinaṃvuccatijano.*

[57] *DA.* II. 964. *petânâma kâlakatâ. Te yena disâbhâgena nīharīyatûti vuccanti.*

[58] *DA. ibid. Sabbepi te dakkhiṇadvârena nīharītvâ dakkhiṇato nagarassa dayhantu vâ chijjhantu vâ hanantu vâti evaṃ vuccanti.*

[59] *Dialogues of the Buddha.* Vol. III. p. 191.

[60] *ibid.*

[61] *Pv.* I. 5. 6-7.

[62] II. 244.

[63] *AA.* III. 218.

[64] *Gradual Sayings.* II. 249. n. 4.

[65] *D.* II. 26. *addasâ kho bhikkhave Vipassī Kumâro petaṃ Kâlakataṃ*

[66] III. 56.

[67] *VinA.* II. 372.

[68] *ibid.* 374.

[69] *S.* I. 61. *apaviddhâ anâthâ te yathâ petâ tathevate ye kho pamattâ viharanti te mesandhâya bhâsitaṃ*

[70] *SA.* I. 116.

[71] *Pv.* I. 57. *Ito dinnena yâpenti petâkâlakatâ tahiṃ*

[72] *Pv.* II. 5; IV. 4.

[73] *ibid.* III. 5.

[74] *ibid.* IV.5.

[75] *ibid* IV.15.

[76] *ibid.* I.4.

[77] *ibid.* I. 12.

[78] *PvA.* 63. *peteti âyâsmâ viññânato apagate.*

[79] *M.*I. 296.

[80] *Pv.* I. 6.1.

[81] *ibid* .3-5.

[82] IV. 269.

[83] *AA.* V. 57. *Khela-siṅghânikâdivasena.*

[84] *Pv.* I. 5.6.

[85] *ibid.* II. 10.5.

[86] *ibid.* III. 6.6.

[87] *ibid.* II. 2,3-4.

[88] *ibid.* II. 10.1; 2.5; III.1.7-8,9.2;IV.8.1.

[89] *ibid* I. 10. 4-7; IV. 1. 31-35; II. 4.6-7.

[90] *ibid* II.7,II.4.

[91] *ibid* I.10.

[92] *ibid* III. 3.

[93] 7 and 8.

[94] *ibid.* I. 12.

[95] *ibid* III. 9.

[96] *ibid.* III. 2.

[97] *ibid.* II. 2.

[98] *ibid.* II.4.

[99] *ibid.* IV.3.

[100] *ibid.* IV.12.

[101] *ibid.* IV 3.18-19.

[102] *ibid* Ibid.II.11-13.

[103] *ibid.*IV.2.

[104] *ibid.* II. 1.

[105] p. 294.

[106] Gombrich, Richard F., *Precept and Practice*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971, p,. 163.

[107] *A.* V. 270.

[108] *Gradual Sayings* V. 182.

[109] *S.* II. 178ff.

[110] *Pv.* IV. 1.

[111] Gombrich, 1971, *ibid.*
[112] VII. 17ff.
[113] *VinA.* II. 374 f.
[114] tr. Evans-Wentz W. Y. *Tibetan Book of the Dead* Pilgrim Books Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, p. 93 ;
[115] eg. *Pv.* I. 10.12.
[116] *ibid.* II 1.2.
[117] eg. *ibid.* I 2.
[118] *ibid.* I. 11.
[119] *Garuda Purāna.* ibid.
[120] eg. *D.* III. 195ff; II. 257f.
[121] *ibid.* p. 186f.
[122] *A.* V. 289. *Iti kho bhikkhave bhûtâ bhûtassa upapatti hoti, yam karoti tena upapajjati, upapannam enaṃ phassá phusanti. Evaṃ ahaṃ bhikkhave Kammadâyâdâ sattâti vadâmi.*
[123] *ibid.* 270. *tena so tattha yâpenti tena so tattha tiṭṭhati.*
[124] *Pv.* I. 5.7. *Ito dinnena yâpenti petâ kâlakatâ tahiṃ*
[125] *ibid.* 4-5.
[126] *Garuḍa Purāṇa.* II. 60.
[127] *preto mukto divaṃ yayau. ibid.* VII. 67.
[128] *V.* 165.
[129] VII. 6.
[130] *Pv.* II. 3. 26.
[131] *ibid.* 2.1. *mocehimaṃ duggatiyâ bhadante.*
[132] *PvA.* 70. *tena me ito petayonito mokkho bhavissati.*
[133] *ibid.* 80. *pubbalohitabhojanâ petajîvitâ.*
[134] *ibid.* 35. *evaṃ me ito petalokato mutti bhavissati.*
[135] *ibid.* 110. *petabhâvato mato yakkho ahaṃ jâto devatâbhâvaṃ pattosmi.*
[136] *Avś.* 117. *Sâ ca pretî prasannacittâ Kâlagatâ pretamhṛddhi Kesûpapannâ.*
[137] *ibid.* 120.

PILGRIMAGE. A journey undertaken through religious motives to a place of religious sanctity. Such journeys have been and shall be playing an important role in all religions.

In Buddhism this custom of pilgrimages has become firmly established and its acceptance as a merit-making and an expiatory exercise goes back to the Buddha himself, who has accepted and recommended them and determined their goals as recorded in the *Mahâ parinibbâna Sutta* (*D.* II, 141). Here the Buddha addresses Ananda saying: "Ananda, there are four places the sight of which is desirable and which when seen will arouse strong emotion in those endowed with confidence (*saddhā*). Which four places are these?

i. Here the Tathāgata was born (Lumbini)
ii. Here he attained enlightment (Bodh Gayā)
iii. Here he set in motion the incomparable Dhamma-wheel (Sāvatthi).
iv. Here he attained Parinibbāna (passed away without any more continuing of this life-process) (Kusināra).

The bhikkhus, bhikkhunis, male lay devotees and female lay devotees with *saddhā* (confidence) will visit these places in the future: and those who die while in this pilgrim tour will after death, find birth in the heavenly world" (*D.* II, 141).

All these four sacred localities come within the central Gangetic Valley, which area was generally known as the Middle Land (*majjhima-desa*), encompassing the Buddha's main scene of activity of preaching and spreading his Dhamma among the people. Accordingly this area, covering the modern states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and a part of Nepal, makes it the original birth-place and the home of Buddhism, where the Buddha spent the whole of his public ministry of forty-five years treading highways and byways as a religious teacher. Thus on the nursery where Buddhism was nurtured during its formative years the Middle Land of India naturally became established as the most popular center of pilgrimage of the Buddhist devotees the world over.

This popularity assumed an added value owing to the Buddha's own words quoted earlier recommending these pilgrimages. Accordingly, this region began to inspire the Buddhist devotees the world over to come there as pilgrims despite the tremendous difficulties and risks they had to encounter on the way.

These obstacles comprised an important aspect of the pilgrimage in these days when the facilities for travel were few and far between. The severity of the risks involved in the journey varied depending on the country from which the pilgrims would come, for instance, those coming from China or Korea had to cross the danger-ridden Taklamakan desert followed by climbing some of the highest mountains of the world, not to mention the risks from robbers, highwaymen and even wild animals.

Even the sea-journeys were quite risky in those days as they were open to the attacks of pirates or to the

natural dangers such as storms. At times mere exhaustion and illness brought about their death on the way. In the face of these multifarious dangers there were many who either returned or died on the way. Yet, they undertook the journey fully aware of these risks as it was the great devotion that mattered. What was of importance is the spirit underlying the journey.

In the quotation of the Buddha cited earlier relating to the Buddha's observation that those who die on the way during the course of the pilgrimage to the four sacred sites will be reborn in heaven was also due to the fact that the Buddha was quite aware of the great difficulties pilgrims had to face in those days in making this tour and dying on the way was quite a possibility.

While those who died on the way met this death with this satisfaction, those who were unable to return safely after completing the journey were immensely satisfied with the confidence in the Buddha and his teaching becoming further strengthened and for whom it became a "joy for ever". Perhaps the Buddha had encouraged his followers to visit these four sacred sites as shown earlier because he knew the huge mental and emotional satisfaction as well as the degree of strengthening the pilgrim's religious confidence (*saddhā*) that such a visit would engender in the devoted pilgrim-all to his benefit. This sincere attitude of the pilgrim survives to this day among the Buddhist devotees the world over in relation to the pilgrimages they undertake whether it is to the Majjhadesa in India, the temple of the sacred Tooth Relic in Sri Lanka etc.

Yet another noteworthy phenomenon in this ritual of pilgrimages has been the gradual increase seen in the numbers of such sites with the passage of time. Even this is undoubtedly due to the great emotional satisfaction that the average Buddhist derives from a religious tour. This has happened in all the Buddhist countries, as for example in Sri Lanka, there are such sixteen main centers islandwide in addition to the many other such places throughout the island.

Although the Middle Land continued as the main centre of Buddhist pilgrims for several centuries since the Buddha's time, with the gradual disappearance of Buddhism from India by the 13th century, these shrines and temples became deserted and gradually they came to be overrun by the jungle tide with even their whereabouts untraceable. The subsequent Muslim invations sealed up their disappearance *in toto*.

Not till the middle of the 19th century when these sites came to be re-discovered and restored. Gradually as their identifications became established beyond all doubt pilgrims began to pour in with a renewed vigour. The ritual of pilgrimage received a boom period as it were.

Presently, all the sites are under archeological care and protection and they have emerged not only as destinations of the Buddhist pilgrim but also as world heritage sites attracting a heavy tourist traffic.

In this connection let me quote venerable S. Dhammika Thera, who has personally visited and studied these sites and obtained an intimate knowledge about them: "It is considerably easier to go on a pilgrimage to the Middle Land today than it was in the past but the rewards are just as great. To see the lotus that beautiful flower which the Buddha so often used in a simile in his discourses, as they bloom in the wet season, pools and muddy village ponds, can be a very evocative experience. To see wondering ascetics begging for alms in crowded streets much as they did at the Buddha's time can be a powerful reminder of the eternal human quest for spiritual fulfillment. The author once encountered an old peasant woman bent at right angles by age, a diseased beggar by the side of the road a funeral procession and a wandering ascetic all within a few hours, just as prince Siddhartha had once done. Such experiences can add a new and dramatic dimension to one's understanding of the Dhamma. But more than this, to sit in meditation or to make offerings at the place where the Buddha lived and taught is to experience a definite spiritual presence which can be felt-despite the bustle, noise and the buying and selling that characterize any place of pilgrimage. This spiritual presence can invigorate the pilgrims faith and practice long after he or she has returned home" (*Middle Land Middle Way, BDS*, publication, 1999, p.6).

The spiritual experience of the pilgrim referred to in the above passage is the most valuable rewards a genuine pilgrim can and should obtain from any pilgrimage, be it to Middle Land or to any Buddhist site anywhere in the world.

Even prior to the Buddha's final passing away, devotees had begun the habit of visiting the places connected with important events in the Buddha's life as pilgrims. The story of the Ānanda Bodhi is a good instance for this. This *Bodhi* tree was planted at Jetawana on the instructions of the Buddha to meet a peoples' need for some suitable object of worship on their visit there in the absence of the Buddha. This gradually became quite a populăr place of worship even during the Buddha's lifetime as the devotees who came to see the Buddha at Jetavana made it a point to worship and make offerings to the Ānanda Bodhi as well. Thus the concept of pilgrimage can be said to follow on a natural corollary to the advent of a Buddha.

In later times, during the 3rd century B.C. Emperor Asoka renewed the ritual with a royal touch by initiating a series of pilgrimages by replacing his 'Pleasure trips' with religious tours. He personally came on pilgrimage to Lumbini and Buddhagayā.

In a discussion of Buddhist pilgrimages in classical times, the two Chinese pilgrim monks *Fa-Hsien* and *Heiun Tsang* can never be overlooked. The former who set out in 399 A.C. with three others to India had his pilgrimage full of both pleasant and unpleasant anecdotes that it has today become one of the most moving and adventurous religious tours among the world's travel records. As for the latter, who was inspired by the feats of the former, he came to the Middle Land as a pilgrim in the 7th century and took back many Dhamma books to be translated into Chinese. Both have left their records which are of inestimable value. The last pilgrim there was the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin, who came there in 1234 A.C. had the misfortune of witnessing how the sacred temples were being looted and destroyed by the marauding Muslim invaders.

One of the early pilgrims from the west who was closely connected with the restoration of these sites as well, was Edwin Arnold, the celebrated author of *Light of Asia*. This devoted Buddhist Englishman will never be forgotten by the Buddhist world for the part he played in restoring the Mahabodhi Temple to the Buddhists.

Pilgrimages being a very popular religious practice among the Buddhists anywhere, every Buddhist country has many such Buddhist localities continuously patronized by the devotees. A prominent instance for this is the Buddha's footprint on the Sri Pāda Mountain in Sri Lanka, paralleled by the Saccabhadda Mountain in Thailand.

All the places personally visited by the Buddha, in addition to those in his homeland, have naturally become the sacred sites of the pilgrims. Thus in Sri Lanka where Buddha has paid three visits, there are sixteen such places sanctified by the Buddha's presence, held sacred by the Buddhists. *Stūpas* enshrined with his relics, which are quite numerous in Sri Lanka, as the island had the advantage of receiving one bowlful of relics from Emperor Asoka, as well as the Bodhi tree headed by the Sri Mahabodhi at Anuradhapura, are all popular pilgrim destinations.

With devotion as a part of the Buddhist religion, pilgrimages will ever remain as a popular ritual among the world's Buddhist community.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

PIYAṄGUDĪPA, Piyaṅgudīpa is an island (as the very name implies) referred to in the Pali chronicles, commentaries and the treatises, in Sri Lanka. The Pali literary works such as *Sahassavatthuppakarana*, *Mahāvamsa*, *Visuddhimagga* and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* the commentary of the *Dīghanikāya* refer to Piyaṅgudīpa. In addition, the *"Nampota"* a list of sacred places written during the Kandyan period has also listed it among the sacred places. It is clear that except the source last mentioned the rest belong to the Anuradhapura period.

Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa which should be assigned to the early Anuradhapura period possibly could be counted as the earliest literary work where Piyaṅgudīpa is mentioned and it is also seen that Piyaṅgudipa is referred to more than once in it. There in the *Mahasenarañño Vatthu*[1] a king named Mahāsena of Pataliputta having learnt that, if one were to provide alms to the monks with what is earned with one's own labour accrue more merit, worked as a servant in disguise and was giving alms to the monks. In this context a Thera named Mahāsiva, resident at Piyaṅgudīpa, came to accept, alms given by the king. It is further said that the Thera returned to Piyaṅgudipa by air so

that the people could see. This incident is supposed to have happened in Jambudipa (Pātaliputta) and it is the only instance where Jambudipa is mentioned in connection with Piyaṅgudīpa, rest of the references are related to Sri Lanka. In the *Sahassavatthu ppakarana* itself in the *Āriyagala Tissavatthu*,[2] a reference has been made to a talk that arose among the monks at Piyaṅgudīpa, as to whose faith (in the Sā sana) was stronger i.e. whether the faith of those in Sihaladīpa or Piyaṅgudīpa. In this context Piyaṅgudī pa is considered as a place separate from Sri Lanka.

Again in the *Golaupāsakassavatthu*[3] it is stated that early in the morning, one lay devotee saw twelve resident monks at Piyaṅgudīpa going by air over the sea. He invited the monks and provided alms. After sometime the same devotee was going in a ship and the ship was sinking. It is said that one senior monk of Piyaṅgudīpa went by air and rescued the devotee. Also *Mahākakudhabandhana Vatthu*[4] refers to Mahā buddharakkhita Thera of Piyaṅgudīpa. The *Dantakutumbikassa Vatthu*[5] describes how Maliyamahādeva Thera, resident at Piyaṅgudīpa along with hundred arahants came by air and landed at the entrance to the village Dantakara. The householder Danta having seen them invited them and fed them. The Householder also made arrangement to provide alms to eight monks who come regularly from Piyaṅgudīpa for meals. It is significant that at that time there were 12,000 monks living at Piyaṅgudīpa. As in the case of the earlier episode, here too it is said that the householder Danta while going in a ship close to Piyaṅgudīpa was rescued by Sīhabodhi Thera on the advice of Maliyadeva Maha Thera, when the householder was about to perish after the shipwreck. He was brought to Piyaṅgudīpa by Sīhabodhi Thera.

In the *Mahākakudhabandhana Vatthu* (*Sahassavatthu* p. 186) it is said Mahasangharakkhita ordered monks to bring golden sand from the foot of Sineru and spread in Piyaṅgudīpa as a punishment for explaining the merits of *dāna* in the wrong way. It is said that the monks complied with it.

In the *Visuddhimagga*[6] it is said that Mahānāga Thera was not burnt though the Āsanasālā he was sitting caught fire. He got up and proceeded to Piyaṅgudīpa because of the fact that he was an arahant. It is cited as an example to show that if an arahant resolves the fire may not harm him. He escapes unhurt.

Piyaṅgudīpa is mentioned several times in connection with Dutthagāmini episode in the *Mahā vamsa*. The first instance is when he was fighting his brother Tissa. In the battle field meals were brought to the king who intimated that he was feeling hungry. The king did not want to eat alone and wanted to eat with the monks as he used to do. (There were no monks in the vicinity.) The minister Tissa was requested to announce the time for meals and he announced the time for meals. A thera who had taught the king resident at Piyaṅgudīpa[7] heard the announcement with his divine ear and sent Tissa Thera, son of a householder to accept the meal.

The *Mahāvamsa* relates another incident connected to Piyaṅgudīpa[8] in the Dutthagāmini episode. As the story runs, the king after his victory over the Tamils, was thoroughly feeling guilty for killing millions of beings In the battlefield. He could not sleep. The Theras of Piyaṅgudīpa read his thoughts and sent eight arahants to console the king in the mid of the night. The arahants came by air got down at the palace and consoled the king. Again when the king was lying in his deathbed he was reminded of how he provided alms to monks when he was in a helpless situation. There it is said that Thera Dhammadinna[9] shared the meals the king gave him with 12,000 monks of Piyaṅgudīpa.

Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Sumangala Vilāsini* also contains a reference to Piyaṅgudīpa. There in the *Mahāgovindasutta*[10] exegesis it is said that Sakka the king of gods always comes to the Mahāvihāra at Piyaṅgudīpa itself to invite monks for *vassāna*.

The perusal of the above references made to Piyaṅgudīpa, shows that it was inhabited by the monks only. No mention of laymen is found except those brought there temporary after being rescued from drowning, by the monks after shipwreck. Apparently all round was sea. No instance of monks walking to Piyangudipa or walking back from there is found. Always it has been the cases of going there by air or coming back by air. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that it was an island not connected to the mainland. Among those resident arahants and eminent Maha Theras such as Mahāsiva Thera, Mahābuddharakkhita

Thera, Maliyamahādeva Thera, Mahānāga Thera, Sī habodhi Thera and Kuṭumbikaputtatissa are observed. There are no instances of monks going on alms rounds in Piyaṅgudīpa. They always came to the mainland (Sī haladīpa) for alms. It is always seen that they went back to Piyaṅgudīpa and shared the meal with other monks there.

Sumaṅgalavilāsini refers to a Mahavihāra at Piyaṅgudīpa and *Sahassavatthuppakarana* refers to a Āsanasālā (sitting hall). Other than that no buildings are mentioned. Mahāvihāra and Bhojanasālā should not necessarily be permanent buildings. It is presumed that there were no permanent buildings. The monks stayed possibly under trees or temporary sheds (*pannasāla*). North Sri Lanka (*Sīhaladīpe uttarapacchiyam*) is specially mentioned. As already said Dantakuṭumbika from Dantakāragāma North Sīhaladīpa who went to see his fields early morning saw Maliyamahādeva coming from Piyaṅgudīpa with a hundred arahants by air. Thus it is possible to presume that Piyaṅgudīpa was an island off the north coast of Sri Lanka.

When all the above pieces of information put together in a coherent form it shows that Piyaṅgudīpa was an island off the north coast of Sri Lanka, where the monks lived in solitude. There were no people to offer them alms and they came to the mainland for alms. There were no permanent structures. The monks probably lived in solitude under the trees or temporary huts etc. There were no novices. Only Senior Mahā theras were there. Apparently Piyaṅgudīpa was a favourite resort for Mahātheras who preferred solitude. Being away from the mainland, there were no disturbances at all and the Mahātheras enjoyed the solitude as they wished. After the Anuradhapura period there is no mention of Piyaṅgudīpa. Possibly, it would have been abandoned after the Anuradhapura period. It is conjectured whether it is the present "Pungudutivu" an island off the North coast of Sri Lanka.

K. Arunasiri

References

[1] *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* Edited Buddhadatta A.P. (Sinhala script) Colombo 1959, p. 39.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 53.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 165.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 186.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 191.
[6] *Visuddhimagga* PTS 1975 p. 706.
[7] *Mahavaṃsa* Chapter XXIV Verse 25.
[8] *Ibid.* Chapter XXV verse 104 f.
[9] *Ibid.* Chapter XXXII verse 52.
[10] *DA.* II p. 648.

PIYARATANATISSA, DODANDUWE. Ven. Dodanduwe Piyaratanatissa Mahā Thera was born on 12th December 1826 at Dodanduwa to the Weerasuriya family. His father was Don Daniel Weerasuriya. He was ordained at Sailabimbārāma Temple in Dodanduwa under Ven. Koggala Susammata Dammasāra Mahā Nā yaka Thera, the chief incumbent of the Temple.

The young Sāmanera received his education under Ven. Mirisse Dhammakkhanda the head of the Aggārā ma at Polwatta in Ambalangoda and received his higher ordination in June 1846 Under Dhammānanda Mahā thera.

Piyaratanatissa thera turned out to be an able exponent of the *Dhamma* and soon achieved fame and recognition as such. He carried out the message of the Buddha even to far off places in Sri Lanka as Kandy, Ratnapura and Tissamahārāma. At the time a *Sangā yanā* was organized at Pelmadulla under the patronage of Iddamalgoda Disāva. Piyaratanatissa thero's advice was specially sought for this *Sangāyanā*. Piyaratanatissa Thero was a prominent participant in the *Sangāyanā* with other eminent scholars such as Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, Puwakdandāve Sumangala and Pandit Batuwantudāve.

Piyaratanatissa thero formed a band of patriots to work for the revival of the religion and culture during the dark era under the British Colonial government. Baddegama was a center of Christian missionary activities. The missionaries had established four schools for boys and girls at Dodanduwa. Piyaratanatissa thero reacted strongly to these missionary activities and organized a counter movement to arrest the proselitization programme of the Christians. The thera formed a society called the *Samyak Drushti Sādhu Sangamaya* to counter the Christian movement of converting Buddhists to other religions. He also organized his counter-offensive through another association called *Dharmarathna Siddhi Sangamaya*. It was through this organization and its membership that the Ven. Thera appealed to Buddhists not to abandon their traditional faith and culture for material benefits and personal gain. He also appealed to Buddhists not to register their marriages in the Church or get their children baptized. The Buddhist *Pañcasīla* was high lighted and handbooks and pamphlets were published. Thus creating an awareness of their own religion and culture. The thera

played a leading role in the cultural renaissance of the recent past. On 28th May 1869, the Ven. thera, after a prolonged convincing argument with Cornelis Alwis, a leading Christian teacher at Dodanduwa, converted him back to Buddhism, his ancestral religion, in the presence of a large gathering. In alliance with Mohottiwatte (Migettuwatte) Guṇānanda thera Piyaratanatissa thera carried on the battle on many fronts, gathering the momentum for a Buddhist revival.

The denationalization movement by the Christian rulers and missionaries was carried forward using a well knit system of Christian education. It became very clear to the Buddhists, too, that a similar movement should be launched as a counter offensive to meet the Christian challenge. In this educational movement, Piyaratanatissa thera was the pioneer who established the Lokārtha Sādhaka Samāgama, which established the first Buddhist school in the island at Dodanduwa at Degalla in the year 1869. The school *Jinalabdhi Visodhana Pāthasālava* was registered as a grant-in-aid school in 1872. Under the patronage of Piyaratanatissa thera, a girls' school was established, named *Yasodharā Bālika Pāsala* at Dodanduwa. With the theras initiative a boys' school by the name *Upā dhyāya Pāthasālāva* was established at Panadure. It was also under the guidance of the Ven. thera that a Buddhist school at Malalagama in Koggala was established in 1872. Thus Piyaratanatissa thera could be considered as the "Pioneer of Buddhist education" in Sri Lanka. It is also clear that it was under the guidance and counsel of Ven. Piyaratanatissa that Col. Hendry Steele Olcotte himself took up the cause of Buddhist education after his arrival in Sri Lanka in 1880.

In addition to the establishment of Buddhist schools Ven. Piyaratanatissa faced the problem of providing textbooks to be used in these schools. The thera wrote two readers - *Neiyārtha Dīpani* and *Jina Dhamma Vikāsini*, dealing with the life of the Buddha and Buddhist ideals and principles of the day to day life of individuals respectively. He also prepared a reader of Buddhist thought. Other books authored by the Ven. thera are: *Vinaya Nītiya, Polonnaruwa and Katikāwat, Heranasikha* (edited) and *Dina Cariyāva.*

Ven. Piyaratanatissa was an adviser to the Buddhist theosophical society (New York) in 1878. He was appointed the Mahānāyaka of the *Kalyaanivamsa Nikā ya* in 1882, the chief incumbent of *Sailabimbhārāma* in 1882 and was conferred a title *Ariyawansākara Sā sanadhaja Vinayācārya*. He was a great Sanskrit scholar and earned much fame and recognition in Sri Lanka and abroad. Ven. Piyaratanatissa's erudite pupils were Ven. Telwatte Ariyawansa and Sri Amarawansa. His chief lay pupil was Pandit Sri Dharmasena Vidyā sāgara of Dodanduwa.

Ven. Piyaratanatissa and Col. Steele Olcott: Before coming to Sri Lanka on 17th May 1880, Col. Olcott corresponded with Ven. Piyaratanatissa even before 29th August 1878. They were pen friends. The thera extended an invitation to Col. Olcott to visit Sri Lanka which was warmly accepted. Col. Olcott enrolled Piyaratanatissa thera as a fellow of the theosophical society in New York.

The two pen-friends met each other when Col. Olcott arrived in the island in 1880. Col. Olcott visited Sailabimbārāma temple in Dodanduwa. He records in his diary that Ven. Piyaratanatissa was a monk of erudition, energy and high character. Ven. Piyaratanatissa collaborated with Col. Olcott to revive Buddhism, and associated himself with all the activities launched by Col. Olcott, such as founding of the Colombo Theosophical society and its activities. The members of the Colombo Theosophical society consulted the thera on many matters pertaining to the Buddhist revival movement which gathered great momentum with the arrival of Col. Olcott in Sri Lanka. Even Anagārika Dharmapala sought the views and advice of the Ven. thera regarding matters of religious and national interest.

Ven. Piyaratanatissa, one of the foremost leaders and pioneers of the Buddhist and Cultural revival movement of the second half of the 19th century A.C. passed away on 20th May 1907.

K.D.G. Wimalaratne

POLAND, : Not until the nineteenth century had Poland any acquaintance with reliable accounts of the Indian religious systems and even these accounts came mainly through publications in other European languages. Consequently, it is as late as this that its people came to know something of Buddhism. Buddhism was indirectly introduced through ideological works, as well as directly, through the writings of these well-known figures like Burnouf, Lassen, Max Muller, Otto Boethlingk, R. Roth, A. Weber, Oldenberg, P. Deussen, Kern, Rhys Davids, Hardy and others. These were found, though mostly not in Polish, in libraries, and they aroused the curiosity of general readers and the scientific interest of scholars.

In the late eighteenth century a number of "secret societies", engaged in such subjects as Freemasonry and later on in Theosophy, became evident. The members who mostly belonged to selected circles were in search of systems of thought and religious belief other than the Roman Catholic form of Christianity which their country had all along professed almost to a man. These societies had libraries for their special studies, and books on Buddhism were sometimes found in them. Theosophy soon became a not unfamiliar doctrine among these groups, especially with the translation into Polish of the writings of its leaders. Nirvāna, Karma, Re-birth, the Noble Eightfold Path-these were no longer mysteries to the circles.

Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia* translated by Wojciech Szukiewize into Polish and published by M. Arct in Warsaw, began to be read under its title *Swiatlo Asji* by an ever-widening circle from 1905. The Roman Catholic priest Jan Czuj wrote *Buddhism* (1907) as if to challenge the new faith which might appeal to people by at least its exotic nature. However, his material was taken from hardly any authoritative sources and its treatment aroused suspicion in people's minds.

From those years, that is to say, about the beginning of the present century, dates a greater interest in this new Asian religion amongst the Polish people. This growing interest is reflected in the popularity of new publications or translations which appeared with comparative rapidity: Dahlke's *Buddhist stories* as *Opowiadania Buddhyjske* (published by Ksieznica Warszawa-Lwow, 1906), Rhys David's *Buddhism* (20th ed.) entitled *Buddhyzm* translated by Dr. Stanislaw F. Michalski under the pen-name of Alfred Twieski (Ultima Thule Publishing House, Warsaw, 1912), Michalski's translation of the *Dhammapada* under the name *Sciezka Prawdy* (Podstawy Moralnosci Buddyjskiej) twice (first by the same publishing House and a 1948 edition in Lodz as No. II of *Biblioteka Humanisty*, Buddhist Legends or *Legendu Buddhyjskie* by Jan Starza Dzierzbiki (published at B. Dz. W. Warsaw, 1927) and *Zycie Buddhy* by A. Fordynand Herold or the *Buddha's Life according to early Indian sources* (trans by Fr. Mirandola and published by Wyd. Polskie-Poznan, 1928-31).

There also appeared informative articles in publications, which devoted some space to Buddhistic studies. As instances may be cited the following: *Radzia Yogi Ramakrisszna* or a *Synthesis of Yoga and Buddhism* by Jan Starza Dzierzbicki (B.Dz. W. Warsaw, 1921), a long article on the *Dhammapada* and Theravāda by Mgr. Leon Krajewski entitled *Normy Etyczne W. Buddhyzmie* (Ethical Norms in Buddhism) in the Theosophical Review "Prieglad Teozoficny" (No.17, 1929) in the very next number of which, again, was published the translation of an article (1921-23) entitled *Zagadnienie 'Sciezki' W. Buddhyzmie* ("Problems of the Path in Buddhism") treating of the esoteric Buddhism of A. P. Sinnet as also H. S. Olcott's *Buddhism*.

Meantime Polish University men themselves had not been idle. Apart from Dr. Michalski who has already been mentioned, we have the Polish versions of *Gleanings from Aśvaghosa's 'Buddhacarita'* (1914) and *Studies in Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* (Krakow, 1919) from Dr. Andrzej, Gawronski, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Lwow; *Buddha and Buddhyzm*, a four-paged article in the Polish Encyclopaedia *Swiat i Zycie* ("The World and Life" publd. Ksieznica-Atlas, Lwow, 1938) by Dr. Sitanislaw Schayer, Professor of Indology, whose Ph.D. thesis (in German) had been a prefatory work on the History of the Mahâyâna Teachings of Liberation. In his *Religie Wschdou* (The Religions of the Orient) there is a large chapter devoted to Buddhism. Dr. J. Jaworski, Professor of Sinology in Warsaw, contributed to the same Encyclopaedia two articles one of which was on Chinese bhikkhus and the other *Buddhyzm Chinski* on Chinese Buddhism.

There are no statistics of the numbers of professing Buddhists, if any, in the country-today or at any time

earlier. The country is almost entirely Roman Catholic and perhaps individual people merely took to the academic study of Buddhism. However, a Buddhist Vihâra is strongly believed to have been in use in Tsarist days, that is, before 1918. It is said to have been the place of worship for Russian soldiers of Buryat and Kalmuck tribes and appears to have been sited near a Muslim mosque in Ksienzenca Street, Warsaw. It is also reported that in the middle of the nineteenth century, a Buddha image had stood at-Josefow on a bank of the river Vistula. It is said to have been the work of a Polish count who had travelled widely in Buddhist Asia and conceived the idea of fashioning an image which he duly set up in a park on his estate. It was so greatly admired that a newspaper published a correspondent's article on it entitled "the Buddha dwells on the Banks of the Vistula". Unfortunately no further details are available concerning this interesting subject. At present "Friends of Buddhism in Poland" are making a determined attempt to organise themselves and have already won recognition by the Government.

C. Nyânasatta

POLONNARUWA: **Introductory**: To begin with, it is proposed to give in outline the important events connected with Polonnaruwa and the archaeological monuments, which are available at the site. They are dealt with in greater detail in the pages to follow.

Polonnaruva was the capital of Sri Lanka during the 12th century. It is situated about 158 miles to the north east of Colombo. There are several sites of archaeological interest in this region i.e. impressive examples of architecture and sculpture dating from one of the most glorious periods of Sri Lankan history. The most important of the ancient irrigation works in this part of the region is the Minneri tank. It is a vast reservoir, covering 4500 acres of ground when full. It was constructed in the 4th century A.C. by the Sinhala king named Mahâsena (277-304 A.C.). The river Mahavāli, the longest in Sri Lanka, flows only 4 miles to the east of this ancient city.

History is silent as to when and by whom this city was founded. It was occasionally used as a royal residence in 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. However, in this region there are no remains datable to this period of Sri Lankan history. At the beginning of the 11th century, the ancient city of Anuradhapura was destroyed by the Colas of South India and the greater part of Sri Lanka became a part of the Cola Empire. These Colas made Polonnaruwa their seat of government. For the greater part of the 11th century, they held sway over the northern half of Sri Lanka.

Vijayabāhu I (1056-1111 A.C.) came to power after driving out the Colas. He continued to have Polonnaruwa as the center of his administration. He is said to have built a Temple of the Tooth and other religious and secular buildings at Polonnaruwa. It is with the accession of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.) that outstanding buildings of architectural interest were caused to be constructed. The next monarch Nissankamalla (1187-1196 A.C.) who reigned for 9 years, also gets the credit for buildings of architectural interest.. After the reign of this king, the architectural history of Polonnaruwa is almost a blank. Then comes a period of instability. In the second decade of the 13th century, Polonnaruva was sacked and plundered by raiders from the mainland. After a further period of foreign domination, attempts were made by Vijayabā hu IV (1267-1270 A.C.) and Parākramabāhu III (1302-1310) to revive the glories of Polonnaruwa but met with only temporary success. From that time onwards, for over 500 years, this medieval city remained in oblivion.

The more important archaeological monuments still to be seen at Polonnaruwa are given below in brief:

(i) **The palace of Nissankamalla**: This is situated a few yards to the north of the Rest House. According to Nissankamalla's inscriptions, he got this palace built within seven months. An examination of what now remains of this building proves that the aim of the architects has been to achieve a speed record in palace building.

(ii) **Council chamber of Nissankamalla**: It has been identified from inscriptions. It is within the same group of buildings connected with the above named palace. It is an oblong pillared hall on a high platform. In this hall there was a stone

lion. It supported the king's throne. It is now in the Colombo Museum. Many of the pillars in this building contain inscriptions indicating the places reserved for various officials, when the king was seated on the throne.

(iii) **Palace of Parakramabāhu I**: Bordering the high road, near the turn to the Rest House is the Citadel of Royal Enclosure. It is about 25 acres in extent. This area is on a higher level than the surrounding ground. It was enclosed by a high wall with a gateway in the middle of the northern side. Towards the southern end of the Citadel are the remains of the palace of Parākramabāhu. The *Cūlawamsa* gives an exaggerated description of the building. Indications of two upper storeys still exist. On the ground floor is a great hall (102 ft. x 42 ft.). Its roof was supported by 30 wooden posts, the stone sockets of which are still in position. There is another smaller hall and several passages and over 50 rooms which are of small dimensions. A broad flight of steps leads to the upper storey.

(iv) **Pavilion:** To the east of the palace there is a beautiful pavilion built on a stone platform of 3 tiers. Round the base of this building runs a frieze of elephants, carved true to nature. The pillars are adorned with chaste designs. In and near the palace there were various subsidiary buildings such as theatres, picture galleries, fountains, baths etc. Outside the walls of the Citadel were pleasure gardens. To the south-east of the pavilion, a flight of stone steps descends from the citadel wall to the royal bath. Its stone-faced sides are built in 3 tiers with 3 gangways going round it.

(v) **Siva devale No. 1**: This is a shrine which used to be known as the Temple of the Tooth. It has now been identified as a Saiva shrine in the Pandyan style of architecture (13th century). The upper part of the structure which was of brick, has disappeared, but the stone built part of the shrine is still extant. During excavations in1907, at this site, several Hindu bronzes were discovered. They are now in the Colombo Museum.

(vi) **Thūpārāma:** Adjoining the Hindu shrine named above to the north is an artificially raised quadrangular terrace. Here one notices a group of buildings, which together formed the establishment for the Tooth Relic. At the south-west corner of this terrace is a vaulted image house of brick construction. It is now called Thūpārāma. Its history is not known. It is the best preserved example of a *paṭimāgāra* (image house) of this period to be seen anywhere in Sri Lanka. It contained a seated image of the Buddha (now in ruins).

(vii) **Vaṭadāge:** To the north east of the Thūpārāma is the Vaṭadāge (circular relic house). It is the most interesting of the shrines of this area. It consists of two circular terraces, one above the other. In the center of this building is a small stūpa with four Buddha images facing the four entrances.

(viii) **Häṭadāge, Galpota, Latāmaṇḍapaya:** Facing Vaṭadāge is the Häṭadāge, a shrine identified as the Temple of the Tooth built by Nissankamalla. By its side is a large inscribed slab, 27 ft. in length, known as the Galpota (stone-book). It contains an inscription of Nissankamalla . To the west of the Häṭadāge is another shrine, most probably the Tooth Relic shrine built by Vijayabāhu I .On this quadrangle is also to be seen the Latāmaṇḍapaya, built by Nissankamalla. It consists of a stone platform on which the pillars are of stone, in the shape of lotus stems.

(ix) **Satmahal Prāsāda:** This is a solid pyramidal structure of seven stages known as the Satmahal prāsāda. It has been conjectured that it is a stū pa of a very uncommon type.

(x) **Pabalu-vehera and Siva Devale No. 2**: When one proceeds northwards there are two other monuments which should be noted. One is the Pabalu-vehera (said to have been built by a queen of Parākramabāhu I) and Siva Devale No. 2. The last named is a Hindu shrine built entirely of stone. It is in a very good state of preservation. On its walls are inscriptions of Cola emperors.

(xi) Rankot-vehera: Further north, the first monument of note is the Rankot-vehera. It is the largest, completed stūpa to be seen at Polonnaruwa. Inscriptions at the site proclaim it to be a work of Nissankamalla.

(xii) Lankātilaka group: To the north of Rankot-vehera is a group of ruins which formed one of the great monastic establishments of Parā kramabāhu. Most important structures are Lankātilaka and Baddhasīmāpāsāda. The former is also called Jetavanārāma. It is the largest shrine to be seen at Polonnaruwa. It is brick built (170 ft. x 66 ft.). Walls stand to a height of 55 feet. The vaulted roof has completely collapsed. In the *cella* is a gigantic standing Buddha image, now headless. This building, built by Parā kramabāhu (I), was later repaired by Vijayabāhu IV (1267-1270). Adjoining the Lankātilaka to the north is the stūpa known as Kiri-vehera, said to have been founded by a queen of Parā kramabāhu. It is in a good state of preservation.

(xiii) Galvihāra: This is a work of Parākramabāhu I. It is a rock- hewn shrine. There are three colossal images (and one smaller image) of the Buddha. One recumbent, another standing and two are seated images. The standing image is popularly called that of Ānanda Thero, sorrowing over the death of his master. The *Cūlavaṃsa* gives a fairly good description of the work done at Gal-vihā ra.

(xiv) Lotus Bath: To the north of the Galvihāra are two interesting ruins. One is the stone bath, built in the shape of a lotus of eight petals. The other is a shrine of the type resembling Thūpārā ma and Lankātilaka. It is noteworthy for its paintings, depicting scenes from the sacred stories of the Buddhists. The Buddha image in the *cella* is headless and shows bends at 3 places –hence Tivaṅka.

(xv) Potgul-vehera group: This is to the south of the Rest House. Here are remains of a monastery built by Parākramabāhu. There is a circular shrine, built of brick. In this site is to be seen a colossal rock sculpture. It is believed to be a statue of Parākramabāhu (I). At one time it was conjectured to be a representation of the sage Agastya. There is an object held by both hands.

Historical: Polonnaruwa (P. Pulatthinagara) is first mentioned in the *Cūlavaṃsa* in connection with the endowment of a monastery in the reign of Aggabodhi III (624-640 A.C.). Aggabodhi IV (673-689) and Aggabodhi VII (781- 787) were residing at Polonnaruwa at the time of their demise. There are other references to this city in the reign of Sena V (991-1001). Inscriptions are also available where Polonnaruwa is mentioned and which record royal donations in the 8th and 9th centuries. About this time Polonnaruwa rises into prominence mostly due to the development of irrigation facilities in the area. Political factors were also largely responsible for its rise into prominence. From Polonnaruwa the southern province of Sri Lanka was of easy access. Rohana was always a source of trouble to Sinhala kings because it was the stronghold of rebellious chiefs. The well irrigated district of Polonnaruwa was usually the first part of Rajaratha to be occupied by any rebel advancing from the south.

Polonnaruwa became the chief royal capital of Sri Lanka chiefly as a result of the Dravidian invasions of 10th and 11th centuries. There was a significant Tamil element in the population of Sri Lanka about the 12th century.

They were no doubt the descendants of earlier invaders as well as of peaceful immigrants. The history of Sri Lanka during this period was wholly connected with that of South India. It is not pertinent here to mention all the events connected with the history of South India. They are dealt with as summarily as possible. About this time, the Colas had come into power, defeating many of their South Indian contemporaries. They were anxious to gain control of both coasts of the Bay of Bengal, in order to grow rich on the lucrative sea trade with South East Asia and China. For the fulfillment of this policy, control of Sri Lanka was essential. There were also a few other factors which caused some anxiety between Sri Lanka and the Cola rulers. One such instance was the demand by the Colas of the regalia left by a Pandyan king who arrived in Sri Lanka after a defeat at the hands of the Colas. Such rifts were only bones of contention.

So at some time between 1001 and 1004, the Cola king Rājarāja I invaded Sri Lanka and occupied the northern part of the island. His campaign was continued by Rājendra I who carried Cola arms into Rohana, and

in 1007, captured Mahinda V (1001-1017) alive. The land became a prey to pillage and violence of every kind. Jananāthapura (as Polonnaruwa was called by the Colas) became their provincial capital. The new conquerors ruled from South India, keeping viceroys to look after their interests in the island. Revenues collected from Sri Lanka were used to maintain Hindu temples in South India. For instance, the revenues of five Sinhala villages were devoted to the upkeep of the great Rajarajesvara temple at Tanjore. There are also remains of several Hindu shrines built in Sri Lanka during this period. One of the best preserved in Polonnaruwa up to the present day is called Siva Devale No. 2.

From their capital at Polonnaruva, the Colas tried to tighten their grip on the South, their armies raided Rohana and Malaya but they could not bring the South under their control. The Colas could not capture Mahinda's son, Kassapa who was the rightful heir to the throne and who was proclaimed king under the name Vikkramabāhu (1037-1049). He was successful in maintaining some hold on the south. He spent twelve years in organizing his forces for a full-scale attack on the Colas. But he died suddenly as he was planning his great campaign. He was succeeded by several other chiefs whose periods of power lasted only for short periods. Of these, a general named Kitti held power only for 8 days after which he was slain by another usurper, Mahālāna Kitti, who, after 3 years rule, was defeated by the Colas. He is said to have committed suicide, shortly afterwards. His son Vikkama Pandya, was on the throne for one year, until he lost his throne as well as his life to Jagatipāla, a North Indian adventurer. He was of Rājput lineage and ruled for four years, until defeated by the Colas. His place in Rohana was taken up by Parakkama, a Pandyan prince. He too ruled for 2 years and was defeated by the Colas. During the period of anarchy and foreign invasion, these brave chieftains managed to keep Rohana out of Cola hands. As they were disunited among themselves, it was not possible for them to expel the foreign invader.

In the meantime, great changes were taking place in South Indian politics. Rājādhirāja I (1018-54) succeeded in holding much of Sri Lanka but he could not annex Rohana. The Calukyas were growing in strength. Someswara I (1042-1068), after several battles against the Colas, defeated Rājādhirāja I at Koppam on the river Krisna. The latter fell in the midst of bitter fighting. He was succeeded by his brother Rājendra II (1052-64) who had to concentrate more about the rising Calukya power than elsewhere. The Colas still held the nothern part of Sri Lanka, from which, a year or two before 1055, an expedition was sent against the South and had some success. Rājendra's successor was Virarājendra (1063-1069), who had to face several dynastic disputes. Soon after this, the greatest and the most ambitious Calukya ruler, Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127) came to the throne. As Cālukya power increased, the Cola vassals in the South, Pandyans and the Ceras became restless.

About this time in the Rohana region, the political situation was improving. In 1053, a certain chieftain named Loka succeeded in unifying Rohana, which he governed from Kataragama. Another warrior named Kitti a descendent of the old royal family, gained the leadership of Malaya (Central Highlands). When Loka died, Kitti, who was then only 16 years old, captured Kataragama from its new ruler Kassapa and united Rohana and Malaya. About the year 1061, he assumed the name Vijayabāhu (1056-1111) and made plans for the expulsion of the Colas. A series of campaigns ensued but finally Vijayabāhu emerged victorious. He strengthened his position by alliance with the friendly king of Rāmañña (Burma).

The Colas continued to hold the northern part of Sri Lanka but there were revolts against their rule. However, they sent another army to get back the lost provinces. They were successful initially but at Paluṭṭhagiri (Palaṭupāna) (near Tissamaharama), suffered a heavy defeat. Fortunes of war turned in favour of Vijayabāhu. He marched on Polonnaruwa and succeeded temporarily in occupying it. But there were reversals again. The Colas were by now steadily weakening, owing to dynastic disputes. Vijayabāhu was strong enough to suppress his rivals and maintain complete control of Rohana.

In order to drive out the Colas, he sent two armies, one by way of the East coast and one by way of the West, against Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura respectively. Both armies were successful. Polonnaruwa is said to have withstood the siege for six weeks. The Cola king Kulottunga (1070-1120) heard of the great reverses which his forces had suffered in Sri Lanka and decided to give up further resistance. He was more concerned about reinforcing his ranks against the

Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Therefore Sri Lanka was of less importance to the Colas, because by this time the long term maritime policy of Rājendra I was almost forgotten.

Vijayabāhu then became the master of the whole of Sri Lanka. He was consecrated king in 1073 at Anuradhapura. However, Polonnaruwa remained as his chief residence and administrative capital. There were several uprisings during Vijayabāhu's reign. They were brought under control and Vijayabāhu continued to be the master of all Sri Lanka. The Velaikkaras (who were picked mercenaries of Dravidian origin) became mutinous, but later they became thoroughly loyal and reliable.

Vijayabāhu attempted to restore good government but he could not fully restore lasting stability. After his death there was anarchy again. Two factions arose, one led by Uparāja Jayabāhu (Vijayabāhu's younger brother) and the other by the Ādipāda Vikkamabāhu (Vijayabahu's eldest son). Jayabāhu I (1108-1114) ascended the throne but against custom he appointed his sister's son, Mānābharana as Uparāja. Vikkamabāhu was, according to custom, the lawful aspirant for such office. The latter was soon in revolt. Several battles were fought and Vikkamabāhu gained control of the north. Mānābharana and his two brothers Kitti Sri Megha and Siri Vallabha, retained Rohana and Māyā rattha. The four rivals seem to have come together to terms and divided the country between them. Vikkamabāhu and his son Gajabāhu II are reported to have been engaged in anti-Buddhist activities. The son of Mānābharana, rose into prominence and became king of Sri Lanka under the title Parākramabāhu (I) (1153-1186). His reign lasted 33 years. In him was intense energy and brilliant leadership which enabled him to bring peace and prosperity to Sri Lanka, after a century and half of invasion, tyranny and anarchy.

Activities of Parākramabāhu I: Parākramabāhu I has been reported to be a great leader of mankind, who had the ability to restore order in Sri Lanka and carrying his prowess as a conqueror to foreign lands including South India and even as far as Cambodia. He took steps to build monasteries, gardens, tanks etc. He was experienced in statecraft. He succeeded to the throne after the death of Kitti Siri Megha. He consolidated his position by several victories. He was a great patron of learning and was himself versed in medical science. Under the guidance of Maha Kassapa Thera, a systematic compilation of the sub- commentaries took place. Many works were composed in Pali and Sinhala during the period of his rule. He rebuilt the city of Polonnaruwa, restored monasteries and built new religious edifices.

He paid much attention to religion and his first task was to bring about the unification of the contending sects and the restoration of the power and influence of the Orthodox Church, the Mahāvihāra. The two sects Sagaliya (Sāgalika) and the Dhammarucika, belonging to the parent vihara or Abhayagiri, flourished side by side along with the Mahāvihāra, until all of them were united into one order during the reign of Parākramabāhu.

In order to unify and improve the Buddhist Order, he assembled the great community of monks dwelling in the three fraternities. He called together many distinguished teachers learned in the method of discriminating between failure and non-failure. He himself was well acquainted with the monastic rules and could distinguish the genuine ascetics from the false ones. He cleansed the Order in such a way that only genuine ascetics remained within the Order. Those who were disrobed by royal command were given jobs in secular walks of life. Within a short time the king achieved a purification and unity among the monks.

A code of regulations for the guidance of monks was proclaimed by him. It was called *Parākramabāhu katikāvata*. It did not in anyway come in conflict with the *vinaya* rules. It gave direction for the proper observance of the *vinaya* rules. The king saw the indiscriminate admission into the Order which undermined the discipline and status of the monks. Hence he made regulations which became a part of the law of the country.

This king's reign was one of the glorious in connection with architectural monuments. The best specimens of the age are at Polonnaruwa. He repaired most of the stūpas which had suffered in earlier times and revived the practice of building colossal stūpas. The best preserved of these is Kirivehera at Polonnaruwa which was built by Bhaddavati (one of the queens of this king). Pabaluvehera at Pononnaruwa was constructed by Rupavati , another wife of this king. Another building erected by Parākramabāhu in the middle of the town was a square

hall with four entrances and many large rooms. It was for the purpose of a great alms giving in which everything needful was to be had for those who kept the precepts of the moral discipline. Every year he used to give garments and mantles to each of them according to his age. Four alms-halls were built in the districts of the town and gardens of a charming nature were laid down. He had a hall built for many hundreds of sick people. There he gave to each sick person a male slave and a female slave to prepare day and night medicines, food and drink according to requirements. Many more such facilities were ordered to be provided in connection with medical needs.

Polonnaruwa was rebuilt by him. It had a high chain of walls built, which on all sides enclosed the fortified town. He then laid down various streets. He erected a second inner wreath of walls around his own palace and built thereon a palace, seven storeys high, furnished with all the necessary comforts. This charming palace was named by him as Vejayanta (Palace of Gods). He built the *hema-mandira* (golden house) for performing the ceremonies of sins (by Brahmin priests). Some of the other buildings erected by him were *dhāranī-ghara* (house of incantation), *maṇḍala-mandira* (for listening to the birth stories of the great sage, *pancasattati-mandira* (for reception of magic water and thread which were given by yellow robed ascetics) and for holding the *paritta* ceremonies, *dhammāgāra* (for preaching religion and discussing religious topics), *sarassati maṇḍapa* (for listening to the rhythmic songs of the musicians and to behold their charming dances).

In a private garden close to this palace, were planted various kinds of trees. It contained many beautiful tanks. Two of these were Silā-pokkharanī and Mangala pokkharanī. Inside this garden was a *vijja-maṇḍapa* which was built to promote various branches of science. Other buildings inside this garden were *dolāmaṇḍapa* (swing pavilion) and *kīlāmaṇḍapa* (play pavilion). The *Cūlavamsa* refers to many other buildings which this king caused to be constructed within the city of Polonnaruwa.

The city was furnished with gates and towers, walls, moats, streets, palaces, shops and parks. The temple of the Tooth was built in the middle of the town. The king was desirous of building large *vihāras* suitable for occupation by monks. For elderly monks he built, eight three-storeyed costly palaces. He built the Tivaṇka house for the Tivaṇka image. The Ālāhana parivena was also a beautiful building which was caused to be constructed by him. Subhadda- cetiya and Rupavatī-cetiya are also stupas which were built during this period. A twelve storeyed *uposatha* house named *baddha-sīmā-pāsāda* and a monastery named *paccimārāma* are also to his credit. The king also built the *uttarārāma* as well as the Maha-thūpa (which bore the name Damila thūpa). The brazen palace at Anuradhapura (lohapāsāda) which was destroyed by the Colas was restored by this king by raising again its 1600 pillars. The Ratnavalika-thūpa, Jetavana-stūpa, Abhayagiri-stūpa and Maricavatti-stūpa (at Anuradhapura) were also restored. Several stupas at Mihintale were also rebuilt by him.

This king also paid attention to risks arising from famine conditions. In order to overcome these risks, he caused to be built many tanks and canals in various places. He is said to have re-built 216 tanks among which was the great tank named Uruvela. Parakkama-samudda was a great reservoir built with a sluice of 100 cubits. It was continually filled with water. Nīlavāhinī, Vettavatī, Thuṅgabhadda, Maṅgala-gaṅgā, Campā, Sarassatī, Jamunā. Sarabhū, Canda-bhāgā, Nammadā, Nerañjarā, Bhāgīratī, Kālindī, Godāvarī are names of other canals which were caused to be constructed by him.

The king erected the Sūtigha-cetiya in the place of his birth, namely Punkhagāma. In the province of Rohana, the king had diverse buildings erected in villages and market town. The *Cūlavamsa* records a number of other buildings, reservoirs, canals which this king caused to be constructed. His reign of 33 years has been acclaimed as the Augustan age of Sri Lankan History.

Successors of Parākramabāhu I. Parākramabāhu who was childless, saw to it that his sister's son ascended the throne after his demise. This nephew of his, Vijayabāhu II (1186-1187) was living in Kalinga with a royal family which was connected with Sri Lanka, by marriage alliances. His reign was not a peaceful one. After one year's reign, he met his death at the hands of his successor Mahinda VI (1187). His reign lasted only for 5 days and he was put to death by Nissankamalla, the rightful heir to the throne. He is said to have been the Uparāja or heir-apparent to Vijayabāhu II.

Nissankamalla (1187-1196) was the greatest monarch of Polonnaruva after Parakramabāhu I. He has left a large number of inscriptions which give sufficient information about the period in which he lived. There is no evidence about Nissankamalla's relationship with his predecessors. He was invited to Sri Lanka from Kalinga (which country had matrimonial alliances with Sri Lankan royal houses). Nissankamalla's reign was not altogether peaceful. Rohana had always been the favourite resort of rebels and aspirants to the throne. However, Nissankamalla appears to have kept his kingdom intact. He is said to have made donations of various kinds and built alms-houses and distributed alms to the needy.

Nissankamalla also did considerable work for the economic upliftment of his subjects such as by building and repairing of tanks and canals. Among the irrigation works to his credit is the Nissankāsamudra. Another tank built by him is the Paṇḍivijayakulama (now known as Galmätiyāne-väva). He also built religious edifices, such as the Rankot dāgäba. The rock cave at Dambulla was embellished by him. He is also known to have built the Hätadāge, which constituted the Tooth Relic house at the time and also the Vaṭadāge.

Nissankamalla took a keen interest in the life and organization of the Saṅgha. He is said to have united the 3 *nikāyas* and expelled corrupt monks from the Order. He also extended his patronage to religions other than Buddhism as well. The king's reign lasted only 9 years. What he achieved during his short reign is remarkable in view of the short time which was taken for such purposes. With the death of Nissankamalla, the country fell into a chaotic political situation. Weak rulers supported by king-makers follow in quick succession. Nissankamalla's son Vīrabāhu I (1196) ascended the throne but reigned only for a day. Thereafter there is a list of eleven sovereigns, two of whom were queens (Līlāvatī and Kalyānavatī). Their periods were of short duration. The last of the list Parakrama Pandya (1212-1215) was ousted by Mā gha about the year 1215 A.C. He was from Kalinga and invaded Sri Lanka with a large force of Kerala (Malabar) soldiers. He blinded the reigning king and took over the administration of the country. His reign which has been described as one of terror lasted from 1215 to 1236 A.C. He was ousted by Parākramabāhu II (1234-1269) who shifted the capital from Polonnaruwa to Dambadeniya. Thus with Māgha, the series of kings of Polonnaruwa comes to an end. The center of politics moved towards the South in the subsequent period.

Art and Architecture: Vijayabāhu I who restored Sinhala sovereignty, had his coronation ceremony performed at Anuradhapura but fixed Polonnaruwa as the center of his administration. One of his chief concerns was to restore Buddhism to the eminent position which it occupied before the Cola conquest. For this purpose he had to get down ordained monks from Burma. It was Vijayabāhu's aim to give new life not only to Buddhism but also to literature and the arts. He restored ancient edifices which had fallen into decay. Most noteworthy shrine founded during his reign was the Temple of the Tooth, now called Aṭadāge.

With the accession of Parākramabāhu I, better times dawned. The *Cūlavaṃsa* devotes 2 chapters to a recital of his building activities. The lofty Lankātilaka, Tivaṅka image house, the impressive rock cut images at Gal-vihāra, the Lotus Bath, Kumāra Pokuna, and the Audience Hall within his palace attest to this king's contribution to art and architecture.

Nissankamalla who succeeded Parākramabāhu (I) was anxious to outshine his predecessor. Some of his best known works are Nissanka-latā-maṇḍapaya, Gal-pota (stone book) and Hätadāge. The stupa named Rankot-vehera with the frontispieces and chapels at the base, is also a monument which was caused to be constructed by him. Shortly after his death, there followed internecine warfare and foreign invasion. Political instability thus created, paved the way for foreign invasions. Towards the close of the 13th century, an attempt was made to revive the glories of Polonnaruwa but with no lasting results.

With regard to the building of *stupas* during the Polonnaruva period, the architects appear to have followed earlier works. For example Kirivehera and Rū pāvati cetiya have been built following the model of the colossal *stupas* of the 4th century. The type of *stupa* of small dimensions with a series of mouldings at the base and an elongated dome (which was in vogue between 7th to 10th centuries) has been adhered to in the shrines built at Polonnaruva. The Rankot-vehera closely followed the Ratnamālī-cetiya at Anuradhapura in its architectural design. The frontispieces of Kirivehera and Rankotvehera differ from earlier types

in many respects. They are constructed entirely of brick masonry. The *Makara* brackets, friezes of *hamsas* and animals in relief, the dormer windows, the flanking stelae surmounted with figures of animals are notably absent in the Polonnaruwa examples named above. The bases of these late frontispieces contain between mouldings, friezes of *gaṇas*, projecting elephant heads and lotuses. Another important feature in these *stupas* are the chapels with vaulted brick roofs between the frontispieces.

The largest *stupa* at Polonnaruwa, the Damila-thū pa, built by Parākramabāhu I, appears to have not been completed. The dome, having risen from the moulded basal terraces, is truncated, forming a plateau, in the center of which is a small *stupa*. Precisely the same condition is noticeable in the Sūtighara-cetiya at Dadigama, the birthplace of Parākramabāhu.

There are 3 brick built image houses at Polonnaruva. Of them the largest is the Lankātilaka. From front to back the length is 124 ft. The greatest breadth is 66 ft. at the square shaped shrine. The north wall still stands to a height of 55 ft. Originally the shrine could have measured nearly 100 ft. from the base to the top of the crowning finial. On ground plan, the shrine consists internally of a *cella*, an entresol formed by the opening through the wall, a vestibule and the entresol facing the front stairs. At this shrine there had been an upper storey, in the form of timbered galleries supported on stone pillars in the inner shrine, which permitted a full view of the image, 40 ft. in height from the entrance.

Architects who were employed by Parākramabāhu I were skilled in site-planning. As an example, the extensive complex of monastic buildings known as the Ālahāṇa Pariveṇa, may be mentioned. Lankātilaka was at the center of this group of buildings. The principal edifices were the image house, the stupa and the chapter house. These buildings were located on an elevated ground. The sloping ground on all sides of this central eminence has been made into terraces. On them were located the *stupas* of lesser importance, residential quarters, libraries and other adjuncts.

The Vaṭadāge at Polonnaruwa is one of the most remarkable monuments worthy of mention. This architectural type is a development of the circular *cetiya-ghara* of India. The Vaṭadāge at Polonnaruwa is the most developed example of this type. The Hāṭadāge, the shrine built by Nissankamalla for the Tooth Relic is noteworthy. Its walls have been built of stone to the height of the upper storey.

The ruins of the palace of Parākramabāhu are quite impressive. The plan of the building consisted of a storeyed central edifice with a spacious hall, in a courtyard surrounded by galleries on all sides. An interesting edifice at Polonnaruwa is the mandapa (Royal Pavilion). It has a high base in three tiers, moulded and ornamented with friezes of elephants, lions and *gaṇas*. The roof was supported on four rows of slender and graceful stone pillars, decorated with floral designs of great charm. A pavilion of the same type was erected by Nissankamalla on the embankment of the artificial lake, where he erected his own palace. In the buildings at Polonnaruwa, pillars with square shafts and capitals of the type familiar at Anuradhapura are found in the Lankātilaka. Pillars in the rock-cut chamber at the Gal-vihāra are of the same style. Pillars in the pavilion in front of the Lankātilaka are partly octagonal and like those in the maṇḍapa within the royal precincts, are decorated with chaste designs. Still more elaborate is the treatment of the pillars in the Aṭadāge. The pillars in the Nissankalatāmaṇḍapa and one of the buildings near the Sat-mahal-pāsāda are among the most elaborate in Sinhala architecture. The shaft and the capital together represent a stylised lotus with its stalk.

There are also, at the entrance to buildings at Polonnaruva, *makara* balustrades flanking the steps, semi-circular slabs of stone referred to as moonstones and *nāga* kings in anthropomorphic form, doing duty as *dvārapālas*. There are also moonstones at the flights of steps but these are not of the same artistic quality as the three masterpieces of this sculpture, still preserved at Anuradhapura. The best moonstones at Polonnaruwa are those at the entrances to the Vaṭadāge.

There are also some guardstones at Polonnaruwa which are of considerable artistic merit. The pair flanking the steps at the eastern entrance of the Vaṭadāge surpass all others in this respect. The fan-bearers on either side of the Buddha in the rock cut shrine at Gal-vihāra are, also worthy of note. The screen wall of the Vaṭadāge is ornamented with shallow carvings of four- petalled flowers, in naturalistic style. This is certainly a good example of effective decorative work. 'The frieze of

elephants, running round the lowermost tier of the pavilion to the east of the royal palace, is an example of architectural embellishment as its purpose. The attitude of each elephant is different from the other. The artists have been successful in depicting them in various moods and movements.

It was in the medium of stucco that a good deal of plastic art of this period was produced. Good examples in this connection are to be found on the walls of the shrines named Lankātilaka and Tivaṅka. They represent deities who have arrived in their *vimānas* to pay homage to the Buddha. These stucco figures show skill in modelling the body in various attitudes.

An outstanding example of sculpture which needs particular mention is the colossal rock cut statue which is traditionally believed to be that of Parākramabāhu (I). Paranavitane has given reasons for identifying the figure as that of Parākramabāhu. Ananda Coomaraswamy was of the opinion that it is a representation of the sage Agastya. However there is a definite striving for representation of individual characteristics in the physiognomy. There is no certain evidence for ascribing it to a particular reign.

Colossal Buddha images were carved on the face of a granite boulder at the site now called Gal-vihāra, of which the ancient name was Uttarārāma. The recumbent Buddha measures 46 ft. from head to foot. The standing figure is 23 ft. in height. There are two seated Buddhas -the smaller one is within a shrine excavated into the rock. The larger Buddha is shown against the background of a shrine with a *toraṇa* in front of it. These images were originally inside shrines and were painted or gilt.

There are also some other Buddha images of this period, but it is possible that some of them belong to an earlier age. It is reasonable to believe that images from ruined shrines of earlier date were enshrined in edifices built in the ll th and 12 th centuries. The four Buddha images inside the Vaṭadāge are also noteworthy for the manner in which the head is treated. In these, the head is smoothly shaven or appears as wearing a skullcap. 'The robe clings to the body without folds.

The walls of palaces and shrines were decorated with paintings during the Polonnuruva period. The *Cū lavaṃsa* refers to the palace of Parākramabāhu I and a number of other pavilions which were decorated with paintings, including scenes illustrative of events in the king's life story. Time has not spared any of these nowadays. Some of the paintings of religious edifices have been preserved, only in fragmentary state. The Lankātilaka bears traces of wall paintings on the exterior as well as the interior. It is in the Tivaṅka shrine that some paintings have been preserved. The walls of the porch and the vestibule are covered with scenes illustrating the *Jātakas*. On the walls of the interior are scenes from the life of the Buddha.

At Dimbulagala, there are caves where some paintings of the period are preserved. Some of the better preserved fragments, depict five haloed figures, obviously meant to represent deities. Excavations carried out at Mahiyangana-stupa have brought to light paintings in the relic chamber. There are a number of complete figures and fragments of several others. The date of the paintings in the Tivaṅka shrine cannot be established with certainty because of repairs carried out at that shrine in the succeeding century (i.e. 13 th). The shrine was built by Parakramabahu(I)but there is evidence to show that the building has undergone alterations subsequently.

There are also remains of Hindu shrines in Polonnaruwa which were built during the Cola occupation. One important building which needs mention is Siva Devāle No.2, which is entirely of stone and in a satisfactory state of preservation. It is a representative example of Dravidian architecture at its best. Siva Devāle No. 1, of which the *sikhara* was of brick construction (and which has now crumbled down) is of a later date. Several icons of Hindu deities have also come to light. One of the best preserved is the one which has been named as Naṭarājā (which demonstrates the Dance of Siva). The icons which have come to light depict Hindu deities as well as saints.
See **Plates XII–XXII**

Bibliography

1. *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I Pt. II , ed. H.C. Ray, Colombo, 1960 (pp.411-525)

2. H.W. Codrington, *A short history of Ceylon*, London 1947 pp. 55-73

3. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1-4 Colombo, 1955

Nandasena Mudiyanse

PORĀṆĀ. A Pāli term occurring in early Buddhist literature of Sri Lanka, mainly, the *Visuddhimagga*, the Pāli commentaries of Buddhaghosa and other commentators, and in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* i.e. the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Closely allied with this term are the terms *Porāṇakattherā*, *Porāṇācariyā* and *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, and also *Pubbācariyā* and *Aṭṭhakathācariyā*, which also occur in the commentarial works mentioned above.

Quotations from the *Porāṇā*, *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, *Porāṇakattherā* etc. occur in the *Visuddhimagga* and the other commentaries.

E.W. Adikaram (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1953,pp.16 f) gives the number of *Porāṇa* quotations in the Pāli commentaries including the *Visuddhimagga* as 116, of which 85 are verse references, 29 prose and 2 short sentences which are probably prose though they may also be fragments of two short stanzas. In the 85 verse references there are 142 verses.

Sometimes, the same verse or prose occurs in more than one *aṭṭhakathā*, the same passage occurring in not less than twelve commentaries (*op.cit.*p.17). When these repetitions are removed these 142 verses reduce themselves to 90. It is interesting to note that 17 of these verses are found, though not under the name of *Porāṇā*, in a comparatively modern Sinhala prose work called the *Vimuktisaṅgraha*. Apart from these quotations from the *Porāṇas* there are several other quotations, which appear to be from the *Porāṇas* though this is not specifically mentioned.

A glance at the *Porāṇas* passages in the commentaries would show that in some way or another, deal with every aspect of the teachings of the Buddha, and also that many of them reveal a commentarial nature. The subjects dealt with range from mere points of grammar to deep philosophical speculation, and from pure legendary matter to history. They contain material on the *Vinaya* rules, admonitions in the practice of *jhāna*, reflections on impermanence etc., the biography of the Buddha, *Abhidhamma* doctrine and *Sutta* nomenclature, legendary episodes, historical incidents, cosmology, exegetical matter and grammar etc. (for details see E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1953, pp. 18 ff. Appendix II, A & II B; *MhvA*. lxii).

It is quite evident that the *Porāṇā* were important sources of the Pāli commentaries. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv*. i. 2) states that the *Mahāvaṃsa* which was compiled by the ancients (*porāṇehi*) was here too long drawn out and there too closely knit. The *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary (*MhvA*. I. 46) explains that the reference is to the older *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* (......*porāṇako Sīhalaṭṭhakathāmahāvaṃsa*......). That the *Dīpavaṃsa* also has drawn its material from the *Porāṇā* is also evident from the fact that certain verses quoted in the *Samantapāsādikā* as being from the *Porāṇā* are found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* with slight modifications (Rahula, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. xxi).

Scholars have different views on what or who are meant by the term *Porāṇā* though the word literally meant 'the Ancients'. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids the *Porāṇā* were the 'fathers' of the Theravāda Sāsana but were of a later date than the canonical writers. They were the bookmen, the academicians, the cloistered scribes of the new predominant Buddhist culture (B.C. Law, *The Life and Works of Buddhaghosa*, Calcutta and Simla, 1923, p. vii).

G.P. Malalasekera (*The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, p. 92, n. 1) on the other hand states, "............I am of opinion that the *Poraṇas* merely refer to teachers whose exposition were not necessarily embodied in the commentaries, but handed down in various schools by oral tradition, sometimes with mnemonic verses to help the memory, and that Buddhaghosa refers to such traditional explanations as the anonymous *Porāṇā*. Often, in Sinhalese books, when the author quoting from an ancient work either does, when the author does not know- or does not think it necessary to give the source, he introduces it merely by *eheyin purātanayo kīhu*, therefore the ancients said.

G.P. Malalasekera (*MhvA*. introduction, p. lxv) also thinks that the names of the earliest teachers who were the *Porāṇā* were forgotten for, at that early time when writing was not popular what was considered important was to remember the facts and not the manners. Later, however, when writing became popular, it was possible to mention even the manners of eminent teachers, in the commentaries. These teachers correspond to the more ancient *Porāṇā*.

E.W. Adikaram (*op. cit.* pp. 22f.) on the other hand disagrees with Malalasekera's opinion. He points out that in the *Papañcasūdanī*, Buddhaghosa remarks about an explanation left out by the *Porāṇā*. To say that this explanation is left out, says Adikaram, the *Porāṇā* interpretations must have been available to him in the form of a compilation, either as a separate collection, or embodied in the commentaries. Further, the fact that prose passages of identical form, says Adikaram, are found quoted more than once suggests strongly that the commentators drew those prose passages from a written compilation.

Adikaram conludes his observations saying, " the *Porāṇās* were undoubtedly revered teachers of old and they must have played an important part in the formation and stabilizing of the Theravāda school. They had their origin in India as is evidenced by the verses attributed to the *dhammasaṅgāhaka* theras in the *Milindapañha* .... probably they were not known in India by the name *Porāṇā*. It may be that their views and interpretations of the Doctrine were incorporated in an old Commentary, and that when other new Commentaries such as the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, *Mahāpaccarī* and the *Kurundī* came to be written this old commentary was called the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, and the teachers whose views were incorporated in it were termed the *porāṇā* or the teachers of old. Still later the distinction between the views of these teachers of old and the rest of the contents of the old commentary may have disappeared and the term *Porāṇā* and *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* acquired the same significance. Even as the shortened form *Kurundī* was often used instead of the *Kurundaṭṭhakathā*, so also the word *Porāṇā* may have been used to denote the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*. (Adikaram, *op.cit.* p.23).

Subsequently, in the introduction to the edition of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* (*MhvA*. I. p. lxiv) Malalasekera says " I would myself, still maintain the view .... that *Porāṇā* merely meant 'Teachers of old '. The term was of wide significance, it was not restricted to one set or school, of teachers; it did not indicate any particular work or works. The term was used in reference to men of eminence of the Buddhist community –perhaps, not even necessarily monks-eminent, some by reason of their piety, others because of their learning............................the *Porāṇā* were men of hallowed memory, their names forgotten in the hoary mists of antiquity. Some of them belonged probably to India, others certainly to Ceylon. They were considered to be arahants, and, therefore, infallible. This, perhaps, was the distinction, if there was any, between the *Porāṇā* and the *Porāṇakattherā*; the latter were not arahants, and hence, were liable to error".

The *Porāṇā* have been identified with *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* by Hermann Oldenberg (*Dīpavaṃsa*, ed Oldenberg, London, 1879, pp.2, 3) and Geiger (*Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*, pp.44 ff). Geiger (*loc. cit*) also thinks that they formed the basis of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa*. E.W. Adikaram (*op.cit* pp.22 f) agrees with the opinion of these two scholars. G.P. Malalasekera (*MhvA*. I, introduction, pp. lvii f.) seems to think that the term *Porāṇāṭṭhakathā* probably referred to the old *Mahāvaṃsa* which was also known as the *Vaṃsaṭṭhakathā* or the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa*.

The *Porāṇacariyā*, i.e. the teachers of old, the *Porāṇakattherā*, i.e. the theras of old, the *Pubbācariyā*, i.e. the former teachers and, the *Aṭṭhakathācariyā*, i.e. the teachers of commentaries have been referred to in the commentaries as referred to above and their views seem to have been quite similar to those of the *Porāṇā*.

The *Gandhavaṃsa* (*JPTS*. 1886, pp. 58, 5) defines the *Porāṇācariyā* as the *dhamma-saṅgāhaka* theras, i.e. the theras who took part in the three councils, but with the exception of Mahākaccāyana. In the *Milindapañha* (p. 369) a certain passage is ascribed by Nāgasena to the *Dhammsaṅghāhaka theras*. The same verse occurs in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism*. I.270) as a quotation from the *Porāṇā*. From this it appears the *Porāṇā* and the *Porāṇācariyā* were identical, and that they were the *dhammasaṅgāhaka* theras. The *Gandhavaṃsa* (p.59) also states that the *Porāṇācariyā* and *Aṭṭhākathācariyā* were identical (*ye hi porāṇācariyā te yeva aṭṭhakathācariyā*). According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* therefore, all three terms, *Porāṇā*, *Porāṇācariyā* and *Aṭṭhakathācariyā* were synonymous. The term *Pubbācariya* also seems to be synonymous with *Porāṇā*, for, according to Adikaram (*op. cit.* p. 21) two quotations in the *Visuddhimagga*, one said to be from the *Porāṇā*, and the other from the *Pubbācariyā* on the same topic, viz. the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* seem to have been drawn from the same source.

Buddhaghosa, commenting on a phrase in the *Mūlapariyāya- sutta* says that the *Porāṇā* have not discussed this but the comment is his own. Here, Adikaram (*op. cit.* p. 22) thinks Buddhaghosa evidently takes the *Porāṇā* to be identical with the *Aṭṭhakathācariyā*, i. e. the theras who compiled the *Sī hala Aṭṭhakathā*, the main sources of Buddhaghosa's Pāli translations. But then, were the *Dhammasaṅgāhaka Theras* the compilers of the *Sī hala Aṭṭhakathā*, or, is Buddhaghosa's reference to an earlier Pāli commentary which Mahinda may have brought to Sri Lanka and was subsequently rendered in the vernacular? That *Porāṇā* and the other allied terms referred to certain compilations in Pāli is highly probable for all the quotations attributed to them are in that language. The tradition is that the *Sī halaṭṭakathā* which comprised many works like the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccarī-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Kurundī-aṭṭhakathā* which were preserved in the Sinhalese language were originally brought by Mahinda (*SA.* I. 1; *MA.* I. 1, *DhsA.* 1, Adikaram, *op. cit.*p.11).

H.R.Perera

PORĀṆAṬṬHAKATHĀ : *Porāṇāṭṭhakathā* (the ancient commentary) is one of the sources referred to by Buddhaghosa in his Pali commentaries. Also Buddhaghosa has often referred to another source as *Porāṇā*. There is no consensus among the scholars whether *Porāṇāṭṭhakathā* and *Porāṇā* are two different sources or they refer to the same source in two different names. The author of the *Sammohavinodani* the commentary to the *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa* of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* says that he would compose the commentary following the system of the *Porā naṭṭhakathā* (*Karissāma Vigāhetva Porānaṭṭhakathā Nayam*). Apparently the author of the *Sammohavinodani* in the present context refer to the authentic commentaries of yore, as a whole and not to an individual commentary.

Mrs. Rhys Davids[1] suggests that "These *Porāṇās* were not included among the canonical compilers or they would be quoted as such. They appear to have been of later date. Malalasekara[2] is of the opinion that the *Porāṇās* merely refer to the teachers whose expositions were not necessarily embodied in the commentaries but handed down in various schools by oral tradition, some times with mnemonic verses to help the memory and that Buddhaghosa refer to such traditional explanations as the anonymous *Porāṇā*. Hermann Oldenberg[3] identifies *Porāṇas* with *Porā naṭṭhakathā*.

Adikāram[4] observing identical prose passages quoted more than once, suggests strongly that the commentaries drew these prose passages from a written compilation. He thinks *Porāṇās* were undoubtedly revered teachers of old and they must have played an important part in the formation and establising of the Theravāda school. They had their origin in India. Probably they were not known in India by the name *Porāṇā*. It may be that their views and interpretations of the Doctrine were incorporated in an old commentary and that when other new commentaries such as *Mahā ṭṭhakathā*, *Mahāpaccari* and the *Kurundi* came to be written the old commentary was called *Porānaṭṭhakathā* and the teachers whose views were incorporated in it were termed the *Porāṇā* or the "teachers of old". Still later the distinction between the views of those teachers of old and rest of the contents of the old commentary may have disappeared and the term *Porāṇā* and the *Porānaṭṭhakathā* acquired the same significance. Adikaram further points out "even as the shortened form *Kurundi* was often used instead of the word *kurundiaṭṭhakathā*, so also the word *Porāṇā* may have been used to denote the *Porānaṭṭhakathā*".

K. Arunasiri

References

1. Law. B.C. *Life and works of Buddhaghosa* - Forward
2. Malalasekara G.P. *Pali Literature of Ceylon* p. 92
3. Oldenberg Hermann *Dipawansa* pp. 2,3
4. Adikaram E.W. *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* p. 22-23

POSITIVISM : The term Positivism was first associated with the doctrines of Auguste Comte and his followers. In more recent times it has been employed rather loosely to denote the views of philosophers largely influenced by the positive sciences and having a definitely empiricist flavour in their writings. In this sense it has even been used to refer to the analytical school of thinkers[1] who reacted against the post Hegelian idealists. More specifically the term is currently employed of Logical Positivism, which

stemmed from the work of the Vienna Circle and was profoundly influenced by Wittgenstein's *Tractotus Logico-philosophicus.*

Buddhism has been compared with the older Positivism of Comte and some points of similarity, which Buddhism bears to modern Positivism have also been indicated by writers. Such comparisons, however, can be useful and illuminative only if the similarities are not superficial and the differences as well are clearly brought into focus.

The comparison with Comte has been both in respect of his philosophy and his religion. If we take the philosophy first, we find for instance, T.W. Rhys Davids[2] saying that "Comtism, Agnosticism and Buddhism are...the only systems which have broken away in the most uncompromising manner from the venerable soul-theories which have grown out of the ancient Animism". Radhakrishnan[3] goes further and says: "Early Buddhism was positivism in its outlook and confined its attention to what we perceive. Some of the early Buddhists went even to the length of saying that there was nothing behind appearances, not only nothing for us but nothing at all".

J.S. Mill, however in reviewing the Positivism of Auguste Comte says that "the fundamental doctrine of a true philosophy according to, M. Comte, and the character by which he defines Positive Philosophy is the following: - We have no knowledge of anything but phenomena; and our knowledge of Phenomena is relative, not absolute. We know not the essence, nor the real mode of production, of any fact but only its relations to other facts in the way of succession or of similitude. These relations are constant; that is, always the same in the same circumstances. The constant resemblances which link phenomena together, and the constant sequences which unite them as antecedent and consequent, are termed their laws. The laws of phenomena are all we know respecting them. Their essential nature and their ultimate causes, either efficient or final, are unknown and inscrutable to us"[4].

If this is the central theme of the positive philosophy then we may compare with it Early Buddhism which considers that the world is describable in terms of events (*dhammâ*) and relations (*paccayâ*) and holds that these events are not haphazard in their occurrence but follow an observable causal pattern of regular sequence or concomitance. Two events A and B are said to be causally related if "whenever A happens B happens" (*asmin sati idam hoti*) and "whenever A does not happen, B does not happen" (*asmiṃ asati idṃ na hoti*). The truths of Buddhism are said to be laws of this sort verified by the Buddha, who "states the causes of events that arise from causes" (*ye dhammâ hetuppabhavâ tesaṃ hetu tathâgato âha*).

There are however two qualifications that need to be made to show the difference between the positivist picture of the world and the means of knowing it and the Buddhist counterpart thereof. Beyond the fleeting phenomena, according to Buddhism, is the changeless, timeless reality of *Nirvâṇa*. Positivists of the Comte school would fight shy of such an assertion although, as Mill points out, "the positive mode of thought is not necessarily a denial of the super natural... Whoever regards all events as parts of a constant order, each one the invariable consequent of some antecedent condition or combination of conditions, accepts fully the positive mode of thought, whether he acknowledges or not an universal antecedent on which the whole system of nature was originally consequent and whether that universal antecedent is conceived as an Intelligence or not"[5]. The other point of departure is that observation or verification for positivists is in the light of sense experience, while Buddhism admits both normal as well as paranormal (*atikkanta-mânusika*) perception which comprises "higher forms of cognitive experience" (*abhiññâ*), and include telepathy (*paracitta-vijânana-ñâṇa*), clairvoyance (*dibba-cakkhu*) clairaudience (*dibba-sota*) retrocognition (*pubbe-nivâsânussati ñâṇa*), and the intuition of Reality (*âsavakkhaya ñâṇa*). As a consequence of this, while positivists would dismiss concepts like Rebirth or Karma as superstitious myths or dogmas incapable of verification, Buddhism holds that they come within the sphere of the verifiable in the light of such paranormal experience.

Comparing Buddhism with Comte's Humanism, Radhakrishnan says that "ancient Buddhism resembles positivism in its attempt to shift the centre from the worship of god to the service of man"[6]. The comparison is justified insofar as Buddhism is a man-centred religion. Human life is for Buddhism the most valued form of life and man is said to have the capacity to rise by his efforts even above the gods whom in his ignorance and helplessness he worship. But the

humanism of the Buddhist ethic is a byproduct of its view of life. Each man should seek the goal of *Nirvāṇa* for himself but he can progress spiritually only if he has a loving concern for the well-being of others as well as of himself. Comte's humanism on the other hand is an attempt to evolve sentiments around an abstract conception of Man.

Modern thinkers who have dipped into the writings of Buddhism have sometimes been struck by its analytical' and positivist turns of thought. H.H. Price, Wykeham, Professor of Logic at Oxford University, has remarked that " there are some passages in the early part of the Questions of King Milinda which have a very modern ring, and might almost have been written in Cambridge in the 1920's"[8]. Aldous Huxley believes that Early Buddhism for the most part respected the principle of verification and confined its statements to verifiable propositions. In his own words: "Among the early Buddhists, the metaphysical theory (i.e. of Brahman of the Upanishads) was neither affirmed nor denied, but simply ignored as being meaningless and unnecessary. Their concern was with the immediate experience, which, because of its consequences for life, came to be known as 'liberation' or ' enlightenment'. The Buddha and his disciples of the southern school seemed to have applied to the problems of religion that 'operational philosophy' which contemporary scientific thinkers have begun to apply in the natural sciences. 'The concept', says Professor Bridgman in his *Logic of Modern Physics*, 'is synonymous with the corresponding set of operations'. A question has meaning when it is possible to find operations by which an answer can be given. Assertions, which do not lend themselves to operational verification, are neither true nor false, but without meaning. Buddha was not a consistent operationalist; for he seems to have taken for granted, to have accepted as something given and self-evident, a variant of the locally current theory of metempsychosis. Where mysticism was concerned, however, his operationalism was complete. He would not make assertions about the nature of ultimate reality because it did not seem to him that the corresponding set of mystical operations would admit of a theological interpretation"[9].

It may be questioned whether Early Buddhism can be compared with modern positivism with its many strains of thought and ramifications, but that there are salient points of similarity cannot be denied. Among them may be mentioned the attempt to trace some metaphysical concepts like 'soul' and 'substance' to a linguistic origin, the scientific view of the world as a causal system of events, the acceptance of verifiability and the rejection of metaphysics. The concepts of 'soul' or substance' (*attā*) were rejected as unverifiable although it was recognised that there was a deep-seated desire on our part to believe (*diṭṭhūpādāna*) in such concepts and the tendency of language was to perpetuate such beliefs. As Ogden and Richards have pointed out " the rejection of misleading forms of language was carried still further by Buddhist writers in their treatment of the 'soul'. Whether it was called *satta* (being), *attā* (self), *jīva* (living principle) or *puggala* (person) did not matter: " For these are mere names, expressions, turns of speech, designations in common use in the world. Of these he who has won truth makes use indeed, but he is not led astray by them"[10]. Verifiability in Buddhism was, of course, in terms of both sense experience as well as extrasensory experience and it is virtue of this that rebirth is treated as a verifiable while modern positivists would regard it as a metaphysical concept along with all other theories of survival.

K. N. Jayatilleke.

References

1. Cp. "A great deal of light is thrown on contemporary philosophy as we find it in the analytical or positivist school of Moore, Broad, Russell and Ayer..." (John *Lewis, Marxism and the Irrationalists*, p. 75).
2. *Origin and Growth of Religion* (Lond. 1881), p. 31.
3. *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II (Allen & Unwin, 1931), pp. 472-3.
4. *Auguste Comte and Positivism* (Lond., 1865), p. 6.
5. *Ibid.* pp . 14, 15.
6. *Op.cit.*, Vol. 1., p. 357.
7. Cp. *Vibhajjavāda*, the doctrine of analysis" as applied to Buddhism.
8. Art. on " The Present Relations between Eastern and Western Philosophy" in *The Hibbert journal*, Vol. LIII, Apiril , 1955.
9. *Grey Eminence*, Lond., 1942, pp. 47-8.
10. *The Meaning of Meaning*, Lond., 1927, p. 38.

PRAGMATISM. Pragmatism is the philosophical view that meaning of truth of a concept depends on its practical consequences. The philosophical view articulated first by Charles S. Peirce of the United States in the latter part of the 19th century and made popular in the beginning of the 20th century by such philosophers as William James, John Dewey and F.C.S Schiller was basically a reaction to the metaphysical pursuits that dominated philosophical discussion during that period. Peirce's view was presented in the context of scientific research and he claimed that practice was the cornerstone of determining truth of a scientific theory. William James changed this initial emphasis and took 'practice' to mean, not merely the repeatable experimental practice by a group of scientists' as in the case of Peirce, but concrete practical consequences, and having such consequences was taken as the criterion of truth. Negatively this was a rejection of traditional debates on metaphysical entities and positively, it was to understand the function of philosophy as establishing some positive aims as the purpose of philosophy.

Although pragmatism as a modern philosophical view is, obviously, of recent origin from the point of accepting a very close connection between truth and practical consequences the Buddha seems to have anticipated a pragmatic view of truth in his own teachings. It is well known that the Buddha did not answer speculative questions that are known as 'unanswered questions' (*abyākata pañha*). In the *Cūlamālunkyaputta Sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (64), the *locus classicus* of the ten questions mentioned in the Pali canon, the Buddha uses the simile of the man hit by an arrow in order to explain the futility of looking for answers to these questions. The point of the simile is that when a person is hit by an arrow the immediate priority of him should be to remove it and get cured by using medicine. If he were to insist on the details such as the caste of the person who shot him, where he comes from and the like ; he will have to succumb to his injuries without finding answers. In the like manner, the Buddha says, when suffering is the problem one must not waste time on irrelevant issues but focus on what is relevant. In this context the Buddha says:

"Whether there is the view 'after death a Tathagata neither exist nor does not exist there is birth, there is ageing, there is death, there are sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief, and despair, the destruction of which I prescribe here and now".

The whole point is that knowing answers either affirmatively or negatively to these questions would not make a difference insofar as one's suffering, the crucial existential issue as the Buddha has taught, is concerned. The reason given by the Buddha for not answering such questions is based purely on pragmatic reasons. He says:

"Why have I left that undeclared? Because it is unbeneficial, it does not belong to the fundamentals of the holy life, it does not lead to disenchantment, to dispassion, to cessation, to peace, to direct knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. That is why I have left that undeclared".

The conclusion of the discussion is clear: if there will not be any practical difference for the existence of suffering owing to whether or not the metaphysical assertions were true and if they do not serve the purpose of release from *samsāra* there is no point in talking of them. Although pragmatists such as William James were not concerned with suffering in the Buddhist sense but were concerned about science and one's day-to-day life what he says is relevant in the context of *Malunkyaputta* discussion: He says:

"If no practical difference whatever can be traced, then the alternatives mean practically the same thing, and all dispute is idle" *(Essays in Pragmatism.* The Hafner Library of Classics, 1948, p. 142).

He further says:

"You must bring out each word its practical cash-value, set it at work within the stream of your experience. It appears less as a solution, then, than as a program for more work, and more particularly as an indication of the ways in which existing realities may be changed" *(ibid. p.* 145).

This latter statement with its stress on experience and the need for change goes well with the Buddha's emphasis on human experience as the limit of knowledge and the need for change in one's saṃsāric existence.

The philosophers of religion are quite familiar with the defense of the existence of God by James on pragmatic grounds. James said that "if theological ideas prove to have a value for concrete life, they will be

true..." (*Ibid.* p.154) and supported the belief in God on the ground that to believe so would prove to be useful. As will be seen from the discussion below the Buddhist standpoint makes a clear distinction between truth and falsehood and being useful or otherwise in a Buddhist moral sense. Buddhism would not accept Jamsian equation truth = usefulness for there may well be useful things in ordinary sense which are not true.

There has been an academic discussion whether or not the Buddha held pragmatic value as a criterion of truth. K.N. Jayatilleke discussing the Buddhist theories of truth observes quite clear pragmatic tendencies in the teaching of the Buddha. Nevertheless he does not think that the Buddha accepted pragmatic value as a criterion of truth. Jayatilleke refers to the Buddha's discussion with Prince Abhaya (*Abhayarajā kumarasutta- Majjhimanikāya*, 58) where he draws a distinction among true, useful and pleasant or unpleasant statements and true, useless, pleasant or unpleasant statements and false, useless and pleasant or unpleasant statements. Pointing to the category of true, useless and pleasant or unpleasant statement Jayatilleke says:

"This means that a statement could be useless without being false, thus showing that utility (*attasamhitam)* was not considered to be a definition or an infallible criterion of truth" *(Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1963, p.358).

Discussing the same discourse David J. Kalupahana seems to draw a different conclusion:

"For the Buddha, language derives its "meaning" (*attha*) when it is able to produce results (*attha*), and thus what is true (*bhūta, taccha*) is that which bears results *(atthasam.hita*). The Budddha did not recognize anything that is false to be productive of results" *(Nagarjuna: The Philosophy of the Middle Way,* State University of New York Press, 1986, p.19.)

It is true in the Discourse that the Buddha does not admit a category of false and useful, pleasant or unpleasant. Jayatilleke is not quite sure whether or not this is an omission. He surmises that this absence may be due to the "peculiarly Buddhist use of the term 'useless' ('*na atthasamhitam)* (Jayatilleke, 1963, p.358). He suggests, rightly, I think, that the word '*attha*' is used in this context not just in the sense of 'what is advantageous' but in the sense of 'what is morally good in the sense of being useful for the attainment of the goal of Nirvana'. It must be said, not only the term '*attha*' is used in a particular Buddhist sense but also the term '*anattha*' is used not in the sense of mere absence of *attha* (use-less or meaning-less as understood by Jayatilleke and Kalupahana), but to denote positively the presence of what is morally disadvantageous. Understood in this manner it is obvious why false can never be *'attha samhita'* but always *'anattha-samhita'*.

It is not right, however, to interpret this as Buddha not accepting a category that is both false and useful in a mundane pragmatic sense. There may or may not be useful but false situations; but the particular context does not make clear whether or not the Buddha accepted such a category. It is, nevertheless, worth noting that Mahayanists in developing the view of *upāya-kausalya* do seem to have believed precisely in such a possibility! What may be concluded from the Buddha's discussion with Prince Abhaya is that utility in a Buddhist religious sense was accepted by the Buddha, not as the exclusive, but as very important, criterion of a statement worthy of utterance. Although all false statements are *anattha-samhita* the vice versa is not necessarily true for there can be even true statements that are *anattha-samhita.* In sum: although Buddhism lays considerable stress on the pragmatic value of statements it does not take statements to be true on mere grounds of pragmatic considerations.

Asanga Tilakaratne

PRAJNĀPĀRAMITĀ: The term '*prajñāpāramitā*' is a compound word *(prajñā + pāramitā)* which is generally understood as one of the six perfections an aspirant for Bodhisattvahood must achieve in his long journey for the realization of *bodhi* or enlightenment. However, in close examination, it will be seen that in Mahāyāna Buddhism in particular the term is used to give three different but closely related connotations. According to Dignāga's *Prajñāpāramitā-artha-saṅgraha*, they are as follows:

1. The Perfect Wisdom personified on the Buddha in his Cosmic Body (*dharma-kāya*) and free from differentiation into subject and object (*grā hya-grāhaka*).

2. The Path leading to the attainment of Perfect Wisdom.

3. The body of literature consisting of the *sūtras* which contain the Teachings that lead one to the realization of 1 and 2 above.

The first is *Prajñāpāramitā* in the direct sense of the term. In Mahāyāna Buddhism it is conceived as the *dharma-kāya* or cosmic body of the Buddha. The second denotes the Path of *Prajñāpāramitā* or Perfect Wisdom, which an aspirant for Bodhisattvahood should very diligently strive to tread in order to be able to realize the *bodhi*. The third is the collective name given to the *prajñāpāramitā sūtras* of varying length and other *sūtras* based on the *prajñāpāramitā* but differently titled.

1. **The Perfect Wisdom**:

(a) *Prajñā* is derived from the root '*jñā*' to know. The prefix '*pra*' stands for 'very', 'excessive', 'excellent', 'perfect' etc. and qualifies the word '*jñā*' to mean 'special knowledge', 'highest knowledge' or 'perfect knowledge'. It has been translated into English as 'wisdom', 'insight', 'intuition', 'spiritual enlightenment' and simply as 'knowledge'. Of these 'wisdom' appears to be the closest to the original meaning denoted by '*Prajñā*'. '*Avidyā*' (ignorance) is the opposite of *prajñā*. Two other widely used antonyms of *prajñā* are *moha* (delusion) and '*dusprajñā*' (non-wisdom).

One may attain *prajñā* in three different ways. The first method is by listening to the teachings from another person's mouth as well as by the study of scriptures (*śrutamayī*). A person may also acquire *prajñā* by reflecting within himself. Philosophers follow this method (*cintamayī*). The third method is by cultivation of mind by the practice of meditation and through a process of concentration of mind (*bhāvanāmayī*).

In the context of Buddhist studies *prajñā* is understood in three different ways:

(i) '*Prajñā* in its ordinary meaning of knowledge and learning. Certain Mahāyāna texts like the *Lalitavistara* sometimes interpret *prajñā* as the knowledge of arts and sciences. But this original meaning of *prajñā* has not found favour with Buddhist philosophy.

(ii) Then there is a difference between the interpretations of '*Prajñā* by the Mādhyamikas and the Vijñānavādins. The Vijñānavādins or Yogacārins take a positive approach and comprehend *prajñā* as 'perfect knowledge' which constitutes in right investigation and understanding. This includes the Knowledge of the Four Noble Truths and of what should be done and what should be avoided. In short *prajñā* for them is 'Insight into Reality' (*tathatā* or suchness).

(iii) The Mādhyamikas, on the other hand, interpret *prajñā* in a negative sense. For them it is the knowledge *śunyatā*, emptiness or void). *Sunyatā* is regarded by them as the middle way between Existence and Non-existence. Notions of Existence and Non-Existence are both extreme views. Since the phenomenal Existence of the world is conditioned, it is not real. Existence, Non-existence are relative terms, and therefore, if existence is not real, Non-existence too is not real because the two are interdependent. This state of phenomenal world being neither real nor non-real is called by the Mādhyamikas *śunyatā*. For them the perfect knowledge of the *śunyatā* or void is *prajñā*. They hold that the Buddha preached the *pratitya-samutpāda* or Dependent Origination to prove the emptiness of the phenomenal world. A bodhisattva understands the truth of the *pratitya-samutpāda* in the sixth *bhūmi* (stage). He is then freed from all delusion and error (*moha*).

(b) *Pāramitā*: The term '*pāramitā*' does not occur in early Buddhist canons, and it is only during the period of schism and after that it makes its appearance not only in Mahāyāna literature but also in Pali canons. One of its earliest occurrences is found in the *Mahāvastu*, a Hybrid Sanskrit text belonging to the Lokottaravādin School of the Mahāsānghikas.

The word '*pāramitā*' has been analyzed by some scholars as '*pāram*' (the opposite bank, the further shore) + '*ita*' (gone), being the past passive participle from the root '*i*' (to go) and interpret it as 'gone to the other shore' meaning 'the state of having gain complete mastery'. But this view has been refuted by others who conceive '*pāramī*' as a derivative of '*parama*' meaning 'highest', 'most excellent'. "Superior' and '*pāramitā*' thus means 'the state of having reached the highest point or perfection. *Pāramitā* has been explained in the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* as '*paramena kālena samudāgatah*'. Those scholars who support this view assert that the Pali forms "*pāram*" and '*pāramitā*' occur in such works as the *Suttanipāta*, the *Jātakas*, the *Nettippakaraṇa* and other treatises. The *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit work, also uses the phrase '*mantrānām pāramim gatah*'. Thus the compound word '*prajñāpāramitā*' would mean 'wisdom which has reached the highest point' or 'Perfection of Wisdom'.

2. **Prajñāpāramitā, the Path.** The second meaning of *Prajñāpāramitā* is the path leading to the attainment of Perfect Wisdom. There are six *pāramitās* or perfections a Bodhisattva has to achieve in order to attain liberation. These are really the chief factors in a Bodhisattva's discipline and they correspond to the first six of the ten stages (*dasabhūmi*) a Bodhisattva has to pass through in his long journey to bodhihood or enlightenment. The Theravādins believe that the Bodhisattva who is destined to be the next Buddha (Maitreya) is now in the process of attaining perfection in the ten *pāramitās* which qualify him for the Buddhahood.

The six pāramitās are :

1. *Dāna – pāramitā* (state of perfection in liberality, generosity, morality)
2. *Śīla- pāramitā* (state of perfection in virtuous conduct)
3. *Kṣānti- pāramitā* (state of perfection in forbearance, patience)
4. *Vīrya- pāramitā* (state of energy, courage)
5. *Dhyāna- pāramitā* (state of concentration)
6. *Prajñā – pāramitā* (state of perfection in wisdom)

One aspiring to be a Bodhisattva must practise each of these Perfections in each of his initial stages, namely, *Pramuditā* (stage of Joy), *Vimalā* (Immaculate stage), *Prabhākarī* (Illuminating stage), *Arciśmatī* (Blazing or Radiant Stage), *Sudurjayā* (Inconquerable stage) and *Abhimukhī* (Proximate stage) respectively.

The *Prajñāpāramitā* which should be achieved in the sixth stage *Abhimukhī* is the acme of perfection. The first four, *Dāna, Śīla, Kṣānti* and *Vīrya* are aimed at bringing out a harmony with physical and verbal actions ' so that external affairs are brought into order, and feelings of anxiety and depression are reduced to a minimum.' The cultivation of these four virtues becomes an affective means of disciplining the mind leading it toward a 'sustained condition of relative calm and stability, and to heighten one's capacity for sensitivity to the feelings and needs of others'. Each of these virtues provides a basis for 'order or composition'. The practice of mental purification (*citta-viśuddhi*) is the natural extension of these four virtues, leading to a profitable unification of mind. Complete purification of the mind occurs only in deep meditation which should be practised in conjunction with the study of philosophy and the cultivation of Perfect Wisdom.

Thus the *Prajñāpāramitā* or Perfection of Wisdom is realized only in the sixth stage (*bhūmi*). It represents the summum bonum of Buddhist philosophy. A wholesome state of mind is an essential prerequisite of *prajñā*. This can be achieved by developing an attitude of no clinging to things and ideas, be they pleasant, unpleasant or neutral. With the reduction of strong attachments to things and ideas, feelings of hostility, fear and greed begin to fade away. This helps one to look at the world with an attitude of selflessness. Early Buddhist philosophy was concerned with the elimination of a *prior* presuppositions about the nature of the sentient 'self' which resulted in clinging (*anunaya*) and antipathy (*pratigha*). Its final goal was liberation from the mundane existence. The Mahayanists including the Madhyamikas viewed philosophy as a 'pragmatic force' contributing to insight into the nature of conceptual thought and perception, and to an understanding that strong attachment to the reified notion of a self lies at the root of all forms of suffering.

Our knowledge and experience of the phenomenal world is determined by the limitations of our knowledge

and natural interpretation that are passed along from one generation to the other. So we are not able to comprehend fully and properly the true nature of the phenomenal world, and also our own nature, which are darkened by our wrong notions. As a result the ordinary person is led by self-centered considerations and comes into grip with a world which is attractive and repellent at the same time. *Prajñā* or wisdom in the Buddhistic sense stand in direct opposition to this state of affairs and is developed not being led by this self-centered nature of the world, but by breaking down the prejudices and presuppositions that give shape to all our experience.

Early Buddhist exegetical literature divides the mental process of faculties of mind, into three distinct categories classified as

(i) *Samjñā* (perception)
(ii) Vijñāna (conceptualization or ideation)
(iii) Prajñā (wisdom)

Samjñā is the grasping of an object through the five senses and identifying its characteristic features, so that it can be distinguished from other similar objects. Conceptualization insists in identifying the intrinsic characteristics of the objects that cannot be grasped through the five senses. This process involves more mental exercise than perception which involves more physical activity. *Prajñā* is distinguished in these works from *saññā* and *viññāna* by its being realized intuitively, that through the real nature of our everyday experience is revealed to us, divorced from any preconceived notions about its reality or value.

Furthermore, where perception and conceptualization are exclusively relied upon without any awareness of their limitations, one is very likely to develop an unrealistic set of expectations which exclusively leads to frustration and despair. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that this third faculty of the mind, *prajñā* be cultivated and pressed into service wherever possible, in order that we may not be deceived by our past conditioning.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā* says that the Perfection of Wisdom (*Prajñāpāramitā*) controls, guides and leads to other five perfections. The five perfections are in this manner contained in the Perfection of Wisdom, and the term '*prajñāpāramitā*' is just a synonym for the fulfillment of the six perfections. In consequence, when the Perfection of Wisdom is proclaimed, all the six perfections are proclaimed. Embodied in the Perfection of Wisdom the five perfections rest in all knowledge, they grow supported by the Perfection of Wisdom; and as upheld by the Perfection of Wisdom do they get the name of 'perfection'. So it is just to the Perfection of Wisdom that controls guides and leads the five perfections.

The six *pāramitās* are really the chief factors in a bodhisattva's discipline. To these six four more supplementary *pāramitās* were added later on to make the *Dasa pāramitās* or Ten Perfections. They are.

1. Upāya or *Upāya-kauśalya* (skillfulness in the choice or adaptation of means for conversion and succour)
2. *Pranidhāna* (aspiration or resolution)
3. *Bala* (strength, power)
4. *Jñāna* (knowledge).

These ten *pāramitās* have been linked with the ten stages (*daśa-bhūmi*) of a Bodhisattva's career. The linkage has been established in the following manner:

Stage (*bhūmi*) and Predominant Virtue

1. *Pramuditā* (Stage of Joy)-*Dāna* (Charity)
2. *Vimalā* (Immaculate Stage)-*Śīla* (Morality)
3. *Prabhākarī* (Illuminating stage)-*Kṣānti* (Forbearance)
4. *Arciśmati* (Blazing or Radiant stage)-*Vīrya* (energy)
5. *Sudurjayā* (Unconquerable Stage)-*Dhyāna* (concentration)
6. *Abhimukhī* (Proximate Stage)-*Prajñā* (Wisdom)
7. *Durangamā* (Far-reaching Stage)-*Upāya-Kauśalya* (skill)
8. *Acalā* (Motionless Stage) -*Bala* (power)
9. *Sādhumati* (Stage of Perfect Wisdom)-*Pranidhāna* (effective vow)
10. *Dharmamegha* (Stage of Cloud of Truth)-*Jñāna* (Divine Transcendental Wisdom)

The ten perfections mentioned in the Pali literature widely differ from the above list. There only the first five with *Prajñāpāramitā* heading the list correspond to the five of the *saṭpāramitās* barring the *Dhyāna-pā*

ramitā. The remaining five are new concepts peculiar to the Theravāda. The complete list of *dasa-pāramitā* according to the Theravāda tradition may, therefore, be given as follows:

1. *Paññā-pāramitā* (wisdom)
2. *Dāna- pāramitā* (liberality, charity, generosity)
3. *Sīla- pāramitā* (virtuous conduct, morality)
4. *Vīrya- pāramitā* (energy, courage)
5. *Khanti – pāramitā* (forbearance, patience)
6. *Nekkhamma- pāramitā* (renunciation)
7. *Sacca- pāramitā* (truthfulness)
8. *Adhitthāna- pāramitā* (resolution)
9. *Mettā- pāramitā* (love or friendliness)
10. *Upekkhā- pāramitā* (equanimity)

3. The Prajñā-pāramitā Literature. This is the collective name given to the body of Mahāyāna *sūtras* of varying length, all dealing with the Perfection of Wisdom. With the resurgence of Brahmanism in India around the 3rd century A.C., Buddhism suffered a serious setback, and after a few centuries completely disappeared from the mainland. Along with it the ancient Buddhist canon too vanished. Later on the Mahāyanists substituted nine texts for their lost canon. They are as follows:

1. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā–sūtra* (in 8000 lines)
2. The *Gaṇḍavyūha*
3. The *dasabhūmmisvara* .
4. The *Samādhirāja*
5. The *Lankāvatāra*
6. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*
7. The *Tathāgatha-guhyaka*
8. The *Lalitavistara*
9. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*

To these sacred books are also to be added the other ancient texts such as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Divyā vadāna*.

Each school of Mahāyāna Buddhism had a basic text, texts or a group of texts from which it derived inspiration and support. Of these schools the Mā dhyamikas used the *Prajñāpāramitā* group of *sūtras*, the Yogācārins relied on the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* and *Sandhinirmocana-sūtra* and the adherents of the devotional schools on the *Sukhāvatī –vyūha –sūtra* and the *Amitāyurdhyāna*. At the same time each school accepts the scriptures of every other school as the genuine word of the Buddha and venerates them accordingly.

According to earlier Tibetan sources, the entire *Prajnāpāramitā* Literature is classified under three heads. They are

1. The Mother Works
2. The Filial Works
3. The commentaries.

1. The Mother Works: These are six in number. They are: -

1. The *Satasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (in 100,000 lines)
2. The *Pañcaviṃsatisāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā* (in 25,000 lines)
3. The *Aṣṭadasasāhasrikā – prajñāpāramitā* (in 18,000 lines)
4. The *Dasasāhasrikā – prajñāpāramitā* (in 10,000 lines)
5. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā* (in 8000 lines)
6. The *Saṃcaya*

2. The Filial Works. These are the abridged versions of the longer *Prajñāpāramitā-sutras*, that took shape during the third phase of development of *Prajñāpā ramitā*-Literature. They are eleven in number and are as follows:

1. The *Saptasatikā-prajñāpāramitā* (in 700 lines)
2. The *Pañcasatikā- prajñāpāramitā* (in 500 lines)
3. The *Trisatika- prajñāpāramitā* (in 300 lines)
4. The *Prajñāpāramitā -naya-pañcasatika*
5. The *Adhyardhasatika- prajñāpāramitā* (in 150 lines)
6. The *Pañcaviṃsati- prajñāpāramitā -mukha*
7. The *Suvikrāntavikrami -paripṛcchā*
8. The *Kausika- prajñāpāramitā*
9. The *Ekakṣarī*
10. The *Svalpākṣara- prajñāpāramitā*
11. The *Prajñāhṛdaya*

3.**The Commentarial Literature**: There are twelve works commenting on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in connection with the *Prajñāpāramitā-sutras*. The full title of this work ascribed to Maitreyanatha, teacher of Asanga, is *Abhisamayā-lankāranāma-prajñā-pāramitā -upadesa-sūtras* based on the *Pañcaviṃsati-sāhasrikā -prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. This work is considered to be the most important as (a) summary of the *Prajñāpā ramitā-sūtras* and as (b) the text containing the special theory of the *Mārga* or Path to the attainment of *Nirwā na* according to the Mahāyānistic standpoint. The twelve commentaries are as follows:

1. The *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-śloka* of Ārya Vimuktisena
2. The *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-vārttika* of Bhadanta Vimuktisena
3. The summary of the *Pañcaviṃsatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* in 8 chapters.
4. The *Sudhimati* of Ratnākaraśānti
5. The commentary explaining the *Abhisamayā laṅkāra* in connection with the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, ascribed to the Kashmirian Dharmaśrī
6. The *Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka* of Haribhadra, a pupil of Sāntarakṣita
7. The *Sārottama* of Ratnākaraśānti
8. The *Marmakaumudī* of Abhayākara Gupta
9. The *Samcaya-gāthā-pañjikā-subodhī nāma* of Haribhadra
10. The *Samcaya- gāthā-pañjikā* of Haribhadra's pupil Buddhaśrijñāna
11. *Prajñāpāramita-tala* according to Dramaśrī
12. The *Aṣṭa-samāna-artha-śāsana* ascribed to Smṛtijñānakirti, a commentary with reference to the *Śatasāhasrikā, Pañcaviṃsati-sāhasrikā* and *Aṣṭadasasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramita-sūtras*.

The sixth, seventh and eighth above are connected with the *Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramita -sūtra* and the ninth, tenth and eleventh relate to the *Sañcaya*.

These various texts which come under the name *Prajñāpāramitā* belong to a period spanning at least eight centuries beginning from the 2nd century B.C. In the beginning the texts were of moderate length. In the next phase they were expanded into inordinate lengths, not by adding any new material but by repetitions of whole sections. The expansion of texts reached such alarming proportions making their study unwieldy that it became necessary to reduce them to manageable sizes. But this reduction too went on beyond limits that a whole *sūtra* could be reduced to just one syllable.

The teachings of the Mādhyamika School are a systematization of those that are set forth in the *Prajñā pāramitā -sūtras*. This is the main contribution of Nā gārjuna who is held as the greatest Buddhist thinker after the Buddha.

Edward Conze, a leading authority on *Prajñāpā ramitā* has divided the history of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature into four phases:

1. Formation of the basic text (c. 100 B.C. – 100 A.C.)
2. The expansion of that text (100 A.C. – 300 A.C.)
3. Reduction of the same into short *sūtras* and versified summaries (300-500)
4. The period of Tantric influence and absorption into magic (600-1200)

The basic text is the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā -sūtra* in 8000 lines distributed over 32 chapters, which is the oldest. This is in prose and each line consisting of 32 syllables is treated as a *śloka*. Originally the text belonged to the Mahāsāṅghikas. This was developed among the Prajñaptivādins who were an offshoot of the Mahāsāṅghikas to whom is ascribed a sort of teaching pertaining to *Prajñā* (wisdom).

Geographically, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā sūtra* originated in the Andhra Country in the region lying between the Godāvari and Kistnā rivers, close to Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The subject- matter dealt with in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā - prajñāpāramitā* is widely diffused and it was left to Nāgārjuna to systematize the contents. The whole *sū tra* is in the form of a conversation, very similar to Plato's Phaedo or Republic in format. The chief interlocutors are the Buddha, Subhūti, the most knowledgeable among the Buddha's disciples of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Sāriputta, Kauśika the Sakra and Maitreya. The main topics discussed here include the importance and worldly advantage of Perfect Wisdom, supreme value of the perfection of wisdom, depth and purity of Perfect Wisdom, effects of Perfect Wisdom, Bodhisattvas *vis-à-vis* Perfect Wisdom, five attributes

of Perfect Wisdom, Tathāgata-suchness, emptiness (*śunyatā*), *upāya kauśalya*, training in Perfect Wisdom and Existence, Non-existence and Perfect Wisdom.

It appears that the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* had a great success in North-western India during the Kushāna Period. The *Mañjuśri-mūlakalpa* affirms that the *Prajñāpāramitā* was established under Kanishka in the North-west. This by no means suggests that it originated in the North for its Southern origin has never been disputed.

When we analyze the contents of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā -prajñāpāramita-sūtra*, two lines of thinking can be discerned. One is an attack on the *Abhidharma* and the other consists of new ideas that have been developed in the Mahāyāna School. In its attack on the *Abhidharma* the arguments are levelled against Sāriputta who personifies the opponents consisting of disciples and Pratyeka Buddhas. Sāriputra who, according to the Theravāda tradition, is held as the most outstanding exponent of the traditional *Abhidharma* has been depicted here as one who receives from the Buddha the knowledge of the Perfect Wisdom which he has yet failed to grasp. On the other hand, Ven. Subhūti has been depicted as superior to Sariputra as the former has firmly grasped the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Sāriputra constantly turns to him for information and repeatedly acknowledges his superiority.

Attack on the Theravādins

(i) The Bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna tradition is compared favourably with the Arahants and Pratyekabuddha of the Hinayāna tradition, in depicting ideas, aims and the career.
(ii) The Perfection of Wisdom is contrasted with the Wisdom of the old school.
(iii) The reviewing of the *dharmas* by the Abhidharmists is criticized here because according to the *Prajñāpāramitā*. One should not review *dharmas*.
(iv) As *dharmas* are not produced, the question of reviewing them does not arise.

New Ideas inserted. The following are the most important of the new concepts found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* :

(i) The greater interest in the absolute and the concepts such as *Tathāgata-tathatā* (*Tathāgata*-suchness)
(ii) The concept of emptiness
(iii) The new concept of *upāya-kauśalya* or skill in means according to which all thoughts and deeds of a Bodhisattva become tools of an all-embracing compassion
(iv) The concept of transfer of merits. One could transfer the merits he has accumulated to other beings so that they may gain full enlightenment

During the course of the first three centuries of the Christian era, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* which is regarded as the basic text of Perfect Wisdom was expanded into a number of larger sutras which are also called *Prajñāpāramitā*, each qualified by the number of lines it contains. Thus, three different texts belonging to this group have come down to us. They are the *Aṣṭādasasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (in 18,000 lines), the *Pañcaviṃsati-sāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā* (in 25,000 lines) and the *Śatasāhasrikā – prajñāpāramitā* (in 100,000 lines). As far as their contents are concerned, all the texts are practically the same, the only differences among them being the extent to which repetitions occur. For example, at least 85,000 lines of the *śatasāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā* (100,000 lines) contain repetition material. A still larger version containing 125,000 lines, if it ever existed, is now lost. Out of the rest, the *Pañcaviṃsati-sāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā* was favourite with commentators while the *Aṣṭadasa-sāhasrika- prajñāpāramitā* appears to have been popular in Central Asia. To the same period may be assigned the *Dasasāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā -sūtra* in 10,000 lines, which incorporates material drawn not only from the larger *Prajñāpāramitā -sutras* but also from several other short independent treatises.

This process of expansion reached such alarming proportions that they became unwieldy and posed a problem even for scholars. Recourse, therefore, had to be taken to reduce them to manageable sizes. This process took place during the third phase extending from 300 A.C. to 500 A.C. The contraction was done in two parallel methods, one by reducing them to short *sūtras*, the other by composing versified summaries of the expanded texts.

Two of the most celebrated of these abridged *sūtras* are the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* (Heart Sūtra) and the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā -sūtra* or the Diamond-cutter *-sūtra* popularly known as the Diamond *Sūtra*. The former is decidedly the earliest of this group of short *sūtras*. It contains the essence of the Perfection of Wisdom. The Diamond Sutra confines itself to a few central topics, and appeals directly to a spiritual intuition which had left the conventions of logic far behind. These two works have for centuries exercised a strong influence throughout Central Asia and the Far-east. The Chinese translation of the Diamond Sūtra claims to be the oldest printed book in the world(868 A.C.) . Another important abridged *sūtra* is the *Abhisamayalaṅkāra* which contains a summary of the *Pañcavimsati-sāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā -sutra* (in 25,000 lines) in the form of 273 memorial stanzas. This work is ascribed to Maitreyanātha, the teacher of Asaṅga of the Yogacāra School. Asaṅga too composed a *sūtra* in summary form on the Diamond Sūtra.

This condensation procedure continued further until the *Prajñāpāramitā -sūtras* were reduced to *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras*. This development took place during the final phase beginning around the fifth century A.C. under Tantric influence. Although the famous *mantra* '*gate gate pāragate pārasangate bodhi svāhā*' which is held as the *mantra* par excellence of the *Prajñāpāramitā* is found at the close of the *Hṛdaya-sūtra*. Most of these *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras* are found in the numerous short Tantric abridgements of the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. The limit of this condensation was reached with the composition of the *Ekākṣara* (monosyllabic) which purports to contain the entire *Prajñāpāramitā* literature in the single syllable अ(A).

'Eventually, the *Prajñāpāramitā* came to be personified as a goddess and her various iconographical representations are utilized as objects of worship and supports of different forms of concentration and meditation. With a group of texts of the Sādhanā class. Describing the attainment of the Perfection of the Wisdom through these procedures, the production of this stupendous literature at last comes to an end.'

Prajñāpāramitā Used as Dharma-dhātu. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā- Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* also contains a discussion on the relative value of relics of the Buddha and the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Asked by the Buddha the question " if you were given this Jambudvīpa filled up to the top with relics of the Tathāgata, and if, on the other hand , you could share a written copy of the Perfection of Wisdom , what would you choose between the two ?" Kauśika the Śakra replies that he would rather choose "just this Perfection of Wisdom, because in a true sense this is the body of the Tathāgata". He quotes the Buddha as having said " This Dharma-bodies are the Buddhas, the Lords. But monks, you should not think that this individual body is my body. Monks, you should see me from the accomplishment of the Dharma-body." Śakra further says, " it is not, O Lord, that I lack in respect for the relics of the Tathāgata. On the contrary, I have a real respect for them. As come forth from this Perfection of Wisdom are the relics of the Tathāgata worshipped and, therefore, when one worships just this Perfection of Wisdom, then also the worship of the relics of the Tathāgata is brought into fulfillment, from the relics of the Tathāgata have come forth from the Perfection of Wisdom".

It is, therefore, clear that the Mahayanists equate the *Dharmakāya* of the Tathāgata with the Perfection of Wisdom, and the Perfection of Wisdom with the corporeal relics of the Tathāgata and hold even in higher esteem than the latter. There is evidence that even Mahāyāna *sūtras* other than the *Prajñāpāramitā* were accorded the same veneration. This explains the practice of enshrining Holy Scripture inscribed on gold, silver or copper plates in the caityas belonging to Mahāyanic monasteries, in lieu of Buddha relics. Slabs and plates inscribed with portions from Mahāyana *sūtras* have been unearthed from the debris of several dilapidated *caityas* of ancient Sri Lanka.

The best examples are the several gold plates inscribed with portions of the *Aṣṭa sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā -sūtra* recently discovered, that had lain buried in the debris of an earlier structure of the Jetavana *caitya* which is the tallest *caitya* in Sri Lanka today. Originally built by King Mahāsena (274 –301 A.C.), an adherent of Mahayana this *caitya* was subjected to renovation and enlargement several times under subsequent kings. The gold plates unearthed at this site must definitely be those that had been enshrined in the *harmikā* which could have been a large wooden box surmounted by a wooden umbrella, the symbol of royalty. The *Mañjuśrī bhāsita vāstuvidyāśāstra*, a Sri Lankan *silpa* text recording a Mahāyānist architectural tradition that was in vogue in ancient Sri Lanka prior to

the seventh century A.C., asserts that the practice of enshrining *dharma-dhātu* (holy scripture in lieu of relics) in the body of a *caitya* was current among the Mahāyānists in Sri Lanka and that the earliest *caityas* built in Sri Lanka had *chatras* (umbrellas) and *chatra-daṇḍas* (umbrella-poles) made of wood. The credit of identifying and deciphering the Jetavanārāma gold plates which have been written in Sinhala characters goes to Prof. M.H.F. Jayasuriya, an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Sri Lanka.

Bibliography

1. *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, tr.into English by Edward Conze , Rome, 1954
2. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, tr. into English by Edward Conze, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society, 1958.
3. Bhikshu Saṅgharaksita, *A Survey of Buddhism*, Bangalore, Indian Institute of World Culture, 1957
4. Edward Conze, *Buddhist Wisdom Books* containing the *Diamond Sutra* and the *Heart-Sutra*, London , 1975.
5. Edward Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, Gravenhage, 1960.
6. Gadjin M. Nagao, *Madhyamica and Yogacāra* a study of Mahayana Philosophies, Delhi, 1991.
7. Har Dayal, *The Bodhisatva doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1932.
8. The *Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom with the Divisions of Abhisamayalaṅkara*, tr. By Edward Conze, Benares , 1979
9. E. Obermiller, *Prajñāpāramitā in Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Harcharan Singh Sobti, Delhi, 1988.
10. *Prajñāpāramitā -ratna-guna-samuccaya*, ed. E. Obermiller, 1966.
11. *Suvikrāntavikrami-paripṛcchā Prajnaparamitā -sūtra*, ed. With an introductory essay by Ryusho Hikata , Fukuoke, Kyushu University, 1958.
12. *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* , ed. & tr. With introduction and glossary, by Edward Conze , Roma, 1957
13. *The Vāstuvidyāsāstra* Ascribed to Mañjusri, ed. & tr. Into English by E.W. Marasinghe, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1989,

E. W. Marasinghe

PRAPAÑCA See PAPAÑCA

PUBBĀRĀMA: According to Pali texts, Pubbārāma was a park which was situated outside the eastern gate of the city of Sāvatthi. It is on record that the Buddha, after partaking of his meals at the house of the banker Anātha-piṇḍika, used to resort to his mid-day rest at this park. Within the same site, Visākhā, the female lay devotee caused to be constructed the Migāra-mātu-pā sāda, which cost her 18 crores. The value of the site was nine crores and the building work cost her an equal amount. It has been conjectured that the Pubbārāma in Sāvatthi corresponded to the Uttara-devi-vihāra in Anurādhapura. The novice Sumana was sent by the Buddha (while staying at Pubbārāma) to fetch water from the lake named Anotatta. The preaching of *Vighā sa Jataka* also took place while residing at this place.

In the 12[th] century the Sinhala text named *Pūjāvalī* (Chapter 18 which is entitled *Pūrvārāma-pūjā-kathā*, there is a description of the construction work of Pū rvārāma (Pali: Pubbārāma) by Visākhā who named it as Migāra-mātu-pāsāda. As mentioned above, it cost her 18 crores. The expenses incurred were met with by selling an ornament named *Mela-palandanā*, which came into her possession as a result of her marriage to a banker. This building consisted of a ground floor and a first floor. The details of each floor are also given.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

PUBBENIVĀSĀNUSSATI – See ABHIÑÑĀ

PUGGALA, an individual, a person as opposed to a group or a class of persons. This Pali term generally refers to a single person as 'man' , 'woman', 'creature' etc. distinguishing the 'individual' from the rest of society. However, this *puggala*, being at the same time an integral component in a continuous stream of existence, inclusive of even the animal kingdom, his insulation as a separate entity cannot be sharply delimited just as delimitating a wave from the ocean waters. Yet, he or she or it exists as a separate entity maintaining the identity in a relative, conventional sense, an absolute insulation being not possible. These aspects of the problem have to be kept in mind in a discussion of the topic under consideration.

Basically, as Buddhism teaches that all existence, both organic and inorganic, is subject to change, decay, death, destruction and then again rebirth and regeneration, it treats the entirety of existence as an incessant process of transformation and continuity, operating on a cause effect basis. In the case of man this comes to mean that the nature and the quality of this continuously changing 'entity' is influenced by certain causes and conditions involving the quality of the kammic inheritance of the person concerned.

In applying this theory to man or any living being Buddhism adopts a unique position by its denial of the presence of any unchanging and permanent element as a soul to be present in the *puggala*, while the presence of a soul has been the accepted position of all the major systems of thought dealing with the man's destiny in the universe, both in the orient and the occident.

Basing thus on this soul-less theory Buddhism teaches only about a person with "an apparent reality" (*sammuti*), a *puggala* in the absolute sense (*paramattha*) being non-existent. Now, Buddhism takes a step further by maintaining that even at death this impermanent process called "life" survives death and the person continues his existence with death and consequent rebirth being only two stages in the samsā ric process. This entire cause-effect process is, in Buddhism, subjected to the sweeping theory of *anicca* or impermanence, from which the only escape lies in the realization of the Nirvānic state of unconditionality.

This soul-less but rebirth-seeking *puggala* is analytically explained in Buddhism as a combination of a psycho-physical process (*nāma-rūpa*) and then analyzing this process further into what are called the 'five groups of grasping (*pañca upādāna-kkhandha*) whereby the Buddha has summed up the entirety of this phenomenon of existence into a dynamic concept which appears as an ego to the ordinary mind. These five constituents or groups of the *puggala* are corporeality (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), mental formations (*saṅkhāra*), and consciousness (*viññāṇa*). In the Abhidhamma presentation a three-fold division into consciousness (*citta*), mental factors (*cetasika*) and corporeality (*rūpa*) are given. These groups, neither singly nor collectively, constitute any self-dependent ego-entity (*attā*) or a personality (*sakkā ya*).

Accordingly, when the *puggala* is referred to as "I", "you", "he", "god", "man" etc these are all expressions (*saññā*), designations (*nirutti*), usages (*vohāra*) and conceptualizations (*paññatti*) of the world (*loka*) which the Tathagata makes use of without being led astray by them" as the ordinary people would do by identifying their egos with the concepts expressed by these terms (*D.*I.,202)

The fact that these five aggregates are being referred to as the 'five groups of grasping' (*pañcaupāda nakkhandha*) without their being simply referred to as the 'five groups' (*pañcakkhandha*) implies a significant point regarding this concept in Buddhism. This means that this term "grasping" (*upādāna*) expresses the idea that it is to these five groups that the *puggala* clings to thereby creating the illusion of the "I" through the ego-concept (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*) as explained, at *M*.I. 232 where this *puggala* is shown as thinking "this form (*rūpa*) of mine is the ego, this sound (*sadda*) of mine is the ego..." (*rūpaṃ me attā, 'saddaṃ me attā* etc.) . Here the "I" ness becomes highlighted and strengthened quite unknowingly in the ordinary way of thinking. The Buddha taught his discourses demonstrating this as a pernicious misconception and replacing it with the impersonal concept of the 'five groups of grasping' *sans* an ego, *sans* a soul. This explanation can be presented as the Buddha's analytical clarification of the problem of the *puggala* concept.

In contrast to this is the still deeper synthetic clarification of the same problem as presented under the formula of conditioned genesis (*paṭicca-samuppā da.*) which is the sequentially conditioned explanation of the saṃsāric individual. The Buddhist explanations of the *puggala* revolve round these two concepts relating to the personality theory in Buddhism.

This *puggala*, as the rational self, the so-called *sakkā ya*, in Pali, as the agent of the actions performed by the individual, is the subjective concept of the self. Accordingly the Buddha declares: "*Sakkāya*, O Visā kha, is said by the Buddha to be a name for the five groups as objects of clinging" (*M*.I. 299: Theri Dhammadinnā to Visākhā). Hence, in Buddhism, the personality belief (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*), is the first of ten fetters (*saṃyojana*) that bind people to *saṃsāra*. This idea is well-expressed in the following stanza.

There is no performer of *kamma*
Nor a reaper of *kamma*-result:
Phenomena alone flow on

No other view other than this is correct (*Vism.* Ch. xix) Buddhist texts enumerate twenty varieties of belief in an ego. These imply normal day –to-day situations in which people fall victims to this delusion.: thus four types of the belief pertaining to each aggregate create twenty situations in the five aggregates. This is as follows:

i. identical with
ii. is possessed of
iii. is contained in or
iv. is containing in each of the five aggregates (*M.*I, 300; *S.* III,3 etc).

As all these considerations are erroneous from the viewpoint of reality, there is no perdurable element to be found in the living *puggala*. It is this same *anatta* doctrine that Buddhism teaches by its three signata or the *tilakkhaṇa* teaching, which comprises the three basic natures of all existence which are impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha)* and soullessness (*anatta*).

The *puggala* as a living individual in society is a product of ignorance of the true facts about life (*avijjā*) which is taken in Buddhism as a convenient starting-point (not as a first cause) of the life-process as understood in the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* theory of the round of *samsāric* existence. The conquest of this process is the end aim of the holy life taught in Buddhism. Self-realization of the *puggala* has to be achieved by conquering the mundane self.

An important point that emerges here is that although the *puggala* is only an apparent illusion, the moral responsibility of his actions remains with him until he conquers himself in Nirvānic freedom. His identity remains intact amidst continuity through death and rebirth. The *puggala* remains the inheritor of his *kamma* all through. In the Nirvānic condition of ultimate freedom the *puggala* ceases to exist as demonstrated by the analogy of the fire which becomes extinguished with the exhaustion of the fuel that feeds it, the fuel of craving (*taṅhā*) operating in myriads of ways in a persons life as expressed by the Buddha's pacan of joy which ends in *taṅhānaṃ khayamajjhagā* –"I have attained to the end of *all cravings*".

The reader may be here referred to the *Bhārahāra Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S. III*, 25) where the *puggala* is described as the carrier of the weight of the aggregates *bhārahāra*, where the dynamic condition of these groups creates the apparent *puggala*, who becomes their inalienable carrier. This summarizes quite well the condition of the samsāric *puggala* as understood in Buddhism.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

PUGGALAPAÑÑATTI *Puggalapaññatti* (Designation of Human Types) is the fourth book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* of the Theravāda School of Buddhism. It is the smallest of the seven *Abhidhamma* treatises that constitute the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. In extent it exceeds five bhānavāras (40,000 letters). It is called the *Puggalapaññattippakaraṇa* with the suffix *pakaraṇa* (treatise) the common term used to designate the *Abhidhamma* texts. At the very inception the six designations *Khandhapaññatti* (The Designation/ Notion of the Groups), *Āyatanapaññatti* (The Designation/Notion of the Sense-Organs and their Objects), *Dhātupaññatti* (The Designation/Notion of the Elements of Cognition), *Saccapaññatti* (The Designation/ Notion of Truth), *Indriyapaññatti* (The Designation /Notion of Sense Organs) and *Puggalapaññatti* (The Designation / Notion of Human types) are given. The first five designations/notions are discussed in brief and the sixth the *puggalapaññatti* is dealt at length. Hence the treatise is named *Puggalapaññatti*.

In the *Puggalapaññatti* "Human Types" are discussed under ten headings based on the numerical order from one to ten, following the method adopted in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. But before the detail discussion "*Mātikas*" or "tables" of contents are given as usually found in the *Abhidhamma* works. The detail exposition begins with the first chapter which deals with "single individuals followed by the second chapter dealing with pairs which is in turn is followed by the third with groups of three etc. Accordingly *Puggalapaññattippakaraṇa* consists of the following ten chapters:

1. Grouping of Human Types by one (*Eka Puggala*)
2. Grouping of Human Types by two (*Duve Puggala*)
3. Grouping of Human Types by three (*Tayo Puggala*)
4. Grouping of Human Types by four (*Cattāro Puggala*)
5. Grouping of Human Types by five (*Pañca Puggala*)
6. Grouping of Human Types by six (*Cha Puggala*)
7. Grouping of Human Types by seven (*Satta Puggala*)
8. Grouping of Human Types by eight (*Aṭṭha Puggala*)
9. Grouping of Human Types by nine (*Nava Puggala*)

10. Grouping of Human Types by ten (*Dasa Puggala*)

Nothing definite can be said about the period of its composition. But it may be said with some degree of certainty that the book has been compiled after the first four *Nikāyas*. At the same time it is not possible to ascribe its authorship to one individual. Apparently it is a product of the brotherhood.

Scholars consider it to be the earliest of the *Abhidhamma* books. Further it is seen that it is closely allied to the *Suttapiṭaka* in contents as well as in form. In form it differs very little from the *Saṅgītisutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*. At the same time the sections 3-5 for the most part to be found in the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. Some chapters read exactly like *suttas* in the *Nikāyas* and stand out favourably from their environment. Morris has compared *Puggalapaññatti* with *Saṅgītisutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* and the *Aṅguttaranikāya* and has shown some of the sources of the *Puggalapaññatti* (*Puggalapaññatti*, Edited by R. Moris, *PTS*. 1972, Introduction XIII, f).

Morris, while assessing the merits of the *Puggalapaññatti* observes "The *Puggalapaññatti* not only contains many useful contributions of Pali lexicography, but also most valuable in the light it throws on Buddhistic terms and phraseology and, in this respect perhaps is by far the most interesting of the *Abhidhamma* books" (*op.cit.* Introduction XV), *Puggalapaññatti* is edited by R. Morris and published by the *PTS* together with the commentary, 1972. Its commentary is one of the constituents of the *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (five commentaries) of *Abhidhammapiṭaka* of the Theravadins.

K. Arunasiri

PŪJĀ: According to the Pali English Dictionary (*PTS*), *pūjā* is derived from the Sanskrit ✓*pūj* to honour, respect, worship, revere and has been used in the Pali texts in the sense of, "honour, respect, revere, etc[1]". The Sanskrit Dictionary of Monier Williams too while agreeing that it is derived from ✓*pūj* explains it as, "honour, worship, respect, reverence, veneration, homage to superiors or adoration of the gods".[2] In the Pali canonical texts, the word *pūjā* is used almost always in combination with, *sakkaroti, garukaroti*, and *mā-neti* (e.g. "*sakkaroti, garukaroti, māneti, pūjeti*," at *M.* I. 336; *M.* II. 166; etc.). All four words in the combination, it must be noted, have similar meanings denoting respect, reverence and honour. Thus, the sense in which *pūjā* is found used in the Pali canonical texts is that of respect, reverence and esteem. This would mean that the word is not found used in the sense of any ritual offering. This is the sense in which it is used in contexts such as the *Māratajjanīya Sutta* where it is said," *etha tumhe bhikkhu sīlavante kalyānadhamme sakkarotha garukarotha mānetha pūjetha*" (*M.* I. 336) and also in the *Caṅkī sutta* where it is said, "*Bhavaṃ hi Caṅkī rañño Pasenadissa Kosalassa Sakkato garukato mānito pūjito apacito*" (*M.* II. 166). Even in contexts such as the *Aṅguttara Nikāya sutta* where it is said, "*ye te bhikkhu therā rattaññū cirapabbajitā sanghapitaro saṃghapariṇāyakā, te atirekapūjāya pūjetā hoti*" (*A.*V. 351), the term *pūjā* has been used only in the sense of respect and reverence. The same text explaining what *atireka pūjāya pūjetā hoti*, "*tesu mettaṃ kāyakammaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpeti āvī c'eva rahoca, mettaṃ vacīkammaṃ ... mettaṃ manokammaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpeti āvī c'eva rahoca*" (*A.*V. 353) describes what is meant by *pūjā* here. Thus, according to the text, it is the expression of respect and reverence in all one's actions whether it be physical, verbal or mental towards such elder *theras* of the *Saṃgha* community.

The *Anguttara Nikāya* mentions *āmisa dāna* and *dhamma dāna* at *A.*I. 91 and *āmisa pūjā* and *dhamma pūjā* at *A.*I. 93 where both *pūjā* and *dāna* are describing the donation or offering of the material requisites of the order. The word *āmisa* had its origin in the Vedic religion. The Sanskrit word *āmisha* (from *āma*+ ✓*mish* to wet) meant raw, uncooked meat which was offered to the gods in sacrifice. In the Buddhist usage, the word described the items included in the four requisites of a member of the order which are, *cīvara* (robes), *piṇḍapāta* (food), *senāsana* (lodging), and *gilānappaccaya* (medicine). The *āmisa dāna* therefore, meant the donation of these items either to individual members of the order or to a congregation of monks of the order (*bhikkhusaṃgha*).

The term *āmisa pūjā* which is found in the *Anguttara Nikāya* cited above does not seem to indicate any other religious activity except what was meant by *āmisa dāna*. In other words, the word *pūjā* is not used in this context in the sense of a religious activity involving a

laid down ritual procedure. It may also be noted here that the earliest form of religious activity which required community participation or in other words the religious activity which necessitated the active participation of more than one individual to take the minimum, for the Buddhist was the *dāna* which was instituted in replacement of the principal religious activity of the brahmanic religion which was the *yajña* (sacrifice).

Although the Buddhist *dāna* replaced the *yajña* of the brahmanic religion, it retained only the barest minimum of parallels with this hallowed brahmanic religious institution. Pointing to uniformity with other adoptions by early Buddhism, even in the case of the *yajña* these parallels were kept only to the outermost characteristics of the sacrifice. In the brahmanic religion, the Brahmin was the mediator between man and the gods and he was the only person who knew the sacrificial hymns and could therefore officiate at the sacrifice and make the sacrificial offering in the name of the lay sacrificer. He received the *daksinā* offering for his services in the sacrifice. In the Buddhist *dāna* it was the *bhikkhu* who became best qualified to receive the *dāna* or *dakkhinā*. While the brahmanic *yajña* offering had to conform to lengthy and detailed procedures laid down in the Vedic texts, it is not possible to point to similar procedures which had to be followed in the performance of the *dāna* offering to members of the order. It is laid down that gifts to the *bhikkhusaṃgha* are far more benefitial than gifts to individual members of the order, even if the individual member thus selected be the Buddha himself. Thus, the *Dakkiṇāvibhanga Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* makes a distinction between *pāṭipuggalikā dakkhiṇā* (gifts to individual members of the order) and *saṃghagata dakkhiṇā* (gifts to the congregation of *bhikkhus*) of which the latter is far more benefitial than the former ("*Na tvevāhaṃ Ananda kenaci pariyāyena saṃghagatāya dakkhiṇāya pāṭipuggalikam dānaṃ mahapphalataraṃ vadāmi* ; and I say that in no way does a gift to a person individually ever have greater fruit than an offering made to the saṅgha". *M.*III. 256; *MLDB*. 1105[3]).

According to canonical evidence the minimum number of *bhikkhus* required to make a *dāna* an offering to the congregation was four. This number is in agreement with the minimum number which was required for certain *Vinayaṭkammas* according to the *Vinayapiṭaka*[4]. When the Buddha was invited for *dāna* by lay followers the invitation normally read as follows: "*Adhivāsetu kira bhavam Gotamo ... svātanāya bhattam, saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṅghenāti*" (May the Blessed one consent to accept tomorrow's meal with the *bhikkhusangha*). It seems clear that the invitation was for the Buddha and the number required to constitute the *bhikkhusaṅgha*. This is clearly spelt out in the *Abhayarājakumāra Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* when prince Abhaya invites the Buddha, "*Adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātanāya attacatuttho bhattanti*; Venerable sir, let the Blessed One with three others consent to accept tomorrow's meal from me[5]".

Thus, the only ritual compliance of the *dāna* as we have seen above was with regard to the constituent number of participating members to form a *bhikkhusaṅgha*. But it must be kept in mind that *dāna* had no other ritual components or demands during the period that comes within the Pali canonical texts. This means that even the earliest form of community religious activity adopted by Buddhism after the highly ritualized and formalized brahmanic *yajña* did not adopt or even make adaptations from, the ritualisation of the *yajña*, which aspect, it must be kept in mind was one of the most essential components of the entire *yajña* process. Hence, *dāna* is never described as a *pūjā* in the sense it acquired much later on as the word itself had not acquired the ritual implication which it did acquire later on, as we shall shortly see.

Therefore, the evolution of the concept of *pūjā* in its later developed sense belongs to a time much posterior to that of the Pali canonical texts. According to professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *pūjā* originally referred to the flower-ritual and has been adopted from the Dravidian culture. According to him, "The ideas of *homa* and *pūjā*, as it is apparent, had their birth in different *milieus*. The mixed Hindu people, and the Brahmanical faith of mixed origin, inherited both. The *homa* was exclusively Aryan, to which non-Aryans had no right as it was the special privilege of the Aryan. But everybody was welcome to the *pūjā* ritual. *Homa* was a rite in which ordinarily animal sacrifice was a necessary part: it was known also as *paśu karma*. In *pūjā*, flowers are essential: it was, so to say, *puspa-karma*. Now, on this basis, the word *pūjā* of Sanskrit has been explained by Mark Collins as a Dravidian word— *pū* meaning "flower", and the Dravidian root *cey, gey* meaning "to do", giving a compound form, in Primitive Dravidian of Vedic times, *pū-gey* = *puspa-*

karma, "the flower ritual", whence Sanskrit *pūjā*. Jarl Charpentier suggested another derivation, from a Dravidian root *pusu* or *pucu*, "to smear", anointment with sandal-paste or vermillion or blood being, according to this view, the basic element in the *pūjā* rite[7].

Explaining further, Chatterji remarks, "*Homa* or the Fire Ritual, and *pūjā* or the Flower Ritual, represent two distinct worlds of religious thought or conception. The flower Ritual of the *pūjā* is unknown to the Vedic religion: there the ritual is everywhere *homa*. The idea behind the *homa* is this - - the gods are 33 in number; they are in the sky. Agni or Fire is their messenger. The worshiper is not very keenly conscious of any divine *Mana* or force pervading the Universe: he knows only some individual gods and goddesses who are humanized forms of natural forces, like Fire, Wind, Sun, Dawn, Thunder, Rain, the sky-Vault, Earth, etc. who are potent in giving or withholding their bounty in the shape of riches (cattle, horses, flocks and harvest in plenty), sons and victory over enemies. They are approached in a spirit of friendly reliance; his attitude in worship is that of *do, ut des* (*dadāmi, uta dadāsi*) "I give, so that you may give in return[8]".

"The *pūjā* ritual stands on quite a different footing. For the worshipper, the whole universe is filled with a Cosmic Force or Divine Spirit, and the worshipper wants to have a personal communion or touch with it. For this purpose, he is taught that a magic rite calling the Divine Spirit is potent enough to make it (or a portion of it) come and be installed within some symbol, and then it at once becomes a Living Presence for the worshipper endowed with faith; and it is after that treated as an honoured guest, like a king on a visit to a subject of his. Water is poured over the symbol; flowers, leaves and fruit, and grains of rice or other corn as produce of the earth are offered to it; and cooked food, delicacies of all sort, are placed before it and offered, to become consecrated food with special sanctity...[9]".

We have already seen how the Vedic *yajña* was adopted by Buddhism, minus its complicated ritual component and also that the *dāna* which was evolved out of this adoption had still not developed into a *pūjā*. It is pertinent at this point to take a look at the socio-religious milieu in which Buddhism would have had to adopt the *pūjā* ritual, perhaps among a series of other adoptions. While it was Emperor Asoka's conquest of Kalinga which made a turning point in his career according to Sri Lankan historical sources, the political stability achieved by Asoka obviated the need for further military efforts to annex the remaining tribal territories which in fact were small and spread over the vast forest and hilly tracts of the country. However, the amalgamation of the tribal peoples continued as it does to the present day in India. It would be useful for this study to understand how this operated.

Kosambi, describing the religio-ritualistic syncretism of the post Asokan India writes, "The brahmins gradually penetrated whatever tribes and guild castes remained; a process that continues to this day. This meant the worship of new gods, including the Krishna who had driven Indra worship out of the Panjab plains before Alexander's invasion. But the exclusive nature of tribal ritual and tribal cults was modified, the tribal deities being equated to standard Brahmin gods or new Brahmin scriptures written for making unassimilable gods respectable. With these new deities or fresh identifications came new ritual as well and special dates of the lunar calendar for particular observances. New places of pilgrimage were also introduced with suitable myths to make them respectable, though they could have been savage, pre-brahmin cult-spots[10]."

"The mechanism of the assimilation is particularly interesting. Not only Krishna, but the Buddha himself and some totemic deities including the primeval Fish, Tortoise, and Boar were made into incarnations of Vishnu-Nārāyana. The monkey-faced Hanuman, so popular with the cultivators as to be a peculiar god of the peasantry with an independent cult of his own, becomes the faithful companion-servant of Rāma, another incarnation of Vishnu. Vishnu-Nārāyana uses the great earth- bearing cobra as his canopied bed to sleep upon the waters; at the same time, the same cobra is Siva's garland and a weapon of Ganeśa. The elephant-headed Ganeśa is son to Śiva, or rather of Śiva's wife. Śiva himself is lord of the goblins and demons, of whom many like the cacodemon Vetāla are again independent and highly primitive gods, still in popular, village worship. Siva's bull Nandi was worshipped in the south Indian Neolithic age without any human or divine master to ride him; he appears independently on innumerable seals of the Indus culture. This conglomeration goes on for ever, while all the

tales put together form a senseless, inconsistent, chaotic mass[11]".

"The worship of these newly absorbed primitive deities was part of the mechanism of acculturisation, a clear give-and-take. First, the former worshippers, say of the Cobra, could adore him while bowing to Śiva, but the followers of Śiva simultaneously paid respect to the Cobra in their own ritual services; many would then observe the Cobra's special cult-day every year, when the earth may not be dug up and food is put out for the snakes[12]". What is important to us in this process is the way in which new and previously unheard of deities and associated ritual practices were made part of the traditional Hindu religion which too underwent a major change thereby.

In order to provide legitimacy and authenticity within the traditional Hindu belief system, the Brahmins even wrote new scriptures to welcome new deities and new ritual. "A classical case is that of the patron Nāga Nīlamata of Kashmir, whose cult had fallen into desuetude because of Buddhism, but was revived by the *Nīlamata- purāṇa* specially written by the Brahmins who revived themselves therewith[13]".

It was this background which necessitated changes in the canonical Buddhism to face the new challenges. Not only were new rites and ritual introduced, but new scriptures too were added on to the Pali canon to legitimise some of these rituals and associated functions whenever they could not be accommodated by re-interpretation of the older texts to read the requisite new meanings. An excellent example is that of the story of the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* which was written to authenticate the adoption of both Bodhi-worship and flower-worship in one. This *Jātaka* story, "was related in reference to the Bodhi-tree planted at Ananda's suggestion, by Anāthapiṇḍika, at the entrance to Jetavana, in order that people might worship it while the Buddha was away on tour. As soon as a seedling was planted from the great Bodhi-tree at Gayā, it grew into a tree fifty cubits high, and the Buddha consecrated it by spending one night under it wrapt in meditation. The *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* is found also in the *Mahā bodhi-vaṃsa*; there it is given in much greater detail and differs in minor details from the *Jātaka* version[14]".

When such texts are compared with brahmanic texts like the *Nīlamata- purāṇa* which was written to accept into Hinduism the worship of the *Nīlamata Nāga* of Kashmir, also remind ourselves of how the *nāga* was instituted round Śiva's neck to become his garland, in order to win over the *Nāga* tribes, it is not difficult to understand and appreciate how flower-worship and Bodhi-worship were adopted by the Buddhists by writing in of the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* into the *Jātaka* collection.

It may also be pointed out here that though the adoption of the *pūjā* ritual required the writing of new scriptures, the concept of merit-transference could be introduced by a cautious re-interpretation of the *Tirokuḍḍa Sutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha* but was much more than supplemented by the two new texts, *Petavatthu* and *Vimānavatthu*.

Thus, the concept of *pūjā* when accepted into Buddhism and legitimized through canonization by writing into the canonical literature was used as the spring-board for the development of an entire network of religious rites and rituals which when put into practical implementation changed the entire external structure of the religion. In other words the new worship centred trend set in motion by the adoption of the Flower-Ritual was the opening of the flood-gates to an avalanche of *pūjā* rituals which in fact left very few items of daily use which could not be used as items of offering. And, each of these individual items was introduced with its own ritual formula to guarantee conformity to the *pūjā* system. This widening of the scope of the *pūjā* brought in, its other sister concept of *vandanā*, which to say the least, completed the theo-centred capitualation on the one hand, but provided, on the other, for community participation in the performance of the ritual offerings.

The adoption of *pūjā* by Buddhism also spearheaded another very important development which is the evolution of the *āvāsa* of the *bhikkhu* community which was only a monastic residence, as a *vihāra* which came to serve as the center of the new *pū jā* services of the Buddhist community. This development cast a heavy burden on the *bhikkhu* who previously was to use his residence in the monastery to devote his full-time efforts to the attainment of his spiritual goal. In the new situation, he had to provide leadership to the Buddhist community. This leadership which the guidance he provided in the performance of the *pūjā* rituals eventually placed him at the leadership

of his lay community, positioned to provide guidance for their spiritual as well as mundane welfare.

In conclusion, it is pertinent to make an observation on the relationship which is held by the *pūjā* rituals *vis-a-vis* the attainment of *nibbāna*, the final goal of the Buddhist spiritual endeavor. No ritual claims to guarantee for the performer of the rituals the attainment of *nibbāna*, but rather aims at moving and motivating him to make for its attainment. These have no relevance to the worldly welfare of the performers of the rituals either as they both the rituals and the objects of the rituals are not endowed with any power, which could be transmitted to the performer to cause such help or relief. In other words, these rituals, at best, serve as entry points to the *Dhamma*, but do not form part of the *Dhamma* itself in any way.

M.M.J.Marasinghe

References

1 s.v. *PTS. Pali-English Dictionary.*
2 s.v. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*
3 *Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1995.
4 *Early Buddhist Monachism*, S. Dutt, 1960. 121
5 *M.* II. 92
6 *M.* I. 393; *MLDB*. 499
7 "The Indian synthesis, and Racial and cultural inter-mixture in India" , *Indo-Asian Culture*, Jan. 1955. 220
8 *Indo-Asian Culture, 217*
9 *Indo-Asian Culture*, 218f.
10 *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, 1965. 168f.
11 Kosambi, D.D. , CCAI. , 170
12 Kosambi, D.D. , CCAI. , 170
13 Kosambi, D.D. , CCAI. , 179
14 Malalasekara, G.P. *Dictionary of Pali proper Names*, I. 586

PUNABBHAVA : The Pali term *punabbhava* means coming into existence once again. It is essentially a religeo-philosophical Buddhist concept. It is made up of *puna* which means again, together with *bhava* which means existence, or coming into being. *Bhava* or existence is what all beings inherit (or are entitled to) on account of being caught up in an inextricable (or rather difficult to free oneself from) involvement called *Samsāra* or cyclical continuance of life from birth to death and to birth and death, again and again.

This process of *punabbava* is brought about by each one for himself (in a process of evolution as opposed to creation) by our very process of living in the world and being activated into involvement with it. Through our sense organs like the eye and the ear, we are attracted to lovable things in the world because of our interest in them (*cakkhunā rūpam disvā piyarūpe rūpe sārajjati M.* I. 266) or are repelled from them through our dislikes (*appiyarūpe rupe byāpajjati ibid*). Through this process of likes and dislikes or *lobha* and *dosa* which leads to involvement through our sensory reactions or *upādāna*, we build up the forces which strengthen the *samsāric* process of repeated births and deaths called *bhava* (*upādāna paccayā bhavo*).

Accepting the principle of causal genesis or *idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo*, the Buddhists look upon *bhava* as a sequential continuous process, personal to each one. We who are in this living process of *bhava* have invested in it through our own involvement in it. This is the combined process of our sensory awareness and our reaction to sensory stimuli of the world. This harnessing together of our psycho-physical selves or *pañcakkhandha* with the totality of our sensory reaction thought it makes the *pañca-upādānakkhandha* of each one the real generator of the samsāric life process. If this process of *upādāna* ceases at ay point of time, then *bhava* also shall cease to grow and shall cease to be (*upādāna-nirodhābhava-nirodho*).

Bhava is a live active self-accumulative process, and it expresses and manifests itself in the form of a new life at the right time through birth or *jāti*. Thus wherever the potential of a new *bhava* is indicated (except in the case of arahants who alone can claim that they incur no more new *bhava*), this process of being born into a new life or *punabbhava*+*abhinibbatti* must take place. In the Chain of Causal Genesis, we cannot concede to the statge *bhava* anything more than being an active process. At the right point of time, it does yield a product which invariably is *jati* or birth.

There is not the slightest doubt that this life regenerative process of *bhava* is set in motion within the life mechanism of a being below the level of an *arahant*. Call it *nāmarūpa* or *pañcakkhandha* or whatever you will. We believe that this entire psychic

process within the human, starting with *vedanā paccayā taṇhā taṇhā-paccayā upādānam upādāna-paccayā bhavo*, cannot be viewed, as the ordinary layman would expect, in terms of length and breadth. It can be viewed only as a source of regenerative power, and that again only by a person possessing superior psychic development. It is such a vision we get in the *Sampasādaniya Sutta* (*D.* III. 105) where some one endowed with special power sees another's *samvattanika-viññāṇa* (i.e. rebirth regenerative psychic potential), operating between two life phases as this life and the life beyond death (*idhaloke patiṭṭhitam paraloke patiṭṭhitam*).

It is the possibility of manifestation of *bhava* in a new life form, which goes by the name of *punabbhava*. It is the emergence in *samsāra* of a new life form. It is being born again, birth being not ended (only arahants being able to claim for themselves that they are *khīṇā-jāti*, i.e. those whose birth-process is ended). Call it rebirth or whatever you like. Do not fail to remember that for this process of birth (or being born or born again) Pali has several related words like *jāti* (from root *jan-jāyati*), *uppatti* (from *ud*+root *padi pajjati=uppajjati*) and *nibbatti* (from *ni+vattati*). By whatever name one calls it, the fact of samsāric beings being born again and again is admitted.

As far as we can discover, we do not seem to find in early Buddhist teachings any sub-species of existence either within *bhava* or prior to or outside *bhava* who are on the look out for *jāti*. The Pali Commentary to the *Udāna* tells us of certain misdirected thinkers of the day who were speculating on such a sub-species called *antarā-bhava*.

Commentaries in most cases are reasonably old explanations of textual material, which needed further detailed explanation in the interests of the average listener. It is also known that there were texts and textual references, which lent themselves to a diversity of interpretations in the hands of interested parties. By the time of Commentaries, the need to build safeguards against such deflections was also evidently felt.

For such Commentarial rebuttal of an emerging *antarābhava* theory, see the following remarks of the Commentary to the *Udāna* : '*Ye pana ubhayantarenā' ti padam gahetvā antarābhavam nāma icchanti. Tesam tammicchā. Antarābhavassa hi bhāvo Abhidhamme patikkhitto yeva... Ye pi ca antarāparinibbāyī sambhavesī ti ca imesam suttapadānam atthamayoniso gahetvā atthi yeva antarābhavo ti vadanti....* (*Udāna Aṭṭhkathā UdA.* p. 92 / *SHB.* p. 61f).

The meaning in English of the above quotation from the *Udāna Aṭṭhakathā* would read as: 'As for those who take the word *ubhayantarena* (= between the two) and wish to postulate an *antarābhava*, they are in error (*micchā*). They are mistaken. The existence of an *antarābhava* is definitely rejected in the Abhidhamma. Also those who incorrectly render the meaning of Sutta words like *antarāparinibbāyī* and *sambhavesī* say that there is an *antarābhava*....' (For their correct rendering see further the *Aṭṭhakathā*).

Udāna Aṭṭhakathā requests us to consult further the Sub-commentary to the *Kathāvatthu* of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka (*Kathāvatthuppakarana Ṭīkā*) on this examination of *anatrābhava* (*Antarābhava-vicāro Kathāvatthupakaranassa Ṭīkāya gahetabbo*. Ibid. p.62). These observations of Commentator Dhammapāla makes it quite clear that the talk of *antarābhava* was not an issue that went unquestioned and unchallenged in the hands of Theravadins of the Pali tradition from very early times.

Dhammavihāri

PUÑÑA. The *PTS.* Dictionary, defines *puñña* as follows : "(cp. (late) Vedic *punya* favourable, good; ety. not clear, it may be dialectical. The word is explained by Dhammapâla as '*santānam punāti visodheti*' i.e. cleaning the continuation (of life). The explanation is of course fanciful : merit, meritorious action, virtue always represented as foundation and condition of heavenly rebirth and a future blissful state, the enjoyment (& duration) of which depends on the amount of merit accumulated in former existence".[1] Monier Williams explains *punya* as, "auspicious, propitious, fair pleasant, good, right, virtuous, meritorious, pure, holy, sacred...".[2] "Mayrhofer suggests that *punya* is derived from the root *pṛ.*,'to fill'".[3]

Thus, *puñña* is the Pâli form of the Sanskrit *punya* which was taken over by Buddhism, like *kusala* from the contemporary religious language of the sixth century B.C., but were re-interpreted to serve its religious needs which resulted in giving new meanings to both terms. According to the Brahmanic religion *punya* came to the

performer of the sacrifice both through the sacrifice which was offered by the Brahmin priest on his behalf and also through the services rendered to the sacrificing priest by attending on him by offering suitable gifts. According to R.C. Amore, "Gonda notes that MuV 1,2,6 and other passages explain that ' the offerings carry the sacrificer by the rays of the sun, saluting him as follows: this is your holy (or meritorious, *punyah*) world of brahma, ('well made, i.e. fashioned, prepared, gained) by merits (*sukrtah*)''.[4]

In the Brahmanic religion *punya* was accorded a very high religious value, as it was *punya* that took the performer of the sacrifice (*yajña*) to heaven. The life in heaven being eternal and everlasting,[5] heavenly birth was thus the ultimate religious goal aspired to. There seems to have been a change in this position during the Upanishadic period, with the acceptance of the concept of rebirth, after which it came to be accepted that, "when the fruit of his well-lived previous lives is eaten up, he returns here to earth"[6] thus accepting that the length of heavenly life is determined by his *punya* in the previous earthly existence. For an understanding of the factors which propelled the origin of the Upanishadic philosophies and for an appreciation of the causes which brought about this shift in their philosophical thinking, we have to go into the details of the post-Indus valley religio-cultural developments, which blossomed in the sixth century B. C. Gangetic valley culture of India[7].

The concept of *punya* leading one to eternal and everlasting heavenly bliss was not acceptable to both Jainism and Buddhism, representing the two main *Śramana* religions of the sixth century B. C. India. While Jainism claimed to lead its followers to *kaivalya*, the Buddhist goal of religious endeavour was the attainment of *Nibbāna*. Therefore, though accepted by both these *Śramaṇa* religions, *punya* did not occupy as prominent a place in these religions as it did in the pre-Upanishadic Brahmanic religion.

According to the Jaina teaching, "Ordinarily *Punya* is understood to be good action. In Jaina philosophy this definition of *punya* is accepted. But there are two aspects of *punya*. From the conative point of view *punya* is that good action which is performed by the *Jī va*. But when by good action we mean Karmic matter, which is accumulated by the *Jī va* and the fruit of which is experienced in the next incarnation, then we are referring to the material or the *Pudgalic* aspect of *punya*. That is, *punya* is a tendency as well as a potentiality. Here tendency means activity and potentiality stands for Karmic matter. Actions which lead to good potentialities are called *punyas*. According to Jainism there are the following nine types of *Punya*: (1) *Anna Punya* (the virtue of food); (2) *Pāna Punya* (the virtue of water): (3) *Vastra Punya* (the virtue of cloth); (4) *Layana Punya* (the virtue of lending the house); (5) *Śayana Punya* (the virtue of supplying beds); (6) *Mana Punya* (the virtue of controlling mind); (7) *Sarīra Punya* (the virtue of controlling body); (8) *Vacana Punya* (the virtue of controlling speech):(9) *Namaskāra Punya* (the virtue of salutation).

Anna Punya or the virtue of food, means supplying food to a hungry and poor person worthy of receiving it. In like manner, *Pāna Punya* means the virtue of quenching the thirst of a person by supplying water. *Vastra Punya* means giving cloth to those who are in need of clothes to cover their bodies. Although according to Jainism the charity of food, water and clothing can be extended to any worthy person, yet these virtues, if practised with reference to the Jaina ascetics, are all the more effective. The virtues of *Layana* and *Śayana* mean respectively providing residential accommodation and beds to the ascetics. *Mana Punya*, *Sarī ra Punya* and *Vacana Punya* stand for control over mind, body and speech, in order to avoid every kind of violence to others and to exhort them to be moral and ethical. The *Namaskāra Punya* means saluting or bowing down to the ascetic"[8].

According to the Jaina teaching, it is necessary to free the soul (*jī va*) from the bondage of *karmic* matter whether this *karmic* matter consists of *punya* or *pāpa* as *āsrava* attracts good as well as bad *karmic* matter towards the soul and thus leads to bondage. Therefore *kaivalya* (ultimate emancipation) results not from the accumulation of *punya*, but from freeing the soul from all *karmic* matter[5].

Buddhism too, like the Jains did not accept that *punya* was productive of ultimate emancipation, but it shared with Brahmanism the view that *punya* could result in heavenly rebirth, though heavenly birth like in the *Upanishads* was conceived of as temporary and lasting only until the exhaustion of *punya*.

While in the Brahmanic religion it was the Brahmin priest who mediated on behalf of a client to offer the sacrifice thereby becoming the agent who executed the *punya* generating activity for the client, in Buddhism, the *bhikkhu* became the person who was deemed qualified through his spiritual qualifications to receive the *dāna* offering of a client, thereby generating *puñña* for the client donor. Thus, the *bhikkhu* came to be described as *āhuneyyo* after the description of the brahmin priest as *āhvanīya* in the sense that he was "worthy of sacrifice" or "worthy of offering"[10].

Also, the brahmin priest who performed the sacrifice for his client, became entitled to receive the sacrificial *dakṣiṇā*. "It was not merely a fee paid for the priestly services but was a sacrificial offering donated by the man of faith (*śraddhā*) to certain Brahmins as representatives of divine knowledge and purity"[11]. Buddhism took over the concept of *dakṣiṇā* offering by replacing the Brahman with the *bhikkhu*. Or, in other words, the *bhikkhu* came to be described as *dakkhineyyo* as he is deemed qualified to accept the new sacrificial offering which is the *dāna* offering. The *bhikkhu* is described as *āhuneyyo* and *dakkhineyyo* because of his qualifications to accept the new sacrifice and thereby generate *puñña* for the donors. Although the only source of the *punya*, the acquisition of which guaranteed one's total future good was the sacrifice and the offering of the *dakṣiṇā* to the officiating Brahmin priest in the Brahmanic religion, the offerings to the *bhikkhu* in Buddhism, was not the only source for the generation of *puñña*, though he remained to be an important source for activities connected with its generation.

It may be noted here that the *dāna* offering whereby Buddhism replaced the Brahmanic sacrifice (*yajña*) continued to be an important source of *puñña*, and became formalised as the *Samghagata dakkhiṇā* and thereby became the first religious activity in Buddhism which provided for community participation. The attendant ritual in the formalised *dāna* seems to have heralded the evolution of a system of ritual in the post-canonical Buddhism.

The *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* records an episode where Venerable Raṭṭhapāla's father, a Brahmin householder who having failed in his earlier attempts to prevent his only son from leaving the household life to become a disciple under the Buddha's dispensation, requests him to give up the higher life, enjoy the riches and also make merit (*Ehi tvaṃ tāta Raṭṭhapāla, sikkhaṃ paccakkhāya hīnāy'āvattitvā bhoge bhuñjassu puññāni ca karohīti*)[12]. According to the Brahmin father of Venerable Ratthapāla, if he reverted to the lay life, he would have been able to enjoy the riches, live with his wife and parents and also make merits. The *Dhanañjani Sutta* of the same *Nikāya* describes what is called the path of *puñña* (*puññam ca patipadam*)[13] with reference to the conduct of the Brahmin householder Dhanañjāni which is described as the *dhammacariyā* (conduct which is in accordance with the *dhamma*) and *samacariyā* (conduct which is righteous). The *dhammacariyā, samacariyā* according to the *Sāleyyaka Sutta* consists of the three-fold physical, the four-fold verbal and the three-fold mental conduct[14].

According to the *Veludvāra Sutta* of the *Samyutta Nikāya*, the Brahmin householders of Veludvāra request the Buddha to expound to them a formula of *dhamma*, living according to which they would be able to lead their family social lives and be reborn in heavenly states of existence after death. Accordingly, they are taught the formula of the *dhamma* described as the *attūpanāyika dhammapariyāya* (self-reference formula of the *dhamma*). This consists of the seven practices of the good (*sattahi saddhammehi..*) which are spelt out as follows: (i) Abstinence from destroying life (*pāṇātipātā pativirati*,(ii) Abstinence from stealing (*adinnādanā paṭivirati*), (iii) Abstinence from sexual misconduct (*kāmesu micchācārā pativirati*), (iv) Abstinence from false-speech (*musā vādā paṭivirati*), (v) Abstinence from malicious speech (*pisuṇāya vācāya paṭivirati*),(vi) Abstinence from rough speech (*pharusāya vācāya paṭivirati*),and (vii) Abstinence from frivolous talk(*samphappalāpā paṭivirati*)[15]. The abstinence from these seven physical and verbal actions, persuading others to abstain from these likewise and be in praise of such abstinence completes the physical and verbal conduct which is described as purified in three respects (*Kāya vacī samā-cāro tikoṭipārisuddho*)[16]. The *sīla* which is to be cultivated in each of these seven, it must be noted, consists of abstinence from the wrong act and the cultivation of the opposite positive qualities. It is the cultivation of these positive qualities, which furnishes the development envisaged[17].

The three actions, *dāna* (liberality), *sīla* (morality) and *bhāvanā* (meditation) are described in the *Nikāya* texts as the three items of meritorious actions (*tīṇi 'māni puññakiriya vatthūni*). While rebirth into different states of existence whether human or celestial is the result of these merit-yielding actions, it is the intensity of the two-fold actions of *dāna* and *sīla* which determines the particular realm of existence a person would be reborn into, as well as the perks which he would enjoy therein. This is explained in an *Aṅguttara Sutta* as follows[18]:

Thus, a life of commitment to the acquisition of *puñña* by engaging in *dāna* and conducting oneself in accordance with the discipline of the seven precepts constituting the physical and verbal conduct which is in accordance with the dhamma (*dhammacariyā*) and conduct which is righteous (*samacariyā*), results in pleasant human or celestial rebirths. It is also quite clearly stated that the doer of *puñña* always has the option of selecting the form of rebirth that he would desire[19], whereas the doer of evil has no such choice.

Action (kamma)	*Intensity*	*Resultant rebirth*
1. Liberaliyt (*dāma*) and morality (*sīla*) meditation (*bhāvanā*)	done on a small scale (*parittam katam hoti*) not practiced (*na abhisambhoti*)	Among men of ill-luck (*manussadobhaggam upapajjati*)
2. *dānā* and *sīla* *bhāvanā*	done to a medium degree (*mattaso katam*) *na abhisambhoti*	Among men of good-luck (*manussasobhaggam upapajjati*)
3. *dānā* and *sīla* *bhāvanā*	done to a high degree (*adhimattam katam hoti*) *na abhisambhoti*	Into the company of the *Cātummahārājika devas*
(In the *Cātummahārājika* heaven, the Four Great Kings excel the other gods in tem places, having done these to a higher degree than the others).		
4. *dānā* and *sīla* *bhāvanā*	done to a high degree (*adhimattam katam hoti*) *na abhisambhoti*	Into the company of the *Tāvatiṃsa devas.*
(Here Sakka excels the other gods in ten places, having done these to a higher degree than the others).		
5. *dānā* and *sīla* *bhāvanā*	*abhimattam katam hoti* *na abhisambhoti*	Into the company of the *Yāma devas.*
(Here, the *devaputta* Suyama surpasses the other in ten places, having done these to a higher degree than the others).		
6. *dānā* and *sīla* *bhāvanā*	*abhimattam katam hoti* *na abhisambhoti*	Into the company of the Tusita *devas.*
(Here, the devaputta Santusita surpasses all the other gods in ten places, having done these to a higher degree than the others).		
7. dānā and *sīla* *bhāvanā*	*adhimattam katam hoti* *na abhisambhoti*	Into the company of the *Nimmānarati devas.*
(Here, the *devaputta* Sunimmita, surpasses the other gods in ten places, having done these to a higher degree than the others).		
8. *dānā* and *sīla* *bhāvanā*	*adhimattam katam hoti* *na abhisambhoti*	Into the company of the *Paranimmitavasavatti devas.*
(Here, the *devaputta* Vasavatti surpasses the other gods in ten places, having done these to a higher degree than the others). (A. IV. 241).		

Besides these, there are other activities which are productive of *Puñña* according to the canonical texts. These include acts of social welfare, such as planting of pleasure groves and forests, making of bridges, (public) wells and drinking places. Such acts are said to increase *puñña*-day and night and lead to heavenly rebirths[20]. *Puñña* accordingly has been shown as a valuable acquisition, which supports a person in his future birth[21]. A person who dies, is said to own none of his material things any more, but to take with him whatever *puñña* and *pāpa* he has done in this life[22]. All mortals are said to take new birth according to the consequences of their *puñña* and *pâpa* actions. Those who have done *pāpa* are said to be reborn in the *niraya* (purgatory) and those who have done *puñña* in the heavenly states[23]. In the *Sakkapañha Sutta* of the *Dī gha Nikâya*, Sakka's charioteer Pañcasikha wishes that the *puñña* he has earned by his actions towards the steadfast *arahants* ripen in enjoyment with his loved one[24]. According to the *Dhammapada*, a person who has done *puñña* delights here and in the hereafter, and is intensely delighted when he goes to heaven[25].

The opposite of *puñña* is either *pâpa* or *apuñña* according to the Pâli texts, the first eventually finding acceptance as the standard term in place of the second. Both terms have been taken over from Sanskrit and seems to have been in currency in the religious language of the sixth century B.C. India.

"According to Jainism *Pâpa* means being influenced by attachment and jealousy instead of rationality, and performing evil deeds under that influence. It is the rebellion of man's meaner nature against his virtuous tendencies and inherent goodness. Therefore *Pâpa* is regarded as the manifestation of the individual's ignorance and immorality in his voluntary actions. The following eighteen demerits or vicious acts are recognized by Jainism: (l) *Prânavadha* or *Jī va Himsā Pâpa*, 'crushing out the organic energies of an organic soul'; (2) *Asatya* or *Mṛiṣâvâda Pâpa*, untruth-fullness; (3) *Adattâdâna Pâpa*, stealing directly or indirectly; (4) *Abrahmacarya Pâpa*, or unchastity, indulgence in sexual intercourse mentally or physically; (5) *Parigraha Pâpa*, which consists in over-attachment to one's belongings; covetousness; (6) *Krodha Pâpa*, or anger; (7) *Mânà Pâpa* or egoism; (8)*Mâyâ Pâpa*, hypocrisy; (9)*Lâbha Pâpa*, greed or avarice; (10) *Râga* or *Âsakti Pāpa*, personal attachment; (11) *Dveṣa Pāpa*, ill-will or hatred towards anything; (12)*Kles'a Pāpa*, quarrelsomeness; (13) *Abhyâkhyāna Pāpa*, spreading false rumours or scandals in order to lower someone's prestige; (14) *Paiśūnya*, tale-telling; (15)*Paraparivâda Pāpa*, talking ill of others or emphasizing the badness of others;(16) *Rati Arati Pāpa*, attraction towards sensual and emotional life, and distraction from discipline or self-control; (17) *Māyâ Mṛṣa Pāpa*, resorting to improper or sinful acts under the pretext of propriety and virtue; (18) *Mithyâ Dars'anaśalya Pāpa*, taking an unreal thing to be real, even when one is capable of discriminating between real and unreal"[26].

According to the *Sappurisavagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, a sinner (*pâpo*) is one who commits one or more of the following ten immoral actions: (l) *Pânâtipâtâ* (destroying life); (2) *Adinnâdânâ* (stealing); (3) *Kâmesumicchâcârâ* (unchastity); (4) *Musâvâdâ* (lying); (5) *Pisuṇâvâcâ* (slanderous speech); (6) *Pharusâvâcâ* (rough speech); (7) *Samphappalâpâ* (frivolous talk); (8) *Abhijjhâlû* (covetousness); (9) *Vyâpannacitto* (malevolence); and (10) *Micchâdiṭṭhiko* (wrong views)[27]. These actions result in rebirth in the purgatories wherein beings undergo suffering, which is sharp and severe (*ekanta dukkhâ tippâ kaṭukâ vedanâ*)[28]. According to the *Cûlakammavibhaṅga Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikâya*, if such persons are not reborn into the purgatories, they will be reborn into conditions of ill-luck in the human world[29]. The *Mahâkammavibhaṅga Sutta* of the same *Nikâya* explains that the result of an evil or a good action will be experienced by the doer in this life itself, in the next life or in any subsequent existence (*diṭṭhe va dhamme vipâkaṃ paṭisamvedeti uppajjaṃ apare vâ pariyâye*)[30]. The *Siṅgalovada Sutta* of the a *Dī gha Nikâya* describes the first four immoral actions of the above list as the four depravities of action (*cattâro kamma kilesā*) which arise out of the four wrong bases of *chanda* (emotion), *dosa* (ill-will), *bhaya*(fear) and *moha* (delusion)[31]. The *Aggañña Sutta* of the same *Nikâya* describes these ten actions as *akusala-kammas*[32] and as productive of results which are black, drawing attention perhaps to the colour classification which had been known in the Indian spiritual traditions[33].

The term *apuñña* is found in the Pâli canonical texts only in a few instances. In the *Âyâcana Vagga* of the

Aṅguttara Nikāya, the fool is said to generate much demerit (*bālo bahum apuññam pasavati*)[34] through his foolish actions, while the wise generate much merit (*puñña*). In the *Bhaṇḍagāma Vagga* of the same *Nikāya*, the foolish man by his wrongful conduct is said to generate much demerit (*bahum apuññam pasavati*) as different from the wise man's generation of much merit by his good conduct[35]. Māra, by preventing the Brahmin inhabitants of Pañcasālā from offering food to the Buddha, when he went there on his alms round, earned demerit (*apuññam pasavi māro āsajjanam tathāgatam*)[36].

Apuñña, thus seems synonymous with *pāpa* in its application in the canonical texts. It is explained as resulting in expiatory rebirth either in the human world or in the purgatories. Whether it is rebirth into conditions of suffering in the human world, quite eloquently described as conditions of ill-luck (*manussadobhaggam*)[37], or in the purgatories, it is suffering) which beings undergo, the difference being only one of degree of intensity.

Although the first two *puñña* generating actions, viz. *dāna* and *sīla*, are explained as productive of happiness (*sukha*) derived from rebirth into heavenly states of existence or conditions of good-luck in the human world (*manussasobhaggam*)[38], *bhāvanā*, which is the third *puñña* generating action brings one to rebirth in the higher heavenly realms which within that state of rebirth offers the possibility of attaining complete liberation. Here too, it must be noted that it is the level of attainment in *bhāvanā*, which determines the respective heavenly state a person would be reborn into. For example, an individual who attains the first *Jhāna* and dies in that state without falling from that *jhānic* level is reborn into the companionship of the *Brahmakāyika devas*, one who attains the second *Jhāna* and dies in that state of attainment without falling from that *jhānic* level is reborn into the companionship of the *Ābhassara devas* and so on[39]. It is also quite clearly stated that the disciple of the Buddha who reaches a particular level of *jhānic* attainment, becomes quite adept in its attainment and constant practice, dies without falling from that level of attainment, attains complete liberation (i.e. *nibbāna*) at the end of his term of life in that realm of the *devas*[40].

According to the *Veludvāra Sutta*, the ariyan disciple who is disciplined in the seven practices of the good, consisting of the three-fold physical and the four-fold verbal *dhammacariyā* and *samacariyā*, which as we have already seen is also explained as the *puññam ca paṭipadam* (path of *puñña*), supplemented by certainty achieved in the four places of trust and confidence can, if he so desires, declare that he is a stream-winner (*sotāpanno*) and is thereby destined to attain final emancipation (*niyato sambodhiparāyano*)[41].

Thus, as the course of conduct, which generates *puñña* for the individual provides the initial disciplining to make him a stream-winner who thereby becomes destined for the attainment of *nibbāna*, *puñña* becomes a contributory factor to an individual's attainment of *nibbāna*, not detrimental. But then, how is it that the *Bodhisatta*, according to the *Padhāna Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* , when advised by Māra to give up the severe austerities as a result of which he was more closer to death than life, replies that the slightest merit is of no use to him (*anumattenāpi puññena attho mayham na vijjati*)[42].

Premasiri, commenting on the above text argues that the Bodhisatta's rejection of *puñña* was due to the fact that he assigned a somewhat lower position to *puñña* as acts of *puñña* were conceived as deeds of positive merit which bring about, as their consequences, enjoyment of a sensuous kind, compared to *kusala* which on the other hand emphasizes non-sensuous spiritual bliss[43]. Karunadasa too, agrees with Premasiri when he comments, "The term *puñña* appears to become significant only in the context of *saṃsāra*. Thus acts of *puñña* are always described as those which have a tendency to promote one's well-being and happiness in future births in *saṃsāra*. It is often stated that those who accumulate *puñña* would be born in heavenly existences...That acts of *puñña* do not lead to *Nibbāna* is clearly shown by what the Bodhisattva tells Māra: 'I do not see any purpose in an iota of *puñña*'[44].

In both instances quoted by Premasiri in support of his argument, in the *Uttaradevaputta Sutta* of the *Samyutta Nikāya* and the *Padhāna Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, the issue is not the simple issue of the relevance of *puñña* to the *Nibbānic* process. There seems to be something more than this, discernible in both these textual contexts, which is also relevant to the present discussion on *puñña*. The *Samyutta* text, which has,

"*puññāni kayirātha sukhāvahāni*[45] and the *Padhāna Sutta* verse which reads, "*Pahutam cīyate puññam aggihuttam ca jūhato*[46]" both seem better understood as referring to *puñña*-generating (ritual) activities. That the *Padhāna* verse refers to the acquisition of *puñña* through the performance of the sacrifices is quite clear. The acquisition of *puñña* through the sacrifice, it may be recalled here, was the only path to the heavens in the Brahmanic religion until the coming of age of the Upanishads. Thus the reference here is to the method of acquiring *puñña* through the performance of *puñña*-generating activities like the *Dāna*, which as we have already seen was evolved as a replacement for the *yajña pūjā* of the brahmanic religion. It may be noted here in passing that the *Padhāna* verses in fact represent the poetic version of the *Bodhisatta's* misgivings on the efficacy of the severe ascetic practices for the attainment of enlightenment as he felt that his goal at the time was receding with the increase of its intensity. These misgivings finally led to the discovery of the right path. The *Bodhisatta's* rejection of Māra's request was not due to the fact that *puñña* was detrimental to the nibbānic effort. It was a suggestion to give up the direct path and go back to the lay social life of *puñña*-generating religious activities, hence its rejection.

The *Veludvāra Sutta* is quite clear that the discipline gained from following the path of *puñña* provides access to the path of nibbānic realization. This constitutes the *sīla* of the three *puñña*-generating actions. *Dāna* too, being the first religious ritual activity sanctioned in Buddhism, serves as a point of entry to the path of spiritual advancement by assisting the process of weaning away from holding on to material possessions which cause misery.

Puñña is one of two terms used in the Pāli canonical texts for ethical evaluation. As Karunadasa remarks, "Early Buddhism uses two pairs of terms for ethical evaluation: One is *puñña* and *pāpa*, and the other is *kusala* and *akusala*. *Pāpa* and *akusala* seem to mean the same thing, i.e. what is morally bad or unwholesome. However the same is not true of *puñña* and *kusala*. Textual evidence suggests that there is a qualitative difference between them"[47].

Kusala has been explained as,"(Sk. *kuśala*, (adj.) clever, skilful, expert; good, right, meritorious...Esp. appl. in moral sense (=*puñña*) whereas *akusala* is practically equivalent to *pāpa*"[48]. Amore comments, "Tedesco maintains that the Sanskrit *kuśala* is a Middle Indic development of three Old Indic words: *sukṛta* (well-made), *sukṛtā* (a good deed) and *sukṛt* (doing good). He suggests this development: *sukṛta, sukṛtā, sukḍa, kuśala*. The support for this otherwise untenable etymology is the similarity in meaning of *sukṛta* and *kuśala* and the possibility of a metathesis from *sukṛ* to *kuśa*. Turner observes that Tedesco's "derivation is ingenious but very doubtful"[49].

"Another possibility", according to P.D. Premasiri, "is that it is connected with the term *kuśa*, which means wicked, as suggested with some reservation by Monier Williams. In this respect the commentarial explanation is not very illuminating. It attempts seemingly etymological analyses, but it is clear that the outcome of such analyses is not strictly etymological although in certain instances some light may be thrown on the etymology of the term. In the *Atthasālinī* when an attempt is made to define the word *kusala* it says: '*kusalas* are so called in that they cause contemptible things to tremble, to shake, to be disturbed, destroyed. Or, *kusa* are those (vices), which lie in a person under contemptible conditions. And *kuśalas* are so called because they lop off, cut off what are known as immoralities (*akusalas*). Or, knowledge is called *kusa* because of the reduction or eradication of contemptible things, and *kuśala* is so called because things should be taken, grasped, set in motion by that *kusa*. Or just as the *kusa* grass cuts part of the hand with both edges, so also certain things cut off the corrupt part in two portions, either what has arisen, or what has not arisen. Therefore *kuśala* are so called because they cut off the corruptions like the *kusa* grass'[50]. These comments, however, are not illuminating from an etymological point of view"[51].

Although the term *kuśala* is found in the Brahmaṇa and the Upanishadic literature, it is not found in these contexts in a moral sense. "The term *kusala* (Sk. *kuśala*) does not seem to have been in regular use in ethical contexts in pre-Buddhist Indian literature. Tedesco too observes that, "The most frequent meaning of Pali *kusala* is one that in regular Sanskrit is virtually unknown"[52]. He also holds that the term *kusala* in Pāli is equivalent to *puñña*, a view which will be examined below. There is sufficient reason to believe that in early Buddhism the term indicated a special sense of moral value, which was differentiated from the value represented by the ethical term *puñña* (Sk. *puṇya*)"[53].

Thus, it is in the Buddhist literature that *kusala* is found in discussions on moral discourse. According to the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nākaya* there are ten *kusala kammas* which are as follows: (1) *Pānā tipātā paṭivirati* (Abstinence from destroying life); (2) *Adinnādānā paṭivirati* (Abstinence from stealing); (3) *Kāmesumicchācārā paṭivirati* (Unchastity); (4) *Musā vādā paṭivirati* (Abstinence from lying); (5) *Pisunāvā cā paṭivirati* (Abstinence from slandering); (6) *Pharusā vācā paṭivirati* (Abstinence from rough speech); (7)*Samphappalāpā paṭivirati*(Abstinence from frivolous talk); (8)*Anabhijjhālū*(Abstinence from covetousness); (9) *Avyāpannacitto* (Abstinence from malevolence); and (10) *Sammādiṭṭhiko*(Right views)[54]. The *Sāleyyaka Sutta* of the same *Nikāya* explains the same ten *kammas* as constituting the three-fold physical, the four-fold verbal and the three-fold mental conduct which is in conformity with the *dhamma* (*dhammacariyā*) and with righteousness (*samacariyā*). It is shown that the individual who conducts himself according to the norms of conduct spelt out in the ten *kammas* can, if he so desires be reborn, after death, either into a noble family in the human world, into any realm of the *devas* or attain complete liberation in this life itself[55].

It is said that, when a noble disciple has thus understood the unwholesome (*akusalam pajānāti*) and the root of the unwholesome (*evaṃ akusalamūlaṃ pajānāti*), the wholesome (*evaṃ kusalam pajānāti*), and the root of the wholesome (*evaṃ kusalamūlaṃ pajānāti*), he entirely abandons the underlying tendency to lust, he abolishes the underlying tendency to aversion, he extirpates the underlying tendency to the view and conceit 'I am' and by abandoning ignorance and arousing true knowledge, he here and now makes an end of suffering[56]. *Kusala kammas* are based either on *alobha* (non-greed), *adosa* (non-hate) or *amoha* (non-delusion) while *akusala kammas* are based either on *lobha* (greed), *dosa* (ill-will) or *moha* (delusion). Thus while *kusala* is productive of nibbanic maturity, *puñña* as we have already seen is productive of entry to the process of such maturity by becoming a stream winner, and productive of nibbanic attainment in the Brahma-realms if he dies without falling from the jhânic level.

As Premasiri remarks, "*Puñña* and *kusala* cannot be considered completely synonymous terms in the *Nikāya* literature, although there is evidence of some overlapping. In the context of an analysis of the concepts of *kusala* and *akusala* by Ânanda, one of the chief disciples[57] of the Buddha, king Pasenadi of Kosala questions Ânanda: 'Is it the case that the Buddha commends the acquisition of all states that are *kusala*?' (*Kim pana bhante Ânanda, so bhagavâ sabbesaṃ yeva kusalânam dhammānaṃ upasampadam vaṇṇetī ti?*'). Ânanda answers: 'The Tathâgata... is one who has discarded all states that are *akusala* and possessed of states which are *kusala*' (*sabbâkusaladhamma pahī no kho mahārāja tathâgato kusaladhamma samannâgato ti*)[58].

According to the *Samaṇamaṇḍika Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, a *bhikkhu* who is endowed with ten factors may be described as one who is endowed with *kusala*, is of the highest *kusala* and has attained the highest aṭtainment (*dasahi dhammehi samannâgatam purisapuggalaṃ paññapemi sampannakusalaṃ, paramakusalam, uttamapattipattaṃ, samaṇaṃ ayojjhan ti*)[59] These ten factors, it may be noted here are the eight factors of the Noble Eightfold Path plus Right Emancipation (*sammāvimutti*) and Right Knowledge (*sammâ ñâṇadassana*)[60]. "These qualities", as Premasiri points out, "are the ones directly connected with the attainment of Nibbâna. The Buddha asserts that the practices that are *kusala* gradually lead a person to the highest state, meaning the attainment of Nibbâna. The *kusala* states are sometimes enumerated as the four bases of mindfulness (*cattāro-satipaṭṭhânâ*), the four modes of right endeavour (*cattâro-sammappadhānâ*), the four bases of psychic power (*cattâro-iddhipâdā*), the five faculties (*pañcindriyâni*), the five powers (*pañcabalâni*), the seven factors of enlightenment (*sattabojjaṅgâ*) and the Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko- maggo*)"[61].

Kusala, thus describes the direct path to nibbanic realization and the individual who has thus attained its realization is described in the canonical texts as one who is accomplished in what is *kusala*, and has attained the highest attainment. If the disciple who is thus engaged in training himself in the *kusala*-path to nibbâna fails to attain full emancipation in this life itself, he can elect to be reborn either in a human existence or in any celestial realm of his choice.

Canonical evidence shows that the path of *puñña* includes within it several ways of reaching the nibbanic goal. One is the path through the practice of the seven norms of conduct detailed in the *Veludvara Sutta*, the disciplining through which when supplemented by the attainment of certainty in the four places of trust and confidence, leads to stream entry and thereby becomes destined for nibbânic attainment. The second is the path through the practice of *dâna* which serves by providing an entry-point to the process of spiritual training by weaning from craving for material possessions. The third is the path through *bhâvanâ*, the attainments in which, brings rebirth in the heavenly realms followed by the attainment of nibbâna at the end of the life-span in the relevant celestial realm[62]. This shows that while the direct path to the attainment of nibbâna is the path of *kusala*, *puñña* is aimed at maturing the individual through its several ways to the same goal at a subsequent existence. *Puñña* through its diverse ways prepares the individual to enter the spiritual training embodied in the *kusala* process. Karunadasa agrees with this when he comments, "As Nathan Katz rightly observes, *puñña* could be defined as the habituating ground of *kusala*, because it prepares the necessary background for the emergence of *kusala*"[63].

It may also be noted here that the Pâli texts use different terminology to describe the commission of *puñña* and *kusala*. The commission of *puñña* is usally referred to as *puññaṃ karoti*[64], or as sometimes in the plural as *puññâni karoti*[65], while sometimes *puñña* is also said to issue out of, or generate from, an action *puññam pasavati*[66]. The commission of *kusala* is always described as *kusalaṃ bhâveti*[67]. *Karoti* is the present tense third person singular form derived from the *Sk.* root √*kr* to do, while *Pasavati* is the present causative from *pa*+√*su* to generate, beget, etc. *Bhâveti* is the present singular causative form derived from √ *bhū*), (*bhāvayati*) meaning to cultivate develop, etc. *Puñña* thus, describes the commission of activities, the disciplining through which eventually leads on to entry to the process of development envisaged by *kusala*.

Another question, which has been raised by students of Buddhism, is that of the position of *puñña* with reference to the individual who has attained final liberation. According to Tachibana, "when one attains nibbâna, one has reached the mental condition where there is no consciousness of moral, aesthetical or logical distinction. The relative ideas, therefore of good and evil, pleasure and pain, agreeableness and disagreeableness, right and wrong are all annihilated to him"[68].

As Premasiri remarks, "It is difficult to see what Tachibana means by saying that the perfected saint in Buddhism transcends all moral distinctions. If he means that the Buddha was indifferent to all moral distinctions after becoming enlightened, he is quite wrong. For it was after his enlightenment that he did confidently assert the distinctions between what is good and bad, right and wrong, and spent the rest of his life instructing others about these distinctions. The Buddha criticized some of his contemporaries for adopting a sceptical attitude towards moral questions. Tachibana's view, which has been reaffirmed by a number of other scholars on Buddhism is a consequence of an erroneous rendering of Pāli terms"[69].

When the number of arahants in the Buddha's following grew up to sixty one, the Buddha is recorded to have sent them out to the world with the instruction, "Disciples, I am freed from all snares both divine and human. You too are freed from all snares both divine and human. Disciples set out on your rounds for the good of the masses, for the happiness of the masses, for the weal and welfare of gods and men"[70] The Master gave such instructions, because having attained the highest perfection, they were best suited to work for the weal and welfare of the worldlings who are caught up in the snares of the pleasures of the senses. The Pali canonical literature makes it quite clear that the Buddha himself spent his entire career of about forty-five years in the service of humanity. Such commitment came from the Buddha's kindness and sympathy for the suffering which the worldlings were undergoing due to their ignorance.

The actions of the liberated individual are not productive of results for the doer as his actions do not come under the category of result-generating (kammic) actions. The *Indriya bhâvanâ Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikâya* describes the attitude of the liberated to sensory stimuli as one of definitive assessment, not one either of revulsion from or of attachment or clinging to these. His motivating *citta* arising out of this attitude is therefore described as *kiriya-citta* in the Abhidhamma. As Karunadasa explains, "It is very likely that this

term is coined in order to distinguish the Nibbânic consciousness from the consciousness that arises as a result of *karma* (= *vipāka-citta*); because, as mentioned above, both are *abyākata* (neutral). What must be emphasized here is that although the *kiriya-citta* is neutral from the point of view of *karma*, it is not neutral from an ethical point of view"[71].

In the *Mahâparinibbâna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* the Buddha is recorded as consoling Ânanda who was found overwhelmed with grief when he learnt of the imminent *parinibbāna* of the Master, saying that, "Since you have acquired much merit by attending on the Tathāgata, you will soon attain the extinction of defilements (..*katapuññosi tvaṃ Ânanda, padhānaṃ anuyuñja, khippaṃhohisi anâsavo*)"[72]. The idea of *katapuññatā* is not found in the canonical texts whether as an essential or as an advantageous factor for the spiritual development of man, except that it is found mentioned as one of the blessings (*pubbeca katapuññatā*) in the *Maṅgala Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipâta*[73]. It however becomes an important factor in the attainment of Buddhahood by the time of the *Jâtaka* commentary, thus legitimising the *Jâtaka* stories as narrations of the long *saṃsâric* sojourn of the Bodhisatta.

The *Nidhikaṇḍa Sutta* of the *Khuddakapâtha* compares the acquisition of *puñña* to a hidden treasure which is capable of giving whatever the owner wishes for, ranging from worldly prosperity to nibbānic attainment. The *Sutta* seems to fall in line with the interpretations of *puñña* found in other later texts like the *Vimânavatthu* and the *Petavatthu*, and is not supported by canonical evidence.

We have seen that both *puñña* and *kusala* had their origin in the religious language of the sixth century B.C. Indian Gangetic religious culture. While *kusala* seems finally to have received sanction as expressive of achievements in spiritual development, *puñña* seems to have been settled as indicating modes of action adopted as means of entry to this path of spiritual training. The beginning made with the adoption of the minimum of ritual in the performance of the *dāna* seems to have authenticated the adoption, not only of other ritual, but also of other ritual activities as avenues of *puñña* generation which blossomed into its fullness in the post-canonical Buddhism, of course due to a multiplicity of contributory factors as we shall see.

The Development of Puñña in the Post-canonical literature .The concept of *Puñña* shows a very luxuriant growth in the post-canonical literature. The ideas of *puñña* accumulation (*upaciti*), multiple fruition and transferences of *puñña* are important aspects of this growth. An examination of the Pāli canonical texts shows that there are two instances where reference is found to the concept of accumulation or heaping up in connection with *puñña* in the canonical scriptures. Both instances are found in the *Sutta Nipāta*. One is in the *Pabbajjā Sutta* where Māra requests the Bodhisatta to give up his austerities and engage in activities through which an abundance of *puñña* would accumulate to him (*Pahūtaṃcīyate puññaṃ*)[74]. The other is in the *Nālaka Sutta* where Nālaka's life of restraint awaiting news of the Bodhisatta's enlightenment is described. It is said that Nālaka spent his days with his faculties disciplined and accumulating *puñña* (*So Nālako upacita puñña sañcayo*)[75]. Apart from these two instances, the concept of accumulation of *puñña*, itself has not been taken up for discussion in the canonical texts, and is not directly referred to either. The idea has found articulation in the commentarial literature particularly through authenticating the *Jātaka* stories, which were adopted as narratives of annecdotes in the long *saṃsāric* struggle of the Bodhisatta to attain Buddhahood. The final attainment of Buddhahood itself is depicted as made possible by the ripening of his innumerable acts of *puñña* accumulated during his long *saṃsāric* sojourn thereto. According to the *Puññābhisanda Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, *puñña* which accrues from the utilization of the four essential requisites of a bhikkbu accompanied by constant reflection, is immeasurable like the water in the great ocean[76]. Even in this context *puñña* is not shown as accumulating.

According to the *Aputtaka Sutta* (2) of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*[77], it is said that it was the single act of giving alms to Paccekabuddha Tagarasikhi when he came on his alms round, for which a person was rewarded with seven heavenly rebirths, plus seven human existences as a rich banker of Sâvatthi. This is indicative of the type of discourses on *puñña*, which became the spring-board to the concept of multiple fruition of a single act of *puñña*.

In the *Cūlakammavibhanga Sutta*[78] of the *Majjhima Nikaya*, it is said that one who leads a life given to destruction of life (*pānātipātā*) will, when reborn as a human being, have a short life-span. Similarly, one who abstains from destroying life and cultivates kindness, love and friendliness towards all living beings will, when reborn as a human being, have a long life-span. While the former is described as *appāyuka samvattanikā paṭipadā* (course of action leading to short life), the latter is described as *dīghāyuka samvattanikā paṭipadā* (course of action leading to long life). One who is given to inflicting injury and harassment will, when reborn be sickly and one abstains from such action be healthy when reborn. While the former course of action is described as *bavhābādha samvattanikā paṭipadā*, the latter is described as *appābādha samvattanikā paṭipadā* (the course of action leading to health). Immoral qualities such as anger, envy, absence of liberality and their opposite moral qualities are given similar explanation. The explanation of the conditions of life, which awaits those who commit the eight immoral actions[79] in an *Aṅguttara Sutta* follows the same pattern.

The theoretical foundation which thus exists in the canonical texts for the correspondence theory of *puñña* (and *pāpa*) according to which there is correspondence or correlation between an action and its result, has been fully developed in the post-canonical writings of the *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu*. These, apply the correspondence theory to the destinies of *deva* and *peta* with some complexity. W. Stede, in *Uber das Peta Vatthu*, maintains that, according to the *Petavatthu*, there are two dimensions to the karmic correspondence: an underlying principle involving the polarity of good and evil, and a particular kind of individual good or bad deed. In the case of the *peta* destiny, for instance, one's evil disposition determines the consequent birth as a *peta*, while the deeds born from that disposition determines the particular character of the requital. He is right to distinguish disposition from evil deeds and to see that the *karma* theory applies to both, but there is nevertheless a continuum, in the sense of continuity of the individual with its species. Very evil acts lead to appropriate suffering in a hell, good acts create a *vimāna* paradise, and a mixture of the two leads to rebirth as a *peta* with an appropriate degree of suffering. In each case the details of the individual's life in the destiny correspond to the details of his former actions"[80].

The Pāli term for Karmic- correspondence is *kamma- sarikkhatā* which is explained by the Pāli-English Ditionary as, "likeness between deed and result" quoting the *Gopālakaputtavatthu* of the commentary on the *Dhammapada* by way of illustration. According to this, the cattle - butcher had his own tongue fallen on to his plate the moment he put a piece of the tongue of the bull which he had cut with a knife and baked, as he did not want to miss meat in his meal[81]. The *Lovedasangarāwa*, a Sinhala poetical work by Weedagama Maitreya Thera, belonging to the 15th century A.C. has a poem which illustrates this concept quite eloquently. According to this, a woman who killed a she-goat by cutting its head had her own head cut as many times as the number of hairs on the she-goat's body, subsequent to her suffering in the purgatory[82].

According to the *Vimānavatthu* stories, it is gifts made either to individual *bhikkhūs* or to the Order, which brought the *vimāna* rewards. Here, we find an important addition to the list of items, which bring the *vimāna* rewards. It is the offering of flowers, incense, etc. to the *stūpas*[83]. It may be noted here that the ritual of *pūjā* as well as the use of flowers, incense, etc., for the ritual are post-canonical in their origin[84]. The reward of a *vimāna* which is the result of the merit (*puñña*) generated from an act of offering made either to a member of the *bhikkhusamgha* or to a *stūpa* is shown as a lasting gain, which could thus be emulated. While not even a hint is given that such rewards are limited in their duration however lengthy such duration would be, nothing at all is also mentioned of the nature of the next existence that is to be expected when the power of the *puñña* is exhausted. This stands in direct contrast to the thrust of the *Nikāya* discourses where it is said that it is after hearing the teaching of a *Tathāgata*, that even those long-living and blissful *devas*, long established in lofty *vimānas*, come to realize the impermanent and transitory nature of their existences[85].

While acts of *puñña* generate good and pleasant results, acts of *pāpa* generate extremely painful and unpleasant results. Therefore, a mixture of both good and bad actions generate a mixture of good and bad results as illustrated by the stories narrated in the *vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu*. "The condition of the departed corresponds to both his good and bad acts. For example, a monk who had controlled his body but not his mouth is reborn as a *peta* with a radiant body

but with a boar's mouth (*Pv*.3). A poor tailor did not give to those who asked, but he did point out the way to a generous man's house, so he is reborn as a miserable *peta* but with a honey covering on the hand he used for the pointing (*Pv*.23-28). Another man who hunted deer in the day but refrained from killing at night becomes a *peta* who suffers all day but is happy at night (*Pv* 42-43)"[86].

As every act of *pāpa* entails its own mode of punishment, "concerning the nature of the punishment as a corresponding requital, Stede identifies three operative principles: it operates without exception among persons; it operates continually, day by day; it counterbalances any rewards the *peta* may be enjoying for his *puñña* acts. He further notes that the punishment may be of two types. In the type characteristic of the *petas* in the *Petavatthu*, the punishment adheres to the *peta* as an evil condition. It occurs overall, not being bound to any one place. The other type, characteristic of hell beings, is imposed by an executor. It requires certain instruments of torture and is often administered to groups"[87].

The idea of a single act of *puñña* or *pāpa* producing multiple fruits, as we noted earlier, is another idea, which has been taken up in the *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu*. "Just as a seed yields manifold fruit, so the sowing of a *puñña* or *apuñña* deed in a good merit-field yields not only corresponding but also multiple fruit. For the *apuñña* act of striking a Buddha, for example, a man created for himself a *peta* destiny in which he was struck by 60,000 hammers, day after day. For hindering his wife and daughter's acts of giving flowers to a shrine, a man became a *peta* who was repeatedly cut up by swordsmen (*Pv* 3,10)"[88].

The factors which have a bearing on the nature of the fruition of *puñña* acts according to these texts, are, the spiritual quality of the recipient of a gift, the attitude of the donor at the time of the commission of the act of giving or offering, the importance of the verbal pronouncement or the mental resolve or wish at the time of commission, and the utility of the article gifted in the case of a gift. Of these, "The verbal pronouncement can work against the impious as well as for the pious. The verbal rite is considered to be so binding and efficacious that the real evil-doer, whether it be the accused or the accuser, suffers the conditions of the curse. For instance, one man (*Pv* 28-29) who put a curse on a donor, that what he gave to monks might become blood to him in the next world, has to suffer that very curse himself, for he is reborn as a thirsty *peta* for whom the Ganges changes to blood when he approaches to drink..."[89].

The asserveration of truth or the Rite of Truth (*Saccakiriyā*) differs from a verbal pronouncement or a wish and belongs to a motif found in all Indian religious literatures. "In the Rite of Truth or Act of Truth, on the other hand, the pronouncement is not a curse but an imperative command which is to be enacted by the power of the speaker's truth. A *paradigmatic* Rite of Truth is the description in the commentary on *Vimānavatthu* No.22 of how a faithful, pregnant woman, who had to undertake the Rite of Truth under suspicion of adultery, was able to command the Ganges floods to turn back. Such Rites of Truth taken in reference to a *puñña*-making situation constitute a prominent subject in both the *Petavatthu* and the *Jātakas*"[90].

Merit-sharing or merit-transfer can be described as the dominant theme in the *Petavatthu* for it is through the exercise of this facility that the suffering *petas* are brought to relief. Amore has argued that it is the *Petavatthu* which introduces this new concept, which is not true as we shall shortly see. He is right when he says that the very second verse of the *Petavatthu* introduces this concept[91] pointing thereby perhaps to the importance attached to the idea in its text.

The idea that merit accrued from good action is transferable, had been known to other Indian religions, the Buddhists only adopted it. As Amore writes, "The Buddhists did not invent the concept of transfer but only adopted a theme. M. Hara, drawing upon Gonda's suggestion that certain abstract concepts were thought to have inherent power-substance, has recently documented the motif of transfer in the *Mahābhārata*. *Tejas* (vital power) could be transferred from one god to another, taken away from a god or man, and lost due to suffering a curse. *Tapas*, meaning the power generated by austerities, could make a curse effective, be transferred to others, and be lost by anger. The power of fulfilling *dharma* also could be transferred, and one-sixth of his subjects' *punya* could be transferred to the King. Hara refers to all these powers collectively as 'merit'.

"The Buddhist adaptation of the transfer of power motif included making *puñña* the main power which is transferable, getting away from the materialistic notion that talked of a transfer of a certain portion of merit, tying merit closely to support of the *Bhikkhus*, eliminating the role of the gods, and especially in the *Petavatthu* presenting merit transfer as an act of generosity toward suffering *petas*"[92].

The basic idea which thus became the basis for the concept of merit transfer, was that merit accrued of gifts given here could be transferred to the departed relatives. The idea seems traceable to an *Aṅguttara Sutta*[93] where Vessavaṇa, the king of the *Yakkhas* requests *Velukaṇṭakī Nandamātā* to offer break-fast on his behalf to the two chief disciples of the Buddha, as they would be coming to the village *Velukaṇṭaka* the following morning, without having their break-fast. Vessavaṇa's request to Nandamātā is worded as follows, "...*tañca bhikkhusaṃghaṃ parivisitvā mamaṃ dakkhinaṃ ādiseyyāsi*". This becomes important to us as it is the same phraseology which is found used throughout the *Petavatthu* to describe the action which later on came to be described as merit-transfer.

Nandamātā is requested in the above story to offer breakfast to the *bhikkhus* and dedicate the *dakkhinā* to Vessavaṇa (*dakkhiṇaṃ ādiseyyāsi*)[94], which she carries out by specific request made to the *bhikkhus* as, "*Yadidaṃ bhante dāne puññaṃ hitaṃ Vessavaṇassa mahārājassa Sukhāya hotū ti*" (May the merit accrued from this offering be for the happiness of the Great King Vessavaṇa). It is important to note here that it is the expression (verbal) of the wish or intention by which it is dedicated that takes the *puñña* of the gift to Vessavaṇa[95]. It is also how Nandamātā transferred the *puñña* accrued from her recital of the *Pārāyana* verses the previous day, i.e. by verbal pronouncement. This is well illustrated by the stories narrated in the *Petavatthu* where it is said that when such offerings were so dedicated, they immediately[96] benefited the *peta* for whose benefit they were offered and were so dedicated.

According to the *Petavatthu*, a donation cannot be received direct by the departed[97]. The donation has to be made, preferably to a disciple of the Buddha[98]. The phrasing used throughout the *Petavatthu* to describe the process is similar to the phrasing in the *Nandamātā Sutta* cited above. The *petī* in the *Khallāṭiyapetavatthu* requests that the donation of clothing be given to a lay disciple of the Buddha on her behalf and the gift dedicated to her. Complying action brings her the clothing immediately[99]. Thus, according to the stories narrated in the *Petavatthu*, what is received by the departed is, what is offered on their behalf: clothing offered brings clothing[100], food offered brings food[101], housing offered brings housing[102], and so on.

According to the *Nandamātā Sutta* and also according to the *Petavatthu* stories, the transference of merit is thus effected through dedication of the relevant gift by expression of intention of such dedication. Transference of merit has been taken up in the *Kathā vatthu* as a subject of discussion. "In the *Kathāvatthu*, the orthodox group, namely the Theravādins, reject the idea of the possibility of transferring merit to the departed souls. The commentary records the commentator's elucidation on this point. It says that the Rājagiriyas and the Siddhatthikas held the view that merit could be transferred to the *petas* and that the *petas* sustained themselves on such merit. As evidence for their thesis they quote a passage from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (111.43) which runs, 'Bhikkhus, there are these five things which parents, if wishing for a child to be born to them, contemplate. Which five? Being nourished by us he will nourish us; he will perform all duties towards us, he will carry to posterity the family traditions, he will look after the wealth of the family and when we are dead he will perform the necessary rites for the *petas*'. But, the Theravādins object to this view saying that this idea commits one to the view that one person is the agent for another; that the happiness or sorrow we feel is wrought by others; that one acts, while another experiences the consequences (*Points of Controversy*, pp.203-5)[103]"

Therefore, it is not possible that the idea that *puñña* accrued to one could be transferred to, or shared with, another could have been accepted before the time of the *Kathāvatthu*[104]. It is also not possible, to expect the incorporation of a ritual act to effect the transference of merit either. This seems to explain why the Pāli textual traditions are not aware of *anumodanā* as a ritual for the transference of merit.

The compound form *anumodanā* is derived from *anu*+√ *mud* to delight in, and gives the meanings of, rejoice in, be pleased with, be appreciative of, etc. It has been used in the *Nikāya* texts to describe the

concluding religious activity of the ritual *dāna* and usually consisted of a short discourse on the *dhamma*. The *Brahmāyu Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* lays down the procedure that should be followed in giving the *anumodanā* sermon and also lays down what should not be included in the text of the sermon so given[105]. This confirms that *anumodanā* had been accepted as an integral component of the ritual *dāna* by the time of this *sutta*. Further, according to the Cullavagga, the protests by people when certain *bhikkhus* failed to perform *anumodanā* at the end of a *dāna*, was the occasion for the promulgation of the rule that *anumodanā* must be performed at the end of a *dāna*, lest they be guilty of an offence under the *Vinaya* rules[106].

What is most important and relevant to the present discussion is that neither in the instances of its use in the canonical texts, nor in the instances of its use in the commentarial literature like the *Vimāna-vatthu* and the *Petavatthu*, is *anumodanā* connected with any activity associating it with transference of merit[107]. This would mean that the combination of the concept of merit-transfer with *anumodanā* is posterior to the time of these texts. Also, as the general acceptance of merit-transfer could not be placed before the time of the *Kathāvatthu*, it seems highly probable that it would have been found as an answer to finding sustenance for the local deities who had lost their individual cults due to Buddhism. Thus, they could now be fed on the *puñña* accrued from offerings made to the many shrines which were made available for the purpose. In any case, the universalisation of merit transfer or the idea that merit can be shared with any person or party of the doer's choice, is of more recent adoption than the period of the Pāli texts.

Anumodanā in its new role thus included not only merit transfer but also acceptance of merit given by others. Not only has *anumodanā* being retained as the concluding religious rite of the ritual *dāna* still, it has been put into wider use by adopting it as the concluding activity of all ritual offerings. As Buddhaghosa clarifies, the donation of merit does not decrease one's merit, on the other hand, it increases, " The model he uses to illustrate this paradox is that a candle lighting another burns brighter"[108].

The contribution of the post-canonical works consisting of the *Jātaka, Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka* and the *Avadāna* to the concept of *puñña* seems limited to efforts made through their innumerable narratives to the popularisation of *puñña*-making as a rewarding exercise. The authors of the Abhidhamma texts, "usually use the term *kusala* rather than *puñña* for 'merit'"[109] "The first part of the first book of the *AbhidhammaPiṭaka*, the *Dhammasaṅganī*, is a detailed discussion of *kusala*, *akusala* and indeterminate classes of consciousness"[110] The *Yamaka* and the *Paṭṭhāna* too contain detailed discussions on *kusala* and *akusala*. *Puggalapaññatti* which according to its title is an analysis of human types is a discussion on types of *bhikkhus*. Although, "most of the corollaries of the *puñña* concept are taught in this work… the *puñña* concept itself is seldom mentioned directly, presumably because the work is directed at monks and not laymen"[111].

In the commentary on the *Dhammasaṅganī*, Buddhaghosa introduces the *dasa puññakiriyavatthūni* (the ten occasions for doing merit). These ten according to the text are as follows: (i) *dāna* (liberality), (ii) *sīla* (morality), (iii) *bhāvanā* (meditation), (iv) *apaciti* (respect for elders), (v) *veyyāvacca* (service to superiors), (vi) *pattānuppadāna* (merit donation), (vii) *abbhanumodanā* (thanks-giving for merit), (viii) *desanā* (instruction in the *dhamma*),(ix) *savana*(listening) and.(x) *diṭṭhijjukamma* (rectification of view). Buddhaghosa then explains these ten in detail, contending that each has three dimensions: *before*, for example, intending to keep the vows; *during*, for example, keeping the vows; and *after*, for example, joyfully recalling having kept the vows.

Buddhaghosa reconciles this later list of ten means of doing *puñña* with the *suttas* list, which consisted of only the first three of these ten, by maintaining that the later seven are contained in the original three as follows. *Sīla* includes respect and service; *dāna* includes giving of merit and thanksgiving; and *bhāvanā* includes instruction, listening, and the rectification of views[112].

The *Vibhaṅga* and the *Kathāvatthu* do not add anything new in their discussions on *puñña*. The *Kathāvatthu* which is the third book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* explains the Theravāda position on several matters relevant to the concept of *puñña*. It is argued that *kamma* is a mental rather than a physical

phenomenon. Similarly, *puñña* involved a mental state. Another point which is explained is that the arahant does not accumulate (*upacayo/puñña*). "Those who opposed this argued that the arahan could be said to accumulate *puñña* because he did sometimes give gifts or venerate Buddha shrines. The Theravādins countered that even though the arahan did give gifts, etc., he was not accumulating *puñña* because he was beyond both merit and demerit. He engaged in the *puñña* activities, but the mental state necessary for *puñña*-making was absent[113]".

The *Kathāvatthu* records an interesting controversy over the statement, *paribhogamayaṃ puññaṃ saṃvaḍḍhatī ti* (*Kv*.7, 5). The Theravādins dismissed the claim that *puñña* accrued of a gift increases with its use, because such acceptance would also result in the position that *puñña* can operate even without the conscious participation of the doer. The statement seems to have caused confusion among the translators of the texts as well[114].

The *Milindapañha* is another post-canonical work which, "uses both the *puñña, apuñña* and *kusala* and *akusala* conceptions... The inter-changeability of the two sets of terms may be seen by comparing the two discussions of the superiority of merit over demerit. The passage (83-4) in the older section uses *puñña* and *apuñña*, while the other (290-7) uses *kusala* and *akusala*"[115]. Summing up his analysis, Amore observes, "The *Milinda-pañha*, then, stresses that the belief in the fruition of certain acts is central to Buddhism, argues that merit is inherently stronger than demerit, and closely associates *puñña* and *kusala*"[116].

Puñña has been the focal point in the popular and the state Buddhism of ancient Sri Lanka. The Mahindian religious reforms which seems to have taken Sri Lanka almost by storm, operated at two levels from its earliest historical beginnings according to the accounts recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa*; one at the level of the state and its subjects, and the other at the level of the Order of *bhikkhus*. According to the evidence recorded in the commentarial literature, despite the rapid increase in the numbers of those who took to the higher life, the *saṃgha*, in the words of Adikaram, "on the whole preserved a high degree of purity"[117] with large numbers of those who attained arahanthood. Such achievements were made possible by the highly organized and disciplined life in the monasteries. Not only were the monastic community committed to the preservation of the original teachings of the Buddha as contained in the Pāli texts, they were, thus, committed to the practice of the teaching, with all earnestness. The monarchs assisted them by providing for their sustenance and accommodation. At the level of the State as well as at the level of its subjects, the Buddhism that functioned seems to have been geared almost totally to *puñña*-generating activities.

This necessitated the institution of a system of ritual-worship. The foundation for this seems to have been laid with the bringing to the Island of a sapling of the Bodhi-tree at Buddha-Gayā, which was planted at Anuradhapura, in the Royal park, Mahāmeghavana, which was gifted to the *Saṃgha* by Devānampiyatissa. The erection of stupas which enshrined the relics of the Buddha, made another significant contribution to the expansion of ritual-worship.

Dumont, in his study of kingship in ancient India, identifies two views of kingship. One views kingship as a divine institution and therefore, endowed with magical power. The other, describes kingship as having originated from a contract between the future subjects and the future king according to which the subjects contract with the king to maintain order and justice in exchange for a tax of one sixth of the crops[118].

These two views of kingship are combined in the *Mahāvaṃsa's* conception of Buddhist kingship. The *Mahāvaṃsa's* notion of the king as the layman giver who represents the whole Island introduces into Buddhism some of the magico-religious aspects of kingship. It draws heavily on the current of Indian thought which views kingship as a divine institution"[119]. The king in his position as the head of the state was also the protector of the *sāsana*, which duty he was expected to fulfil under the advice of the *Bhikkbusaṃgha*.

As Amore observes, "Two new themes did emerge, however, in the post canonical *Mahāvaṃsa*. The first one discussed was a merit philosophy of history which understood Sinhalese history to have been subtly shaped by the power of merit. Merit's power was thought of as operating in history through the mediation of deities and outstanding human leaders. Working in this way, merit had prepared the Island for the advent of

Buddhism and had restored Buddhism each time the rule of the Tamils or human negligence threatened it.

The other new theme involved the use of merit theory in the formulation of a concept of Buddhist kingship. The pattern of Buddhist kingship in Ceylon was set by Devānampiya Tissa, under the guidance of Mahinda. Tissa exemplified the ideal king in that he actively promoted Buddhiam and its teachings with all the power of his royal office, and he eagerly engaged in meritorious works, thus acting as the chief layman on the Island"[120]. The *Mahāvaṃsa* recounts with enthusiasm the *puñña*-activities of the kings such as the construction of monasteries, provision of facilities for the Order, the construction of stūpas, etc. "The practice of doing merit as repentance was characteristic especially of those kings who had formerly persecuted monks"[121].

It has been argued in the *Mahāvaṃsa* that the great service king Duṭṭhagāmini did to the *sāsana* outweighs whatever demerit he has acquired in his war against the Tamils, and is therefore said to have been reborn in the Tusita heaven from where he will be reborn in the human world and become the first disciple of Buddha Metteyya[122]. *Mahāvaṃsa's* new theory of *puñña* that it outweighs *apuñña*, considered however expedient for supporting the Buddhist kingship in Sri Lanka, it must be pointed out here, goes right against the basic teachings on *Kamma* as explained in the canonical texts. An idea of the great importance which was thus given to the *puñña*-making activities of the State can also be had from the rapid growth of centres of ritual worship as well as the growth of a fully developed system of ritual for this purpose. Both the new ritual as well as the new centres of worship were made acceptable and also ancient by new literature which were written for the purpose, reminding us of the Indian era of religio-ritualistic syncretism when Brahmins had to write texts like the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* to welcome new forms of ritual worship[123].

Thus, not only was there a rich growth of ritual which were meant for the generation of *puñña*, but parallel with this, a new philosophy of *puñña* according to which it was transformed into a transferable acquisition, which could be used for the benefit of the giver and the recipient. *Puṇya* in the Mahāyāna tradition points to a parallel development. "There is something even more precious than a bodhisattva's wealth, limbs, wives and children, and that is his Merit (*puṇya*). He should give it for the good of all beings. The technical term for this gift is *pariṇāmanā* ('bending round or towards, transfer, dedication). The idea of *puṇya* is one of the central concepts of Buddhism. Every act, which is inspired by charity and morality (*sīla*), produces some *puṇya*, which leads to welfare in this life and also secures happy rebirths. *Puṇya* is generally regarded as the power of good deeds that were done in previous existences. It is also called *kuśala*, and it is collectively termed *puṇya-skandha* (mass of Merit) and *kuśala-mūlāni* (roots of weal). A virtuous person 'accumulates' Merit (*kuśala-sañcaya*), as thrifty man deposits money in the bank. No simile appears to be more suitable than that of a bank-account. *Puṇya* is supposed to result automatically and inevitably from a righteous action. It is an invisible cosmic force that confers happiness on the individual, to whom it belongs. The Buddhists have developed a precise quantitative view of *puṇya*, which seems to convert their much-vaunted ethics into a sordid system of commercial arithmetic. Every good deed produces a certain fixed amount of *puṇya* and no more. A unit of *puṇya* confers a certain kind of happiness on earth or in a heaven only for a certain period of time, after which it is exhausted. This quantitative notion of *puṇya* has culminated in the doctrine of *pariṇāmanā* (transfer of merit).... *Puṇya* is thus a wonderful Power, and is exalted and glorified in Mahāyāna literature to such an extent that it is finally regarded almost as the equivalent of Wisdom (*prajñā*) and *bodhi* "[124].

The present survey of the position of *puñña* in the Pāli canonical texts and its development in the post-canonical literature has shown that, when viewed from its brahmanic beginnings to designate the receipts from the sacrifice, it has grown to envelope the totality of activities in the religious life of the follower of the Buddha's teaching who has not yet attained arahanthood. This has been accomplished in two ways. One, through the principles of conduct aimed at maturing the individual for entry to the path of spiritual training. And the other, through ritual activities aimed at serving as entry points to this path. There has been a tremendous growth in the post-canonical eras both in the forms of these ritual activities as well as in their number. Each of these ritual activities centred round objects which were provided with back-dated

authenticity, came to own individual forms of ritual for their maintenance. The performance of the *puñña* generating activities contributed immensely to social cohesion which was well understood by the monarchs as evidenced by their intense involvement in these activities and the provision of centres of such ritual. Certain deities drawn from the Indian mythological mainstream and 'treated' to fit in with the canonical *devas* who were similarly treated, as well as those others who owned pre-Buddhist cults of their own, now being made to subsist on the *puñña* donated to them at the conclusion of all ritual offerings, became the guardians of the religion as well as of the people by way of gratitude for the *puñña* thus transferred.

M. M. J. Marasinghe

References

1. s.v. *PTS.* Pāli-English Dictionary
2. s.v. Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Sir Monier Williams
3. R.C. Amore quoting, Mayrhofer's '*AConcise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, 1963,11.303 in, "Concept and Practice of Doing Merit in Early Theravāda Buddhism, 1970.4.
4. R.C. Amore, op.cit.9, quoting Jan Gonda, Loka: World and Heaven in the Veda, 1966, 122.
5. M.M.J. Marasinghe, *Gods in Early Buddhism*, 1974. 65; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 1.5.
6. R.C.Amore, *op.cit.*
7. M. M. J. Marasinghe , *Gods in Early Buddhism*, 1974, Chap.1
8. I.C. Sharma, *Ethical Philosophies of India*, 1965,129
9. I.C Sharma , *op. cit.* 131f.5
10. R.C. Amore, *op. cit.* 7f.
11. R.C. Amore, *op. cit.* 32f.
12. *M.* 11.63
13. *M.*11.189
14. *M* 1.287
15. *S.*V.353
16. S.V.354
17. *D.*1.4; *M.*1.287; *M.*1.187; etc.
18. A. IV. 241; M. M. J. Marasinghe, *Gods in Early Buddhism*, 1974.267.
19. "*Ākaṅkheyya ce gahapatayo dhammacārī ... aho vatāhaṃ kāyassabhedā : paraṃ maranā khattiyamahāsālānaṃsahabyataṃ uppajjeyya...*", *M.* 1.289
20. *Ārāmaropā vanaropā ye janā setukārakā-papañca udapānañca ye dadanti upassayaṃdivā ca rattoca sadā puññampavaḍḍhati- dhammaṭṭhā sīlasampannā te jana saggagamino. S.*1.3;P.D. Premasiri," *Interpretation of two Principal Ethical Terms in Early Buddhism*", Journal of the Humanities , Vol. 2,1, June1976,68.
21. "*Puññāni paralokasmiṃpatiṭṭhā honti pāninaṃ*", S.1.18; Premasiri, *op. cit.*
22. *Antakenādhipannassa jahato mānusaṃbhavaṃ kiṃhi tassa sakaṃhoti kiñca ādāya gacchati ubho puññamca papañca yaṃ macco kurute idha taṃhi tassa sakaṃhoti tañca adāya gacchati*", *S.* 1.72; Premasiri, *op. cit.*
23. *Yathā kammaṃ gamissanti puññapāpaphalūpagā Nirayaṃ pāpakammantā puññakammañca suggatiṃ* S.1.97; Premasiri, *op. cit.*
24. "*Yaṃme atthi kataṃ puññaṃ arahantesu tādisu, taṃme sabbaṅgakalyāni tayā saddhiṃ vipaccataṃ*, *D.* 11.266; Premasiri, *op. cit.*
25. "*Idha nandati pecca nandati katapuñño ubhayattha nandati puññaṃme katanti nandati bhiyyo nandati suggatiṃgato*", *Dhp.* Verse, 18; Premasiri, *op. cit.*
26. I.C. Sharma , *Ethical Philosophies of India*, 1965,130.
27. *A.* 11.222.
28. *M.* 1.390: Marasinghe, *GEB.* 1974,47
29. *M.* 111 .203f
30. *M.* 111.214; *Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*, Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1995, 1064
31. *D.* 111.182
32. *D.* 111.82
33. A.L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, 1951, 245; Marasinghe, *GEB.* 263. (ye *me dhammā akusalā. kaṇhā- kaṇha-vipākā viññū garahitā*... D. 111:82)
34. *A.*1.89
35. *A.*11.2-4
36. *S.*1.114
37. *A.* IV. 241
38. *A.* IV. 241
39. *A* . 11.126: Marasinghe, Gods *in Early Buddhism*, 262; see also diagram facing page, 62.
40. *Bhagavato pana sāvako tattha yāvatāyukaṃ ṭhatvā yāvatakaṃ tesaṃ devānaṃ āyuppamā naṃ taṃ sabbaṃ khepetvā tasmiṃyeva bhave parinibbāyati, A* 11.129

41. *S.*V. 356.
42. *Sn.* 432.
43. P.D.Premasiri, "Interpretation of two Principal Ethical Terms in Early Buddhism", 69.
44. Y. Karunadasa, "The Moral Life: Both as a means and an End", *SOAS* Letures, 1983, published in *The Middle Way*, 25.
45. *S.* 1.55.
46. *Sn.* 428.
47. Y. Karunadasa, *op. cit.* 25.
48. s.v. *PTS.* Dictionary.
49. R. C. Amore, *op. cit.* 4.
50. *Atthasālinī* passage runs as: "*Kucchite Pā padhamme salayanti calayanti kampenti viddhamsentī ti kusalā. Kucchitena vā ākārena sayantī ti kusā. Te akusalasankhāte kuse lunanti chindantī ti kusalā. Kucchitānaṃ vā sānato tanukaraṇato osānakaraṇato ñāṇam kusam nā ma. Tena kusena lātabbāti kusalā. Gahetabba, pavattetabbāti attho...*" *Atthasālinī*. 39.
51. P.D. Premasiri, *Journal of the Humanities*, Vol.2, No. 1. June 1976. 63f.
52. P.D.Premasiri quoting P. Tedesco, (Sanskrit Kuśala- 'Skilful, Welfare" JAOS, Vol. 74,134 in *op. cit.*65.
53. P.D. Premasiri, *Journal of the Humanities*, 65f.
54. *M.* 1.47.
55. "*Ākankheyya ce gahapatayo dhammacārī samacārī: ahovatāhaṃ āsavānaṃ khayā anā savaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭheva dhamme sayaṃabhiññā saccikatvā upasampajja vihareyyan tiṭhānamkho pana etaṃvijjati yaṃso āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññavimuttiṃ diṭṭhevadhamme...*" *M.* 1.289.
56. "*Yato kho avuso ariyasāvako evaṃ akusalam pajanati evaṃ akusalamulaṃ pajānāti, so sabbaso rāgānusayaṃ pahāya paṭighānusayaṃ paṭivinodetvā asmīti diṭṭhimānānusayaṃ samū hanitvā avijjampahāya vijjamuppādetvā diṭṭheva dhamme dukkhass'antakaro hoti*", *M.*1.47; *Middle Lenghth Discourses of the Buddha*, Bodhi, 133.
57. It may be noted here that Ānanda was one of the principal or prominent disciples of the Buddha. He personally attended on the Buddha. Sāriputta and Moggallāna were the two chief disciples.
58. *M.* 11.116; Premasiri, *Journal of humanities*, 71.
59. *M.* 11.25.
60. Y. Karunadasa, *op. cit.* 26.
61. Premasiri, *Ethics*, in the Encyclopeadia of Buddhism. 146; *D.*111. 102.
62. *A.* 11.129.
63. Y. Karunadasa, *op. cit.* 26: Nathan Katz, *Buddhist Images of Human Perfection*, Delhi, 1982.58.
64. *M.* 11.57; *M.*11.199; *S.*IV.331; *A.*V.177; etc.
65. *D.* 1.137;*S.*IV.331; *A.*V.177; etc.
66. *S.* 1.182; *S.*1.213; *A.*1.89; *A.*11.3; *A.*111.244; *A.*V.249, 289;etc.
67. *A.* IV. 58; *A.*IV.109; etc.
68. Y. Karunadasa, *op. cit.* 25, quoting Tachibana, *Ethics of Buddhism*, 1943. 37f.
69. P.D. Premasiri, s.v. "Ethics", Encyclopeadia of Buddhism, 145, referring to A. W. P. Guruge, *Some Problems in Buddhism Ethics*", and Gunapala Dharmasiri's, *A Buddhist Critique of the Christian Concept of God*, 1974. 106.
70. "*Mutt'āhaṃbhikkhave sabbapāsehi ye dibbā ye ca mānusā. Tumhepi bhikkhave muttā sabbapā sehi ye dibbā ye ca mānusā. Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokā nukampāya atthāya hitāya devamanussānam ...Mahāvagga.* 20f..
71. Y. Karunadasa, *op. cit.* 27f.
72. *D.* 11.114.
73. *Sn.* 260
74. *Sn.* 428, "*Carato ca te brahmacariyamaggihuttaṃ ca jūhato pahūtamcīyate puññamkimpadhānena kāhasī*".
75. *Sn.* 697; *tenānusiṭṭho hitamanasena tādinā - anā gate paramavisuddha dassinā. So Nālako upacita puñña sañcayo- jinaṃ patikkhaṃ parivasi rakkhitindriyo*
76. *A.* 111.54
77. *S.* 1.91
78. *M.* 111. 203f.
79. *A.* IV. 247; The eight immoral actions are, (i) *Pā nātipātā*, (ii) *Adinnādānā* (iii) *Kamesumicchācā rā*, (iv) *Musāvādā* (v) *Pisuṇāvācā*, (iv) *Pharusā vācā* (vii) *Samphappalāpā* and (viii) *Surā merayapānaṃ*
80. R.C. Amore, *The Concept and Practice of Doing Merit in Early Theravada Buddhism*, 63.
81. s.v. *PTS.* Dictonary; *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, 111.333f.
82. Verse, 95, *Lowedasangarāwa*:
pera aṅganak ek eḷu deneka isa sindā
siyalanga vālāndi ginidāl niraya duk vindā
āya āṅga loma gaṇane is kāpum ladā
mema raṅga veyakātat akusale ledā

83. *Vimānavatthu*, 678: *Uposathe ca' ham gantvā mālāgandhavilepanaṃ Thūpasmim abiropesiṃ pasannā sehi panihi*; Also, *ibid*. 671,966;etc.
84. s.v. *Pūjā*, Encyclopeadia of Buddhism
85. " *Ye hi te bhikkhave deva dighāyuka vaṇṇavanto sukhabahulā uccesu vimānesu ciraṭṭhitikā te pi kho tathagatassa dhammadesanam sutvā yebhuyyena bhayam samvegam santāsam ā pajjanti* ... *S*. 111. 85; Also, *S*.V. 410; *A*.V. 60; Marasinghe, *Gods in Early Budhism*. 203.
86. R.C.Amore, *op. cit.*, 66
87. R.C. Amore, *op. cit.*,67
88. *Ibid*.68
89. Amore, *op. cit*. 74
90. *Ibid*. 75
91. Amore, 80: *Petavatthu* verse 3: *Etaṃ bījaṃ kasī khettampetānam dāyakassaca petā paribhuñjanti dātā puññena vaḍḍhati* '
92. Amore, *op. cit*. 80f.
93. *A*. IV. 63f.
94. *Dakkhiṇā*: derived from the Skt. *Daksiṇā*, it is an offering to members of the *bhikkhusaṃgha*., See Amore, *op. cit.*, 34f; it came to be institutionalized as the *Saṃghagata dakkhiṇā* later on.
95. Cf. *Petavatthu*, Verse. 121: " *Dehi puttaka me dā naṃ datvāna uddissāhi me*"
96. "*Ayañca kho dakkhiṇā dinnā saṃ ghamhi suppatiṭṭhitā dīgharattaṃ hitāyassa ṭhanaso upakappati*; *Pv* verses, 13, 24; etc.
97. "*Hatthena hatthe te dinnaṃte dinnaṃna mayhaṃ upakappati, Esetthupasako saddho sammā sambuddha sāvako Etaṃacchādayitvāna mama dakkhiṇamādisa*........, *Pv*. Verses, 61-2;174;etc.
98. The recipient must always be one who is qualified to receive such a donation or offering, for generation of best results; e.g. *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga Sutta, M*. 111. 253f.
99. *Petavatthu*, verses, 62-65
100. *Petavatthu*, verses, 63,428, 578; etc.
100. *Pv*. Verses., 64,102,160,175,256,425,485; etc.
102. *Pv*. V. 177
103. *Vin*. 11.212; s.v. *Anumodanā*, Encyclopeadia of Buddhism, 747
104. According to tradition, it was compiled at the end of the Third Council which was held under the patronage of Emperor Asoka.
105. *Vin*. 11.212; s.v. *Anumodanā*, Encyclopeadia of Buddhism.
106. *Saṭṭhā bhattakiccāvasāne anumodanaṃkaronto DhA*. 170 *Āḷavivāsinopi satthāraṃ parivisitvā pattaṃgahetvā anumodanatthāya aṭṭhaṃsu DhA*. 172; *katabhattakicco onitapattapanim tassanumodanaṃkatvā pakkāmi, VvA*. 118; *Pānīyadane anumodanaṃ vatvā agamaṃsu, VvA*.40; *evaṃ hotūti vatvā anumodanam akāsi, PvA* . 275; *Bhattakiccaṃ katvā anumodanaṃ karonto imāgathā abhāsi, PvA*. 17; *Tassa cittam sampahansento anumodanam katva pakkāmi, PvA*. 47;etc.
107. " *So bhuttāvī muhuttaṃ tuṇhī nisīdati , na ca anumodanassa kālam atināmeti, So bhuttāvī anumodati, na taṃ bhattaṃ garahati, na aññaṃ bhattaṃ patikaṅkhati*", *M*. 11. 139; "When he has eaten, he sits in silence for a while, but he does not let the time for the blessing go by. When he has eaten and gives the blessing, he does not do so criticizing the meal or expecting another meal" (Bhikkhu bodhi, *MLDB* 748).
108. Amore, *op. cit* 82, quoting Buddhaghosa, *Atthasā linī*, 158.
109. Amore, 97
110. Amore, 105
111. Amore, 109
112. R.C. Amore, *op. cit* 109
113. R.C. Amore, *op. cit*. 116
114. E.g. see Amore, *op. cit* . 114
115. *Ibid*. 118
116. *Ibid*. 122
117. E.W. Adikaram, *Early history of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1946,126
118 . L. Dumont, " The conception of Kingship in Ancient India", in *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Dec. 1962,58
119. R.C. Amore, *op. cit*. 133
120. Amore, *op. cit*. 159
121. Amore, *op. cit*. 144
122. Amore, *op. cit*. 136
123. D.D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civization of Ancient India*, 1965,179
124 . Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, 1932,188f

PŪRANA KASSAPA, the first of the six heretical teachers mentioned in the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (*D*.1.pp.47-48) who were senior contemporaries of Gotama Budddha. He is described as the teacher of a group of religious mendicants (*Sanghī*

gaṇī, gaṇâcariyo), well known (*ñāto*), with a good reputation (*yasassī*), recognised as a virtuous teacher by many (*sâdhusammato bahujanassa*), who had renounced worldly pleasures a long time ago (*cirapabbajito*) and advanced in age (*addhagato vayo anuppatto*). When questioned by a minister of king Ajâtasattu of Magadha regarding the immediate benefits of following a religious life (*sâmaññaphalam*), Pûranakassapa said: "To him who acts or causes another to act, to him who mutilates or causes another to mutilate, to him who punishes or causes another to punish, to him who causes grief or ferment, to him who trembles or causes others to tremble, to him who kills a living creature, to him who takes what is not given, to him who breakes into homes, to him who commits dacoity or robbery or high way robbery or adultery, to him who speaks lies, to him thus acting, there is no guilt. If with a discus with an edge sharp as a razor he should make all living creatures on earth one heap, one mass of flesh, there would be no guilt thence resulting, no increase of guilt would ensue".

In the *Khandasamyutta* (*S.* III. 69) Mahâlī Licchavī reports to the Buddha that Pūranakassapa teaches that there is no cause or conditions for the depravity of beings, or for the purification of beings and that they become depraved or cleansed without causes or conditions (*ahetu appaccayā*). The Buddha rejecting this view of Pûranakassapa very emphatically tells Mahâli that beings become depraved or cleansed depending on causes and conditions (*atthihetu atthipaccayâ sattânaṃsaṅkilesâya... visuddhiyâ*).

Commenting on Pûranakassapa's teaching Malalasekera says: "probably the more correct description of Kassapa's teaching would be *niṣkriyâvâda*, i.e. an affirmation that the soul is passive and is unaffected by the good or the bad done by us, the ultimate reality being beyond good or evil" (*DPPN*. Vol. II. p. 242).

Buddhaghosa (*DA*. I. 142) says that Pûranakassapa came by his name from the fact as a result of his birth the number of slaves in a certain household reached one hundred. Owing to this fact he was never found fault even when he failed to do his work satisfactorily. But, in spite of this, he was dissatisfied and fled from his masters. He then had his clothes stolen by thieves and went about naked. His *gotta* name was Kassapa. He had a following of five hundred (*DPPN* S.V. Pûranakassapa).

According to the Buddha his teaching is a complete denial of efficacy of action and human endeavour (*akiriyavâda*), which has no basis for ethics or morality.

W.G. Weeraratne

PUTHUJJANA, from *puthu* ('spread out', 'far and wide''many' etc.) + *jana* (person individual: Sanskrit: *pṛthu*): this term, as understood in Buddhism, refers to the ordinary or the average human being belonging to the vast majority of the common run of people, as distinguished from the person who has entered the path of Buddhist sainthood by realizing at least the *Sotāpatti magga* as a 'stream entrant', which person becomes qualified to be designated by the honorific title *ariya puggala* (noble one) as one of the eight such noble ones as those who have realized the paths and fruits (*magga* and *phala*) or each of the four states of sainthood of *sotāpatti, sakadāgâmin, anagāmin* and Arahantship. All those who are outside this honored circle are *puthujjana* men and women.

Thus the common worldling bound to the sojourn of *saṃsāra* through repeated death and rebirth is generally referred to in Buddhist writings as "the ignorant worldling" (*assutavāputhujjano*), because he remains a "raw worldling" uninstructed as per the higher life. The idea meant here by the adjectival use of the term *puthu* is that such a mundane person belongs to the 'spread out' or the "majority" or the "vast" set of people as opposed to the lesser and the limited number of the noble ones (*ariya*) as explained above.

The *puthujjana* people are always in the majority as clearly explained in the following *Dhammapada* stanza:

Appakā te manussesu
Ye janā pāragāmino
Athāyāṃ itarā pajā
Tīrameva anudhāvati (Dhp. v. 85).

"Only a handful of people among the humans that cross over to the farther shore (of Nirvāna): the rest (the vast majority remaining) merely run up and down on the hither shore (the mundane world)"

The *puthujjana* belongs to this latter category who run about helter-skelter in the *samsāric* wilderness. Also, it is from this common run of men and women that the minority *ariyas* do emerge when the opportunity is offered to them through the appearance of a Buddha, because even those who are intellectually capable of realizing the dhamma need the guidance of a Buddha for them to make a successful spiritual journey ending in Arahantship. This, of course, excludes those rare beings who can become Buddhas and Pacceka-Buddhas.

In this sense the general society of *puthujjana* men and women has been divided into four classes as shown by Shwe Zan Aung in a discussion of the subject in his introduction to the *Compendium of Philosophy* (pp. 49-50), the English translation of the *Abhidha mmatthasaṅgaha*. This classification is based on the happy and unhappy conditions into which they have been born. Accordingly, to the first category belong the lowest of living beings whose birth is designated as *duggati* and *ahetuka*. The former term means "woeful" and the latter "not under satisfactory conditions." These refer to the four lower worlds (*apāya*) of the sensual sphere (*kāma- loka*) which are the animal world (*tiracchāna-yoni*), ghost world (*peta-loka*: the departed spirits), demon world (*asura –nikāya*) and hell (*niraya*). But in these spheres are not only unhappy and woeful (*duggati*), but they also offer no opportunity for freeing themselves from there as the beings there are leading more or less expiatory lives for their past misdeeds and therefore forcibly detained. in the *ahetuka*: (See below for explanation).

To the second category belong those who are born in happy states (*sugati*) as humans but are still *ahetuka*, without good roots conditions or opportunity for spiritual development, when born as blind, deaf and dumb or deformed etc. Even though born as humans both these categories belong to the class of beings who have been born with *ahetu-paṭisandhi* or without wholesome root-conditions, which means that their consciousness at the moment of conception there was not accompanied by any of the three wholesome root conditions of greedlessness (*alobha*), hatelessness (*adosa*) or undeludeness (*amoha*) or these may be positively referred to as benevolence, kindness and intelligence.

To the third category belong those born with two of the above wholesome root conditions and hence referred to as *dvi-hetu* (*dvi*–two) *paṭisandhi* and to the fourth category belong those born with all the three wholesome root conditions of the total absence of covetousness or selfishness (*lobha*), hate (*dosa*), and delusion (*moha*). Humans born with brains and unimpaired faculties and heavenly beings fall within this fourth category.

This four-fold classification exhausts all living beings in a general sense as it includes not only the human world and the animal kingdom but even ghosts and demons as well. As it comprises both wholesome and unwholesome existences it can be called "comprehensive" in a general sense for academic purposes only because it is impossible to limit living beings in an absolute sense as world-systems are countless and endless.

This classification is noteworthy from another viewpoint which is based on the degree of the intellectual capacity of the beings inhabiting the spheres mentioned. All these beings are of the *puthujjana* class.

This categorization invites comparison with a similar classification made by the Buddha on the basis of peoples' intellectual capacities just before he launched his public ministry as a teacher of men and gods (*satthā devamanussanaṃ*). While deciding to preach the Dhamma after the pleadings of Brahma Sahampati, he surveyed the world to ascertain whether the people would be capable of understanding the deep-meaning Dhamma and benefit themselves there from. His words on this occasion, as recorded in the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* constitute a high calibered summing up of the *puthujjana* world on the basis of their intellectual capacities. (*Digha Nikāya Sutta* No. 26). : "Then I listened to the Brahma's pleadings and out of compassion for beings I surveyed the world with the eye of the Buddha: then I saw beings with little dust in their eyes and with much dust in their eyes, with keen faculties and with dull faculties, with good qualities and with bad qualities, easy to teach and hard to teach, and some who dwell seeing fear and blame in the other world. Just as in a pond of blue or red or white lotuses, some lotuses that are born and grow in the water thrive immersed in the water without rising out of it while some other lotuses rest on the water surface and while some others rise out of the water and stand clear unwetted by it."

These observations of the Buddha citing the fine simile of the lotus pond classifies mankind broadly according to their intellectual capacities. It cuts through

the entire gamut of the *puthujjana* society. The lotus flower in its different stages of growth and blooming in its journey towards light and freedom quite aptly represents the diverse categories and classes of men and women, all *puthujjana* type, some badly caught in *saṃsāra* and some struggling to achieve freedom very often under a Buddha's guidance.

In the Buddha's usage the term *puthujjana* always implies the lower level of the mundane life as also exemplified by his use of its adjectival form *pothujjanika* in describing sensual indulgence (*kāmasukhallikā nuyoga*) as "low-class" in the first sermon, the *Dhammackkappavattana Sutta*.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

RĀGA means 'lust' or 'passion'. Together with anger (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*), *rāga* is one of the fundamental defilements recognized in early Buddhism, a defilement similar in nature to 'greed' (*lobha*), 'longing' (*chanda*), 'delight' (*nandi*), 'craving' (*taṇhā*), and 'grasping' (*upādāna*).[1]

Rāga features prominently in the second noble truth, according to which the entire range of the human predicament can be traced to craving, which is accompanied by *rāga* and delight (*S.* V, 421: *taṇhā nandirāgasahagatā*). *Rāga* has moreover received the dubitable honour of being reckoned as one of the daughters of *Māra* (*S.* I, 124), and is responsible for forming a distinctive character type, the *rāgacarita*, one whose predominant disposition is towards lust and passion (*Vism.* 102). All these instances highlight the importance and detrimental repercussions of this particular mental defilement.

When *rāga* arises in the mind, one becomes unable to discern what constitutes one's own and another's welfare, a predicament which only easily leads to evil conduct by way of body, speech and mind (*A.* 1,215). *Rāga* in the form of sensual passion (*kāmarāga*) causes householders to quarrel with each other, while *rāga* manifesting as passionate attachment to views (*diṭṭhirāga*) will cause recluses to quarrel with each other (*A.* 1,66). Such passionate attachment stands at the back of much philosophical speculation, which in the final count can be traced to the presence of *rāga* in regard to the five aggregates (*S.* IV, 387)

The presence of sensual passion (*kāmarāga*) in the mind leads moreover to forgetfulness, making it difficult to keep things in mind even though they have been repeatedly memorized (*S.* V, 121). The debilitating influence of *rāga* not only impairs memory, but also perception. Beings not free from *rāga in* relation to sensual pleasures suffer from a perceptual distortion (*viparītasaññā*) which causes them to attribute happiness to what turns out to be the opposite (*M.* 1,507). The deluded notions resulting from the influence of *rāga* on the mind are as illusory as the images of a woman or a man created by a painter - however real they may seem, they remain artificially created images (*S.* II, 101). Though such notions are illusory, their repercussions are all too real, as *rāga* can set the whole mind on fire (*S.* I, 188). No other fire, indeed, is like the fire of passion (*Dhp.* 202).

A monk who goes begging food without sense-restraint, or who is given to excessive socialization, can easily be overwhelmed by *rāga*, tormenting him to such an extent that he might commit an offence or disrobe (*A.* III, 95 and *A.* III, 393). The degree to which *rāga* can lead to mental distress can be inferred from the case of the nun *Sīhā*, who was driven to the verge of suicide because for years sensual passion (*kāmarāga*) had prevented her from getting any peace of mind (*Thig.* 77-81).

Such sensual passion (*kāmarāga*) is responsible for the arising of fear and dread not only in regard to the present, but also in regard to the future (*A.* IV, 289). Fear in regard to the present moment arises when one retires to a secluded spot in the forest with a mind under the influence of *rāga* (*M.* I, 17). Fear in regard to the future arises when one is afflicted by some disease and, due to the presence of *rāga* in relation to sensual pleasures and to the body, fear of death manifests (*A.* II, 173).

In view of these manifold disadvantages, it comes as no surprise that the removal of *rāga* is a central concern of the Buddha's teaching. In contrast to the present and future predicament caused by *rāga* stands the happiness incumbent on gaining freedom from lust and passion. Such happiness, so the Buddha, constitutes the peak of unworldly happiness (*S.* IV,

237: *nirāmisā nirāmisataraṃ sukhaṃ).* This may not seem obvious at first sight, since from a worldly perspective a man might imagine happiness to be found in staying in a lavishly furnished dwelling place and in the company of beautiful women. Yet, as the Buddha pointed out, due to *rāga* such a man will experience bodily and mental torments and suffering *(A.* I, 136). One who has overcome *rāga,* however, will be free from such torments and live happily, even if he stays out in the open, subject to the vicissitudes of the climate and with only the hard ground to rest on.

A minute inspection of the Buddha's behaviour and way of acting, undertaken by a young brahmin in the *Brahmāyu Sutta,* resulted in the following telling observation: the Buddha took food experiencing its taste, yet without experiencing *rāga* for the taste.[2] This is in fact a crucial difference and at the same time indicates that the problem posed by *rāga* is not solved by simply avoiding experience, but rather needs to be tackled on a deeper level.

The important and variegated repercussions of *rāga* find their reflection in the inclusion of this term in various central categories of early Buddhism. One of these are the *saṃyojanas,* the 'fetters' binding beings to *saṃsāric* existence. Here *rāga* makes its appearance as 'sensual lust' *(kāmarāga),* the first of the five lower fetters *(M.* 1,433). Once such *kāmarāga* has been transcended, one's future rebirth will similarly surpass the sensuous sphere *(S.* II, 99). *Rāga* recurs in the context of the *saṃyojanas* again as lust directed to the material and immaterial spheres *(rūparāga* and *arūparāga),* two out of the five higher fetters *(D.* III, 234). Alternative enumerations of the fetters speak moreover of the 'fetter of lust for existence' *(A.* IV, 7: *bhavarāgasaṃyojana).*

The problem posed by the fettering force of *rāga* is of particular relevance to the process of perception. Just as when two oxen are yoked together, neither of the two oxen is responsible for the other being bound, so too neither the sense organs nor the sense objects are responsible for the worldling being in bondage to experience, but rather longing and lust (*chandarāga*) constitute the fettering factors (*S.*IV , 163).

The image of being bound recurs again with the four types of 'bonds' *(cattāro yogā),* where *rāga* underlies three out of altogether four such bonds *(A.* II, 10): the bondage to sensuality due to sensual lust *(kāmarāga),* the bondage to existence due to lust for existence *(bhavarāga)* and the bondage of views as a manifestation of lust for views *(diṭṭhirāga).* The same image recurs again with the five types of mental bondages *(cetaso vinibandhā),* which undermine the inspiration to practice and thereby prevent growth in the *Dhamma (M.* I, 101). Three out of this set of five are manifestations of *rāga,* as lust in relation to sensual pleasures, to the body and to forms. Summing up these various perspectives on the bondage caused by *rāga* with the help of a metaphor found in the *Dhammapada:* to be under the influence of *rāga* is a predicament comparable to a spider caught in his own net *(Dhp.* 347).

Another important category in early Buddhism is concerned with the *anusayas,* the 'underlying tendencies' that lie latent in the mind and lead to the arising of defilements. Here *rāga* makes its appearance in two out of altogether seven occasions *(V.* III, 254): as the underlying tendency to sensual lust *(kāmarāgānusaya)* and as the underlying tendency to lust for existence *(bhavarāgānusaya).* The underlying tendency to sensual lust is already present in the case of a newborn baby, even though an infant would not yet be able to conceive even the idea of sensuality *(M.* 1,433).

The activation of *rāga* as an underlying tendency is closely linked to the arising of pleasant feeling. This relation, however, is not one of necessity, since some pleasant feelings, such as those experienced in meditative absorption *(jhāna),* do not activate this underlying tendency *(M.* I, 303). In relation to the more mundane types of pleasant feelings, however, a sustained effort has to be made to go beyond the - influence of this underlying tendency. A manifestation of *rāga* which may not pertain to the realm of what is unwholesome could be *dhammarāga,* 'lust for the *Dhamma*'. This term makes its appearance on instances where someone fails to reach the full eradication of the influxes and, due to such *dhammarāga,* gains non-return *(M.* 1,350). The way

these instances are formulated seems to allow for two explanations, taking *dhammarāga* to be either the factor that has prevented the full eradication of the influxes, or else to be the factor that has ensured at least the gain of non-return. The commentarial explanation supports the first alternative, taking *dhammarāga* to represent *chandarāga*, 'lustful longing' in relation to one's meditative experiences (*MA*.III, 146). This interpretation did not remain unchallenged, and the same commentary records the argument being raised that on this interpretation an unwholesome mental factor is made responsible for leading to such sublime attainment as non-return and its consequent rebirth in the Pure Abodes.

Be that as it may, a mental factor entirely in the realm of what is unwholesome is *adhammarāga*, 'unlawful lust', an expression which the *Atthasālini* explains to refer to incestuous passion (*DhsA*. 366). According to the *Cakkavattisihanāda Sutta*, such *adhammarāga* is characteristic of periods when human civilization is on the decline (*D*. III, 70). Another discourse describes the dire consequences of indulging in *adhammarāga*, which apparently not only causes the arising of quarrels and fighting, but can also lead to adverse climatic conditions and an increase in demonic forces (*A*. I, 160).

The task of recognizing the presence or absence of any form of *rāga* forms part of contemplation of the mind according to the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M*. I, 59). Such introspective recognition of the presence or the absence of *rāga* in one's own mind stands out as an example for the Buddha's teaching being a directly and immediately visible teaching, inviting one to come and see, leading onwards and to be experienced personally by the wise (*S*. IV, 41)

Compared with anger (*dosa*), *rāga* is less blameable, though it takes longer to overcome it (*A*. I, 200). The arising of *rāga* can be traced to two main conditions (*A*. I, 87): the sign of beauty (*subhanimitta*), often attributed to the physical body of the other gender, and unwise attention (*ayoniso manasikāra*). The obvious counter method, therefore, is wise attention to the less appealing aspects of the body, examining its anatomical constitution and the unattractive nature of its parts (*A*.III, 323). Additional counter strategies are to develop restraint of the senses, contentment with food, wakefulness and mindfulness together with clear comprehension (*A*. IV, 166).

In order to ensure that one's mind is not overwhelmed by *rāga*, recollection of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Sangha* can be undertaken (*A*. III, 286). From among the four *brahmavihāras*, the meditative development of equanimity (*upekkhā cetovimutti*) stands out as an escape (*nissaraṇa*) from *rāga* (*D*. III, 249). These passages indicate that the development of mental tranquillity (*samatha*) can also function as an antidote to *rāga*.[3] The rationale behind this is that the experience of deeper states of concentration is one of intense pleasure and happiness, brought about by purely mental means, which thereby automatically eclipses any happiness arising in dependence on sensual pleasures. Thus the development of mental tranquility can become a powerful antidote to *rāga* by divesting its objects of their former attraction.

The term *rāga* is derived from the foot *raj*, to 'colour', and can also mean 'colour' or 'dye'. *Rāga* occurs in this sense in a passage in the *Vinaya* (*Vin*. ii, 107), which reports a group of notoriously ill behaved monks using 'face colour' (*mukharāga*), apparently an ancient Indian type of make up.

The two meanings of *rāga* are to some extent interrelated, since *rāga* as passion or lust is a mental quality that 'colours' the mind. The discourses illustrate this colouring influence of sensual lust (*kāmarāga*) with the example of someone attempting to see the reflection of his or her face in water mixed with dye (*S*. V, 121). Due to the presence of the dye, the natural mirroring function of the water is distorted, making it impossible to properly see the reflection of one's face.

The alternative sense of *rāga* as colour becomes particularly evident with the term *virāga*, which depending on context can either mean 'fading away', derived from the sense of decolouration, or else 'dispassion', derived from the primary sense of *rāga*

as lust or passion. These two senses of *virāga* can to some extent be related to each other, since contemplating the 'fading away' and therewith the impermanent nature of phenomena will result in 'dispassion'. A play on both senses of the term can be found in such instances as when the Buddha proclaimed the purpose of his teaching to be *rāgavirāga*, the 'fading away of passion' (*S.* IV, 47).

Questioned to declare a cause for the purification of beings, the Buddha pointed to dispassion *(virāga)* as the path to purification *(S.* III, 70). The same dispassion forms also one of the epithets of *Nibbāna.*[4] *Nibbāna,* the summum bonum of the Buddha's teaching, is but the destruction of *rāga* and its allied evils of anger and delusion *(S.* IV , 251), a destruction that similarly merits being reckoned as the unconditioned *(S.* IV, 359: *asaṅkhata),* the deathless *(S.* V, 8: *amata),* and the final goal of the religious life *(S.* V, 8: *brahmacariyapariyosāna).*

Hence it is no wonder to find the Buddha proclaiming to his foster mother *Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī* that whatever leads to dispassion *(virāga)* should be considered as his teaching *(A.* IV, 280). The central role of dispassion becomes also evident from the Buddha's reflection in regard to his two teachers, *Alāra Kālāma* and *Uddaka Rāmaputta.* Having reached the consummation of their teaching he realized that what they proposed as the ultimate goal was not conducive to dispassion, a reflection which motivated him to continue his quest for awakening *(M.* I, 165). Once he had gained awakening, the depth of his realization led the Buddha to wonder whether those 'dyed in lust' *(rāgaratta)* will be able to perceive this truth *(M.* I, 168).

To sum up, one who teaches the overcoming of *rāga* and its allied evils is a speaker of *Dhamma (dhammavādī),* one who practices for their overcoming is practising well *(suppaṭipanna)* and one who has overcome them is 'well-gone' *(sugata)* indeed (*S.* IV, 252). Of all things or phenomena, dispassion *(virāga)* stands out supreme *(A.* II,34) See also ABHIJJHĀ; DESIRE; KĀMA; LOBHA

Anālago

References

[1] The similarity in meaning of these terms can be deduced from passages which mention them as near equivalents, cf. e.g. *M.* III, 32: *yo chando yo rāgo yā nandi yā taṇhā ye ca upāyūpādānā.*

[2] *M.* II, 138: *rasapaṭisaṃvedī kho pana so bhavaṃ Gotamo āhāraṃ āhāreti, no ca rasarāga paṭisaṃvedī*

[3] *A.* I, 61: *samatho bhāvito ... cittaṃ bhāvīyati. Cittaṃ bhāvitaṃ ... yo rāgo so pahīyati.*

[4] *D.* II, 36: *sabbasaṅkhārasamatho sabbūpadhi paṭinissaggo taṇhākkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ.*

RĀHULA (1) An Arahant *Thera.* Rāhula was the son of Prince Siddhattha Gotama and was born on a Full Moon Day of *Āsaḷha* on which day Prince Siddhattha renounced household life (*AA.* I. 82). The news of Rāhula's birth was conveyed to Siddhattha who was enjoying himself in his pleasaunce on the bank of the royal pond after being decked by Vissakamma. When he received the news of the birth of Rāhula, he thought of renouncing the world as soon as possible, for he thought the birth of a son was a new bond attaching him to household life. There he uttered the words '*Rāhulo jāto bandhanaṃ jātaṃ*' (Rāhula is born, a Bond is born). King Suddhodana, who was later informed by his men about the utterance, named the new born child as Rāhula (*Paramattha Dīpanī.* Vol. II p. 125).

When the Buddha visited Kapilavatthu for the first time after attaining Enlightenment accepting an invitation of King Sudhodana to do so, Rāhula's mother (Yasodarā) sent Rāhula to the Buddha to ask for his inheritance (*dāyajja*). Prince Rāhula who was seven years old by that time, approached the Buddha and said 'pleasant is your shadow, recluse' *sukhā te samaṇa chāyā* (*Vin.* I, 82) and asked for his inheritance. The Buddha who gave him no answer, left the palace after meals to Nigrodhārāma where he lived at that time. Rāhula followed the Buddha repeating his request. There the Buddha asked Venerable Sāriputta to ordain the child, as the ordination was the only *dāyajja* the Buddha had to give him as there was no other wealth left with him. (*ibid*). When Venerable Sāriputta asked the Buddha how the Ordination should be carried out,

considering the occasion as the first occurrence, the Buddha allowed the monks to ordain novices by making them to take refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha (*anujānāmi bhikkhave tihi saraṇāgmanehi sāmaṇerapabbajjaṃ. Vin.* 1, 82).

When King Suddhodana heard the news of Rāhula's Ordination, he came to the Buddha and asked him to instruct the monks not to ordain any child without the prior consent of the parents concerned (*ibid.* 82, 83). The story about the king's request is described well in the *Vinaya piṭaka.* King Suddhodana explained to the Buddha that Rāhula's Ordination was a great shock to him as the Buddha, and Prince Nanda had already left the household life. He further said "Lord, affection for a son, cuts into the skin, having cut into the skin it cuts into the hide, having cut into the hide it cuts into the flesh,.......the sinews,...... the bones, having cut into the bones and reaching the marrow it abides. It were well Lord, if the master did not let a child go forth into renunciation without the consent of the parents" *bhagavati me bhante pabbajite anappakaṃ dukkhaṃ ahosi, tathā Nande, adhimattaṃ Rāhule, puttapemaṃ bhante chaviṃ chindati, chaviṃ cetvā cammaṃ chindati, cammaṃ chetvā maṃsaṃ chindati, maṃsaṃ chetva nahāruṃ chindati, nahāruṃ chetvā aṭṭhiṃ chindati, aṭṭhiṃ chetvā aṭṭhiminjaṃ āhacca tiṭṭhati. Sādhu bhante ayyā ananuññātaṃ mātāpitūhi puttaṃ na pabbājeyyaṃ ti - ibid.* 82-83). Then the Buddha announced that a child who has not obtained the consent of his parents should not be ordained and declared that whoever should ordain a child without the prior consent of parents is guilty of the offence of a wrong doing *(āpatti dukkṭassāti. ibid*, p. 83).

After the ordination of Rāhula, the Buddha preached to him many *suttas* for his guidance. Rāhula also was eager to receive instruction from the Buddha and his teachers. Rāhula used to rise early in the morning and take a handful of sand and say 'May I have as many words of counsel from my teachers today as there are here grains of sand' *aho vatāhaṃ ajja dasabalassa c'eva ācaryupajjhāyānañ ca santike ettakam ovādañ c'eva anusāsaniñ ca labheyyan ti (AA.* I. p. 251). As the monks spoke of Rāhula's amenability very often, one day the Buddha who was aware of this, related the *Tipallatthamiga Jātaka* (*J.* I. 160ff) and the *Tittira Jātaka* (*J.* III. 64 ff.) showing them that Rāhula in past births too had been known for his obedience. As very young novices might be tempted to say things both proper and improper, the Buddha preached the *Ambalaṭṭhika Rāhulovāda sutta* to Rāhula when he was only seven years old, showing the emptiness and voidness of the recluseship of a person who does not shrink from deliberate lying. Further the Buddha asked him to practise constant reflection thereby abandoning all things conducive to woe either to him or to others and develop self-control and purity. (*M.* I.414-420; *MA.* II. 636).

When he was accompanying the Buddha on his begging rounds, Rāhula used to harbour carnal thoughts fascinated by the physical beauty of himself and that of his father. The Buddha noticed it and preached the *Mahā Rāhulovāda sutta* to Rāhula who was 18 years old at that time. Here the Buddha advises Rāhula to regard all *rupa* (matter) as *anattā* (not-self) further the Buddha instructs him to treat other *khandhas* (aggregates) too as *anattā* (*M.* I. 420-426).

In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* a separate *Saṃyutta* is named as *Rāhula Saṃyutta* wherein the discourses preached to Rāhula by the Buddha are included (*S.* II. 244-249).

Rāhula was very anxious to observing of *Vinaya* rules. One evening Rāhula arrived at Kosambi where the Buddha was staying in Badarikārāma. At this time there was a new *Vinaya* rule which had been laid down to the effect that no novice should sleep under the same roof with a fully ordained monk. When Rāhula was informed of this rule, he spent the whole night in the Buddhaís toilet, as he was unable to find any other resting-plaçe, which did not violate this rule. When the Buddha discovered Rāhula there the next morning, he modified the rule (*Vinaya.* IV, 16). On another occasion 8 years after the attainment of Arahantship, Rāhula spent a night in the open in front of the Buddha's cell as he was unable to find a suitable place to sleep as monks who had arrived late had occupied his sleeping place. There assuming the form of a huge elephant, Māra trumpeted loudly, hoping to fighten Rāhula; but he failed to frighten the *thera DhA.* IV. 69f).

Rāhula attained Arahantship after listening to the *Cūla Rāhulovāda sutta* (*M.* III. 277 ff) delivered by the Buddha. Realizing that Rāhula possessed the required qualities to achieving emancipation, the Buddha went with Rāhula to Andhavana after having meals at Jetavanārāma. At that time several thousands of *devas* followed the Buddha, thinking 'Today the Buddha will train the venerable Rāhula further in the destruction of

cankers'. There the Buddha demonstrated by means of question and answer that all things are impermanent. The Buddha impressed on Rāhula the manner in which the Ariyan Disciple should make an effort to get rid of them. On listening to the discourse carefully, Venerable Rāhula's mind was freed from the Cankers without grasping. He attained Arahantship. To many thousands of *devas* who listened to the *dhamma* there, arose the dustless stainless vision of the *dhamma* that 'whatever is liable to arise, all that is liable to cease' (*ibid.* 277-280).

After some time the Buddha declared Rāhula foremost among those of his disciples who were anxious for training (*sikkhākāmānam. A.*I.).

Rahulaís friends used to call him *Rāhulabhadda* (Rāhula the Lucky). Rāhula said that he deserved this title as he was twice blest in being the son of the Buddha and an arahant himself (*paramatthadīpanī* ñ Vol. II. 125).

In the time of Padumuttara Buddha, Rāhula was born as a rich householder of Hamsāvatī. One day he and his friend Raṭṭhapāla entertained two ascetics of great power. The ascetic to whom Rāhula ministered used to visit the abode of the Nāga-King Paṭhavindhara, and had been impressed by its magnificence. Therefore in thanks giving for the householder's hospitality, the ascetic wished that his host must resemble Paṭhavindhara. The householder remembered this, and after death was born in the Nāga-world as Paṭhavindhara. His friend was born as Sakka. Recognizing him, Sakka Suggested a remedy for his dissatisfaction. Accordingly Paṭhavindhara invited the Buddha to his abode. In the company of the monks was Uparevata, the Buddha's son, seated next to the Buddha. Paṭhavindara was unable to take his eyes off Uparevata as he was so fascinated by him. Discovering that Uparevata was the son of the Buddha, Paṭhavindhara expressed a wish that he too, might be born as the son of a future Buddha. Again in the time of Kassapa Buddha, Rāhula was born as Paṭhavindhara, the eldest son of King Kikī and later became his Viceroy. He built 500 residences for the monks at the suggestion of his seven sisters who made seven residences for the Buddha (*AA*, I. 143 ff.).

Theragāthā has 4 verses attributed to Rāhula (*vv.* 295-298). Rāhula is mentioned as having been the Bodhisatta's son in numerous *Jātakas* such as *Uraga, Kapi, Kumbhakāra, Khaṇḍahāla, Culla-Sutasoma, Daddara, Bandhanāgāra, makkata, Makhādeva, Mahājanaka, Mahāsudassana, Vidhurapaṇḍita, Vessantara, Sihakoṭṭhuka and Sonala.*

For 12 years Rāhula never laid on a bed. He predeceased the Buddha and even Sāriputta (*DA.* II. 549). Place of his *Parinibbāna* is mentioned as Tāvatiṃsa in *Sumangalavilāsinī* (*Rāhulo Tāvatiṃsam parinibbuto. DA.* II. p. 549).

King Asoka built a *stūpa* in honour of Rāhula, to be specially worshipped by novices.

D. Saddhasena.

RĀHULA(2), an erudite scholar bhikkhu of Sri Lanka. Ven. Thoṭagamuvē Sri Rāhula Thera (Siri Rahal himi) is undoubtedly the last eminent scholar and poet of the classical period of literature in Sri Lanka. He was the foremost poet and scholar of the Kotte period (15th century). He came into prominence during the reign of king Sri Parākramabāhu (1412-1467), who as mentioned by Rāhula himself was his foster father. Although he was born in the village of Demaṭāna, he came to be known as Toṭagamuvē Srī Rāhula due to his long and memorable association with the seat of learning Vijayabā Pirivena at Toṭagamuva that became prominent under his stewardship. He was so closely associated with this institution that in his *Kāvyasēkharaya* the authorship of his work is poetically assigned to the Vijayabā Pirivena. According to the *Parevi sandēsaya* (*Kaḷarāv sandēsaya*), his earliest poetical work, he was born into the clan of Kandavuru (Skandhavara) and lived in Toṭagamuva. While confirming this information, his *Kāvyasēkharaya* adds that he is the nephew of Uttaramūla Mahathera. In the *Pañcikāpradīpa Pañcikā*, a commentary on his *Pañcikāpradipaya* by his pupil Rāmachandra Kavibhārati, it is mentioned that his clan is a sub-branch of the Mauryas, thus connecting Sri Rāhula to a royal line of descent. According to his *Buddhippasādanī*, a *ṭikā* on the *Padasādhana*, his uncle Uttaramūla thera, is of the pupilary lineage of Sāriputta Mahāsāmi, the renowned scholarly monk of the Polonnaruwa period resident at the Jetavanārāma in Polonnaruwa. Sariputra thero was

the author of the *Pañcikālaṅkāra*, a *ṭīkā* on the *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa* that was also the basis for two exegetical works of Srī Rāhula.

The Vijayabā pirivena where Sri Rāhula carried on his academic activities was never associated with older *mūlāyatanas*, although it existed from the time of king Vijayabāhu I, who established it. King Parākramabāhu IV of Damhadeniya renovated it and it remained as an important center of learning. It is probable that Srī Rāhula had his early training under his uncle Uttaramūla Mahāthera whose personal name is not mentioned. Uttaramūla (Uturumula) derives its name from Uttaravihāra or Abhayagiriya that had *grāmavāsi* (village dwelling) leanings. That Srī Rahula had *grāmavāsī* leanings is clear from his poetical works as well as the syllabi of the Vijayabā pirivena given in the *Girā-sandēśaya* that included non–Buddhist secular subjects such as drama, astrology, economics, etc.

The above references show that be belonged to the *grāmavāsi* sect. He is also directly connected to the lineage of Sāriputta Mahāsāmi through his uncle Uttaramūla thera. Sariputta thera is the well-known *mahāthera* to whom king Parākramabāhu the Great donated the Jetavanārāma at Polonnaruwa and it is 'Sāriputta's Circle' that was responsible for literary resurgence of the times. Sāriputta himself is credited with several works including the *Pancikālaṅkāra ṭīkā*, the *Uadāvatāra*, *Linārthadīpa* or *Patriekaraṇa-ṭīkā*, the *Abhidammatthasangaha sannaya*, the *Mahāvinayasaṅgaha* or *Pālimuttakavinaya* and the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The colophon of the *Buddhippasādani* too mentions that he was the nephew of Uttaramūla Thera and that he descended from the lineage of Sāriputta Mahāsami.

Apart from the fact that Sri Parākramabahu was his foster father, there is not much information about Srī Rāhula's childhood. According to an unconfirmed tradition, his father was prince Wikramabāhu and his mother princess Silavati. There is a folk story that at his tender age he burst into a poem upon meeting the king and the king being overjoyed by the talent of the boy took him along to educate him. In his younger days he studied under Mahā Vīdāgama thera (not Vidāgama Maitreya, the author of the *Haṃsasandesaya* and the *Buduguṇālaṅkāraya*, etc.), a specialist in occult sciences and the author of the first *Bali* ritual text in Sinhala, the *Ratnālaṃkāraya*.

The great learning and scholarship of Srī Rāhula was highly acclaimed by his contemporaries. While he authored three poetical works (*Parevi sandēśaya*, *Sälalihini sandēśaya* and *Kāvyaśēkharaya*) he also wrote two exegetical works (*Pañcikāpradīpaya* and *Buddhippasādani*). Unlike many Sinhala writers who opted to remain silent on their own scholarship, Srī Rāhula was outspoken on his own learning. In the *Kāvyaśēkhara* (vs. 23-25) he claims that "he is like unto the crest jewel of the *kandavuru* clan of Dematana,......like unto the teacher of gods descended on earth and like unto the crest jewel to all the learned and is versatile in the *Tripiṭaka* and renown in all quarters." In the colophons of most of his woks he claims to several titles. Both the *Pañcikāpradīpaya* and the *Buddhippasādani* he is identified with the litles of *Vācissara* 'orator' and *Vādibhasīha* 'Lion of a logician' and *Pada-vākya-takka-kusala* 'Master of grammar and logic'. He has mastered six languages (*ṣaḍ bhāṣā-parameśvara*) identified as Sanskrit, Prākrit, Magadhi, Paisāci, Sauraseni and Apabhraṃsa. He has claimed no competence in Dravidian languages although he has consulted the *Demaḷa-jātaka-gäṭapadaya* probably a Tamil commentary on the *Jātaka* text. The *Kōkilasandēśaya* (v. 81) claims that he composed poetry in all these languages. The *Buddhippasādanī* stands to show his erudition in Pāli. According to the *Sälalihiṇi- sandēśaya* (vs. 110) he was versatile in six languages and six philosophies (traditionally identified as *Sānkhya*, *Yōga*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśēsika*, *Mīmāmsā* and *Vēdānta*). This last claim is well substantiated by the textual references to philosophical notions in his exegetical works.

Though he remained at Toṭagamuva, he maintained close relationship with the royal family, particularly during the time of Sri Parākramabāhu, his benefactor. His poetical works were either written at the request of royal personages or were intended to bring about prosperity to the royalty. Thus he is endowed with the title of *Rājaguru* 'Royal counselor'. In his last work, the *Buddhippasādani*, he is refered to as *Saṅgharāja* ('king of monks' a title given by the king). We are fortunate in having two works of the contemporary period, the *Girā sandēśaya* and the

Haṃsa sandēšaya, the former written probably by a pupil of Srī Rāhula extolling Rāhula's eminence and that of the Vijayabā Parivēna and the latter making some critical remarks on him whilst extolling Vanaratana thero of the Padmāvāti pariveṇa at Kāragala. It appears that there was some competition between these two educational centers.

The *Girā-sandēšaya* eulogizes Srī Rāhula in two sections, one dealing with the personality of Srī Rāhula and the other where Vijayabā piriveṇa is described. According to this text, Srī Rāhula besides being versatile in the *tripiṭaka*, was an authority on the 'eight grammars' (traditionally identified as those by the eight grammarians, Indra, Chandra, Kāsakṛtsna, Apisāla, Sākaṭāyana, Pāṇini, Amara and Jinendra. In fact, in his *Pañcikāpradipaya* he refers to many grammars. From these references it is clear that he was thorough with all aspects of linguistic studies including grammar, philosophy of grammar, etymology of Sanskṛit, Prākṛit and Sinhalese.

The claim that he had mastered the philosophies is substantiated by references to philosophical works such as the *Nyāyapāda-candrikā* (a.u.), the *Nyāya-pradipa* (a.u), the *Tarkikarakṣa* (a.u.), the *Vaišesika-daršana* by Kanāda and the *Nyāyadaršana* by Gautama muni, in his *Pañcikāpradīpaya.* According to the *Girā sandēšaya* he has mastered the eighteen *Purāṇas* (*dasaṭa porāṇa*) and eighteen sciences (*dasaṭa vidutān*). As noted earlier there is some criticism of Srī Rāhula for the kind of education that he espoused and promoted in his seat of learning, Vijayabā Pariveṇa. The *Girāsandēša* mentions that besides primarily Buddhist teachings of the *Piṭakas*, the syllabi here included grammar, Veda, astrology including the *Sūryasiddhānta*, Āyurveda medicine, economics (*arut-satara*, referring to the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya), rhetoric, poetics drama, Pāli Sinhala and Tamil.

The *Haṃsa-sandēšaya* that eulogizes Vanaratana Thera of Padmāvati Piriveṇa at Kāragala makes some critical remarks about some of the subjects that Rāhula espoused that were extraneous to basic Buddhist teachings. The author of that work, Vidāgama Mairēya, a representative of the Forest Dwelling sect and the author of several works, remarks that Vanaratana thera, after examining all the 'Sixty Two' views, rejected the Eighteen *Purāṇas* (of the Hindus) as erroneous teachings. He also rejects the sublime state assigned to poetics and dramatics and claims that his learning is not delimited to the confines of astrology. These caustic remarks are levelled at Srī Rāhula, who, according to the *Girā-sandēšaya*, espoused such teachings. Such criticism of Rāhula is not to be taken as personal criticism against him, but against the impact of Hindu learning on Buddhist education and institutions at the time that Rahula promoted. Despite such criticism, the fact that Vijayabā Pariveṇa was an international center of learning is confirmed by the fact that Brahmins too came here to study *Veda* and other subjects. The author of the Sanskrit devotional poem the *Bhaktišataka* (or the *Bauddhašataka*) and the *Vṛttaratnākara Pañcikā*, Ramachandra Bharati, was a student from Bengal who came to study Buddhism and Sanskṛit under Srī Rāhula.

The glory of Srī Rāhula remained in tact after him inspiring the writers of the later period. With the advent of the European colonial powers, the parivena education too declined and the Vijayabā Pariveṇa itself came to be razed down by the Portuguese not soon after.

Works by Srī Rāhula

Srī Rāhula's unenviable position among the scholars and poets could be gauged from his writings. His major works include two *sandeša* poems (the *Parevi Sandešaya* and the *Sälalihiṇi Sandešaya*, a *mahākāvya* (the *Kāvyašēkharaya*), an exegetical work on the grammatical work of Moggallāna (the *Pañcikāpradīpaya*) and a Pāli paraphrase on the commentary of the Moggallāna grammar (the *Padasādhana–ṭīkā* or the *Buddhippasādani*). While the authorship of these texts is beyond doubt, Prof. Malalasekara also assigns three other works, the *Simāsaṅkarachēdani*, the *Toṭagamu Nimitta* and the *Caturāryasatya Kāvyaya* to him. Folk traditions credits him with several works on demonology. Another work, the *Pārakumbā sirita*, eulogy of Sri Parakramabāhu, too is considered to be by Srī Rāhula, a claim that needs further investigation. We shall consider here only the five of his major works and the *Pārakumbā-sirita*.

In the *Perevi-sandēśaya* (*Kalarāv-sandesa*) a dove carries a message from Kotte to god Upulvan at Devinuvara praying him for a suitable husband for Princess Chandravatī, the daughter of Srī Parakramabāhu, and also a son for her who would be fortunate enough to be crowned. It consists of 208 quatrains. His description of villages and towns as well as many geographical locations that the dove passes through is very useful for historians and archeologists. Written in his tender age, this work displays the poet's intimate knowledge of Sanskrit literary conventions and Hindu mythology.

The *Kāvyasekaraya*, an ornate poem based on the *Sattubhasta jātaka* (no. 402) is his second poetical work. This is the second *mahākāvya* in Sinhala after the *Kavsiḷumiṇa*, a *Gīkāvya* of the 13th century. In the present work the entire *jātaka* including the past story, the present story and the connection of them is dealt with, deviating from the practice of dealing only with the past story in earlier poetical works. The *jātaka* itself is a short one about an old Brahmin who leaves one thousand gold coins he earned by begging with a poor family, and goes for further begging. After some time, the family spends this money presuming the old brhamin to be dead. He suddenly returns and in lieu of his money he takes the pretty girl of the family for his wife. Though they live peacefully for some time the girl gets involved with a paramour and makes the man go for begging, so that she could spend her time with the youth. The Bodhisatta Senaka, hero in the *jātaka*, who was the counsel for king Brahmadatta, intervenes to resolve the problem faced by the old Brahmin. In the *Kāvyaśekharaya* the poet intended his poem to be not only a *mahā-kāvya* but also a *kavi-baṇa* (sermon in poetry), as was requested by queen Ulakuḍaya at whose request this was composed. The work consists of 886 verses, of which only 204 are devoted for the main tale (Cantos10-14); the last part has a sermon on the four noble truths. It is a mine of information about the social and cultural life of the ancients.

The *Sälalihiṇi-sandēśaya*, the Sterling's Message' is short, consisting of only 108 poems. The message of the sterling is to plead God Vibhiṣaṇa to endow with a son to Princess Ulakuḍaya (Lokanāthā), daughter of Srī Parākramabāhu. The request for sending the message poem came from minister Nannūrutunaya, the husband of the princess. The distance covered by the sterling is only six miles from Kotte to the shrine of Vibhiṣaṇa at Kelaṇiya. After a short description of the city of Kotte and king Srī Parākramabāhu, the sterling is to pass through several towns and villages. His precise description of the above places is followed by the dancing sequence by damsels at the entrance to the shrine, and elaborate description of Vihbīṣaṇa that is owe-inspiring and full of devotion. Being his third poem, and written in his mature age, the work displays poetical maturity of the author, and is regarded by critics as the best of the sandēśa poems in Sihala. In this work he excels in the elegant use of language and in creative ingenuity.

His Sinhala exegetical work, the *Pañcikāpradīpaya* as well as the Pāli paraphrase the *Padasādhana-ṭikā* or the *Buddhippasādani* serve as elaborate expositions on the *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa*, written by Elder Moggallāna in the Polonnaruwa period. Of these two scholarly works of Srī Rāhula, the *Pañcikāpradīpaya* provides elaborate notes to difficult passages in Moggallāna's work. In doing so, it serves as an encyclopaedia on subtle matters of language, grammar and philology. Textual references found in this work have already been mentioned. He brings Moggallāna's grammar to a comparatively estimable position by quoting from more than eighty sources in Sanskrit, Pāli and Sinhala to substantiate its views. In commenting he comes out with interpretations that are his own while correcting the errors by copyists. He traces some of Moggallana's aphorisms to *Cāndra* and *Paṇinī* grammars. Where grammars disagree, he quotes from as many authorities as possible before he gives his own opinion. In this work he uses Sanskṛitized Sinhala.

In the *Buddhippasādani* too he is elaborate in his comments on controversial issues. For example, on the controversial issue of the number of letters in the Pāli alphabet, he quotes from Bhadanta Bōdhisatta (40), Kaccāyana (41) and Sanbbagunākara (43). He then explains the reasons for this incompatibility.

In both these texts, he explains that his aim is to perpetuate the correct study of the *nikāyas* by proper understanding of grammar. While explaining grammatical points of the Moggallāna, he looks for

parallels in the *Aṣṭadhyāyi* of Pānini the *Mahābhāsya* of Patanjali and the *Vākyapadiya* of Bhartṛhari thereby elevating it to the more prestigious Sanskrit grammar. The texts thus provide a way for Pāli scholars to acquaint themselves with Sankṛit grammatical notions and evaluate them critically, for, the manner in which Rāhula approaches both Pāli and Sanskrit grammatical notions is extremely critical.

One may doubt whether *Parakumbā-sirita* too was by him. It is an eulogy of Srī Parakramabāhu that traces the history of the Lambakarṇa clan to which he belonged. It is the first panegyric in Sinhala model led after *Ula-kāvyas* in the South Indian tradition. The Sanskrit works such as the *Samudraghōṣa-praśasti*, the *Navasāhaṃsaka-carita* and the *Vikramadēva-carita* too may have inspired him. James de Alwis assigns this work to Srī Rāhula not only on the basis of style, elevated expression, creativity and mental acumen of the author, but the very subject matter of the poem-that of Srī Parākramabāhu with whom Srī Rāhula maintained intimate relationship. Even if that were so, Srī Rāhula did not claim the authorship of it perhaps for the reason of impropriety for a Buddhist monk to handle such a theme in which not only the lineage but the erotic life of the king is to be depicted. Perhaps the work may have been by a pupil of Rāhula written under his direction.

By the time the *Buddhippasādani* was written, Srī Rāhula was elevated to the status of Sagharāja. It appears that after the death of king Srī Parakrama, he retired from active association with the royalty. In the *upasampadā* ceremony held for the Burmese monks in the 6[th] year of Bhuvanaikabāhu VI, the ritual proceedings were by Vīdāgama Thera in which several famous monks took part but not Srī Rāhula. This may perhaps be due to the fact that the Burmese desired to receive their higher ordination from the forest dwelling fraternity that was considered to be more authentic.

One of the famous students of Srī Rāhula was Vättäve Thera who composed the *Guttila-kāvyaya*. It could be assumed that the *Girā-sandēsa* too was a work by a student of his.

Not much information is found about the last days of Srī Rāhula. He was supposed to be an expert in mystical practices, exorcism and āyurveda. According to popular tradition he has partaken a native medicine, *Siddhāloka* (*sidu-alu*), and determined that his body after death should remain in tact for one million days. It was kept in the Indurugala cave from where it is alleged that the Portuguese carried it to Goa where it remains up to now.

Bibliography:

Godakumbura, C.E. *Sinhalese Literature*; The Colombo Apothecaries, Co. Ltd. 1955; Reprint. Dept. of Cultural Affairs, 1996.

Malalasekara, G.P. *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*; M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd. 1958 (Reprint)

Tennakoon, R. *Siri Rahal Pabanda*; M. D. Gunadena & Co. Ltd. 1962.

Wickramasinghe. K.D.P. *Kotte Yugaye Sinhala Sāhityaya*; M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd. 1965.

P.B. Meegaskumbura

RAHULAMĀTĀ See **YASODHARĀ**

RAINS RETREAT. The Rains Retreat or *Vassāvāsa* is a Buddhist religious practice which is essentially connected with the Buddhist Saṅgha, i.e. the monastic community. It is a practice annually undertaken by all Buddhist monks of senior status (i. e. *upasampanna*). The word *vassāvāsa* (*vassa* + *āvāsa*) literally means 'taking up residence during the rainy season'. Its origin goes back to the time of the Buddha himself. It is interesting to note that its genesis lies, basically in an environmental consideration of tropical India. Seeds of tropical trees and creepers, falling on the ground during the Summer months, took their turn to germinate with the advent of the rains. Like the plant world blooming into life in Spring in the temperate regions, the tropics witness the germination of seeds during the rainy season, announcing the birth of a new generation of plant life. The Indians obviously hailed this with joy and hopeful expectations.

To the Indians, plants constituted *ekindriya-pāṇa* or life with one single life faculty. Indians, as far back as the time of the *Vedas*, held that the heavens deposited the seed for growth in plants. The *Ṛg Veda* says that God Parjanya deposits the seed in plants: *Parjanyah reto dadhāti oṣadhīṣu garbhaṃ*. Therefore during the

period of seasonal rains, the Indians would be loathe to walk around on land where new seedlings would be suspected to be sprouting into life (...*cārikaṃ carissanti haritāni tiṇāni sammaddantā ekindriyaṃ jīvaṃ viheṭhentā*- Vin.I.137). They also had a vision regarding the destruction of insect life on the ground *(bahū khuddake pāṇe saṃghātaṃ āpādenti.* loc. cit.)

Even during the life time of the Buddha, Buddhist monks formed a recognized component of the Indian society. Their behaviour was watched by the Indian community. Rules and regulations governing the behaviour of the monastic community, of both monks and nuns, was one of gradual growth, possibly after a decade or two of the founding of the groups. When monks were seen strutting around during the rainy season, people were alert enough to comment on the impropriety of their behaviour, accusing them of damaging a section of life in the world, as referred to above.

Thereupon the Buddha instructed that monks should, during the rainy season of the year, enter upon a restricted three-month period of rains-residence, commencing from the day after the full moon of the month of July. A concession to this was added, allowing monks to commence this even a month later, doing likewise from the month of August. They shall do so, all monks of senior status taking up this rains-residence, promising to stay in the specified monastery for the duration of the entire period (*Imasmiṃ vihāre imaṃ temāsaṃ vassaṃ upemi idha vassaṃ upemi*).

They were allowed to temporarily leave the place only for very specified reasons (e.g. of public welfare), and that for a period not longer than six days, promising to return on the seventh day (*sattāha- karaṇīyena*). In course of time, it has fallen upon the lay community to invite the monks of specific areas to observe the rains retreat, promising to attend to all their needs during this period.

The completion and the conclusion of this three-month period of rains-residence brings us to yet another vital event in the life of the Buddhist monastic community which goes under the name of *pavāraṇā*. This Pāli word literally means 'invitation to...' The monks who have lived together the rains-residence of three months shall meet together in full assembly on the full moon day of the concluding third month. At this meeting, a solemn ceremony commences. The senior most among them, shall begin. He shall, seated crouching on he ground, humbly address the congregation and call upon its membership (*saṅghaṃ bhante pavāremi*) to make known any guilt of his they have seen, heard of or suspected about (*diṭṭhena vā sutena vā parisaṅkhāya vā*), undertaking that on seeing it as such, he shall make amends (*passanto paṭikarissāmi*).

We would hence translate this all important word *pavāraṇā* as the invitation for the pronouncement of guilt. This solemn ceremony of *pavāraṇā* at the conclusion of the three-months *vassāvāsa*, latterly come to be called the *Mahā pavāraṇā*, is accepted as bringing about the required purge or purification of the senior members of the monastic community who have lived together during the *vassāna*. In the early history of the *Sāsana* this process of purification of the saṅgha was expected to take place on a fortnightly basis (*anvaddha-māsaṃ*), i.e. twice every month. This was to be brought about *via* the Pātimokkha-recital or *Pātimokkhuddesa* (also called the *Uposatha*) which was normally meant to be undertaken on a fortnightly basis.

Time, we believe, is an ingenious regulator of both development and deterioration. The *Sāsana* is not immune from it. A later Vinaya treatise by the name of *Vinaya Vinicchaya* declares the *Uposatha* which, is carried out as a fortnightly event, as contributing to the unity of the Saṅgha, while the *Pavāraṇā*, which is done annualy, brings about its purification (*Uposatho samaggattho visuddhatthā pavāraṇā*). How alarming it is to be told that purification of the Saṅgha is beginning to be looked upon as an annual event.

Taking into consideration many exigencies of the time, the Buddha also made it possible for the monks, after their rains retreat, to collect material for the preparation of robes (*Anujānāmi bhikkhave vassaṃ vutthānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ kaṭhinaṃ attharituṃ*. Vin. I. 254). In course of time, it has become the duty of the lay community who invite the monks to observe the rains retreat within a specific monastery to offer to the collective group of monks, i.e. the *saṅgha*, a single robe or robe material in appreciation of their services. The *saṅgha* shall collectively accept it and *via* a special act of the *saṅgha*, offer it to any one of their choice. Today, this offering of the *kaṭhina* robe has become a religious act of inestimable merit accumulation. (See also VASSĀVĀSA, KAṬHINA).

Dhammavihāri

RĀJADHAMMA, DASA: The ten-fold ethical code of a king or a government. In the evolution of human society, as symbolically portrayed in the *Aggañña Sutta* (*D.* III 80 f.), there comes a particular stage when crimes and punishments become a social problem. Then there arises the need for an executive head to inquire into such matters and mete out suitable punishment. It was this vacuum that was filled by electing such a head by common consent. This person was accordingly designated as "the *mahāsammata*," the Great Elect, the people's choice. This was their king or *rāja*, a concept that became established in society, invested with a special personality grown around it. The duties understood by the term *rāja dhamma* comprised the moral qualifications of this "king" and these became compressed under a ten-fold group as *dasarāja dhamma*, which gave the final definition of who a genuine king or a government should be and whose "rule" had to conform to these moral demands in the conduct of governance. These ten are enumerated as follows (*J.* III, 274):

Dāna : generosity, liberality
Sīla : morality
Pariccāga : ethical sacrifice, 'giving up'
Ajjava : straightness, uprightness
Majjava : gentleness
Tapa : austerity
Akkodha : non-anger
Avihiṃsā : non-hurtfulness, harmlessness
Khanti : forbearance, patience
Avirodhatā : non-opposition, non-intransigence

A genuine ruler, a good king administering men and matters, should be one who conducts his rulership without violating these ten regulations as inviolable royal duties (*dasarājadhamme akopya rajjaṃ kāresi*): *J.* I. 260, 399; II, 400 etc.) which seem to have developed gradually over several centuries, perhaps from a few qualities upto an established round number of ten. It also deserves mentioning here that although the kings were originally elected by common consent later they became hereditary as well. However, even modern day democratic elections also come under this same system of election through common consent, as it is the elected leaders that run such governments. Therefore, these ten demands of good rulership can apply with equal force to modern day elected governments as well. Now, let us enumerate these ten qualities one by one and examine as to how they apply in actual practice.

As a preamble it should be stated here that the ideal system of governance favoured by Buddhism is also that of the welfare state in a democratic set up. These ten requirements do constitute the advice needed for those elected leaders who need such guidance from religious leaders, philosophers etc. for them to discharge those duties dutifully as demanded by these welfare state policies.

The first of these, *dāna* or liberality, highlights the significant fact that it is one of the primary duties of an elected ruler or of the state to look into and do the needful for those sections among the citizens in need of help, specially in the economic field. According to the classical Indian concept of kingship also, the state has to look after the citizens with a paternal attitude towards them and as it is the case in any society in general that the poor and the needy make the bulk of the population, it is the bounden duty of the state to provide for their needs in the fields of food, clothing, shelter and medicine as welfare measures, because these are their needs as opposed to their 'wants' without which they do not suffer in this world.

The second requirement, *sīla* or morality, means that the elected leaders, as kings or otherwise, must be men of high moral character, at least after assumption of office. They should basically be observers of the Five Precepts (*pañca-sīla*) and remain exemplary, both in their public as well as private lives. Unless they set this example the ordinary public cannot be expected to lead morally good lives. In this manner the elected leaders should perennially turn the searchlights inward, and be alive to reforming themselves for their as well as otherís good.

The third requirement is *pariccāga* which means that public leaders should make various sacrifices for the sake of the common good. For instance, they should forego personal comforts, gains, fame and such other factors of personal aggrandizement for the sake of the community at large. Lack of such self-sacrificing leaders and their replacement by those who go after such gains and comforts at the expense of the people can become a major cause for a country's ills and as such a big social evil anywhere in the world. Genuine leaders never resort to exploitive type of living at the expense of the community. They are expected to forego personal comforts and luxuries denied to the people.

Next comes *ajjava* or personal integrity which implies that a true leader should always act without resorting to what Buddhist social ethics has identified as the four incorrect courses of action in public dealings or *agati*, which are personal favoritism (*chanda*), acting through hatefulness (*dosa*), through cowardice (*bhaya*) or through delusion (*moha*). Only if the leaders act free from these four improper ways can one expect a conflict -free society.

Maddava or gentleness comes as the fifth requirement which is a *sine quo non* for all elected leaders. Without becoming harsh, crude, rude or dictatorial all leaders and rulers of society should temper their mandatory firmness with compassion and benevolence. Exploitive type of iron rule is never to be the order in dealing with their subjects.

Tapa or sensual restraint is the sixth requisite, which in reality refers to the necessity of an austere type of life-style for the leaders. Sincere leaders are never given to extravagant and luxury-ridden life styles, thereby setting a worthy example to the people at large. Any type of self-indulgence just because all the facilities for it are at their command would make leaders easily disqualified for their role.

The next requirement is given as *akkodha* or non-anger which requires that people's leaders should not bear grudges, animosities and axes to grind towards their subject for any reason whatsoever. In modern political parlance this would mean not resorting to 'political victimization', which is thus highlighted as a disqualification in political leadership. Leaders of quality would never resort to this abominable practice which in the contemporary world has become responsible for much hateful and even murderous behaviour in the field of politics.

The eighth quality required is given as *avihiṃsā* or non-violence which can also be rendered as non-hurtfulness or harmlessness. If leaders resort to violent measures to remain in power, what democracy, what religion, what humanism can remain there? Such behaviour on the part of leaders would lead to counter violence from the people and a whole country can fall victim to a catastrophic situation of anarchy and mayhem. Not merely avoidance of violence negatively but initiating positive steps to promote peace and harmony in a country should be the principle and the aim of leaders. Such a policy stands as the best antidote to the scourge of terrorism, which is gripping the entire world today as one of the worst torments of mankind.

The ninth is *khanti* or forbearance or patience without which no leader can do justice to the sacred role cast on him or her. A leader's role is one in which challenges, hardships , opposing reaction, threats, insults etc. can hinder one's path in the face of which one should be able to maintain the cool and face both bouquets and brickbats with equanimity. Excessive sensitivity leading to the enfeeblement of one's will and strength is not a welcome characteristic for a good leader.

The tenth is non-obstruction or non-intransigence (*avirodhatā*) which highlights a common flaw found not only in contemporary but even in all time political activity. This is the reactionary habit of opposing for the sake of opposing and thereby sabotaging even constructive proposals and schemes when they are put forward by the opposing camp. Positively expressed as a desirable virtue this would be 'agreeability' implying that the elected rulers learn to respect and accept the wishes of the people emerging from any quarter if and when they are meant for the common good.

All in all, if these ten requirements are complied with by any head or a group of rulers running the affairs of any country, that would certainly be deserving of recognition as the ideal Rule of the Law.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

RĀJAGAHA (RĀJAGṚHA). Rājagaha was the capital of the powerful kingdom of Magadha during the Buddha's time. Another name was Kusagara mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Surrounded by hills on all sides, it was a very picturesque and healthy city. The modern name of the place is Rājgir and it is entirely in ruins. King Bimbisāra held his court here at the time of the Buddha. Rājgir is the terminus of the narrow gauged railway known as Behar Light Railway. The ruins of the city are close to the railway station but Gijjhakūṭa hill where the Buddha resided often is situated at a distance of about two miles. Rājgir is specially important to Mahāyāna Buddhists whose *sūtras* are said to have been almost all delivered at this place of interest:-

1. Gijjakūṭa, the hill residence of the Buddha, 2. The ancient *caitya*, called 'Maniyar Math' in the centre of the valley, 3. Tapodā Nadī or the hot water springs, 4. Sattapaṇṇi cave, now known as 'Sonabhandar' in front of which the First Buddhist Council was held, 5. Excavated area including the ramparts of the old city, 6. Veḷuvanārāmaya, the famous bamboo grove residence of the Buddha, 7. Bimbisāra's jail, 8. Pippala stone house near the hot springs

Gijjakūṭa : another name for Gijjakūṭa is 'Vulture's Peak', it is famous in Buddhist history as the residence of the Buddha during his sojourns in Rājagaha. It is one of the highest of the hills surrounding the city. King Bimbisāra made a flight of steps to reach the summit where the monastery was situated. The jungle has been cleared lately from the site and the steps can once again be used to climb up to the top. Some distance from the summit there are a number of small caves used by monks. It was from the summit of this hill that Devadatta hurled a stone at the Buddha. Sukhara-khana cave where *Pariggaha-sutta* was delivered to Dīghanaka, former teacher of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, is also situated in the Gijjhakūṭa.

The ancient caitya called 'Maniar Math': Almost in the center of the valley and to the west of the main road, there is a stūpa and other structures sheltered by a corrugated iron roof of conical shape. It is called 'Maniar Math' after a small shrine which existed on the mound before the place was excavated. On removing this shrine and digging deeper below, a curious monument was exposed. It appears to be a stūpa with a hollow inside and stucco figures on the outer walls. Round the building are a number of platforms probably used as altars. The original plan and the purpose of the building are obscured by the additions and alterations it had undergone at different periods.

Tapodā Nadī : The hot water springs (*Tapodā Nadī*) are situated on the slopes of the hills to the right as one enters the basin of the hills from the direction of Gaya. These have been in existence from the time of the Buddha who mentions them in his sermons. He used to bathe here occasionally. A monastery called 'Tapoda Monastery' was in existence in proximity to the springs. At present these springs are in the hands of Hindu Pandas who have a small temple close by. Buddhists and Hindus are allowed to bathe at these springs.

Sattapaṇṇi cave : This famous cave now known as 'Sonabhandar' is situated on the inner slopes of the Vebhāra hill which stands to the right as one comes to the middle of the basin enclosed by the hills. The road from Maniyar math runs up to the foot of the caves.

Sri Aurel Stein identified Sattapaṇṇi cave with a group of 4 caves on the outer slope of the Vebhāra hill. These can be examined by crossing over the mountain and descending for some distance from the Adinath Jain temple situated on the summit. On the other hand Sir John Marshall identifies Sattapaṇṇi with a spot further down to the north where the remains of a stone house have been discovered. Both the theories deserve consideration on account of the reputation held by these two famous scholars. The discovery of a fourth century inscription on the outer wall above the door of the 'Sonabhandar' cave as well as the fact that the places suggested by these eminent savants are outside the city and, therefore, likely to have been preferred by the monks, add weight to their conclusions. The text and translation of the inscription is given below:

"*Nirvāna-lābhāya tapasvi-yogye subhe guherhatpratimā pratishthe āchārya-ratnaṃ (?) muni Vairadevah vimuktaye kārayad dirgha-ejah (?)*"

"The sage Vairadeva of great luster (?), the jewel (?) among teachers, caused to be made for the purpose of attaining salvation and for liberation two auspicious caves worthy of ascetics, in which were placed the images of Arhats".

This inscription is, however no conclusive evidence as to the origin of the cave. It is quite possible that the cave was already there and Vairadeva merely improved it for the purpose mentioned in the inscription. The image of Viṣṇu found in front of the cave was set up in later times.

Excavated area : The excavations of Rajgir have not been so thorough as at Nalanda but there is reason to believe that here is a very fruitful field for an archaeologist. Only a minute fraction of the expansive area has been explored so far, these being the so-called new city, the boundary walls and the monasteries which are dealt with elsewhere. The survey of the site and the trial excavations made indicate that the old city had two boundary walls, the outer having a circuit of no less than 25 to 30 miles, it perhaps enclosed the king's

palace and the mansions of the nobility. Both these walls are made of massive stone boulders but they are in a state of extreme decay. The thickness of the wall extant is 14 ft. 9 ins while the height at places is 11 ft. Bastions strengthen walls at intervals. The modern road to the hot springs runs through one of the principal gateways though it is unrecognizable at present.

The foundation of the new city erected by either Bimbisāra or his son Ajātasattu can be seen from the Railway Station itself. The greater area of the site is now under cultivation.

Veḷuvanārāmaya : The actual site of the monastery built by King Bimbisāra has not yet been identified. As the whole area is covered with impenetrable jungle and exploration work has been confined to a small portion only, we have to wait till the place is fully explored to know its location. Some scholars identified it with the mound situated at a distance of 150 yards from Satdhara hot springs. A few antiquities were unearthed here, but they are no conclusive evidence as to the location of this important monastery. The nearby tank is identified with the Karandaka tank mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. He says that this monastery was one *li* from the northern gate of the city. It was originally inhabited by heretics but they were removed and the place given over to the true disciples of the Lord. Veḷuvana means 'Bamboo forest'. It is not difficult to understand why it was called so from the numerous bamboo thickets growing even today over the whole locality. Lord Buddha spent several months in this monastery. Some of the *suttas* delivered here are *Mahākassapa, Mahāmoggallāna* and *Mahācunda Bojjhṅgas.*

In front of Veḷuvanārāmaya passed away Mahāmoggallāna Thera who had the unique honour of having a *stūpa* erected at the suggestion of the Buddha himself.

Bimbisāra's jail : On the main road through the valley three fourths of a mile to the south of the Maniyar Math temple, there is a place enclosed by a stone wall 6 ft. thick. This is supposed to be the jail in which Bimbisāra was kept confined as a prisoner by his son Ajātasattu. It is said that from the prison, the captive king could see the Buddha walking up and down in Gijjhakūṭa, which sight was a great consolation to his sad heart. The peak is undoubtedly visible from here and the fact that an iron ring with a loop to which convicts could be tied was found at the site, is also evidence of the identification of the ruins.

Pipphala Stone House : On the eastern side of the Vebhāra hill and to the right of the pathway leading to the Hindu temple, there is a rather strange stone structure identified with Pipphalaguhā mentioned in Pali books, and presently called 'Jarasandakibaitak'. It measures 85 ft. by 81 ft., while the height is 22 to 28 feet. It does not really look like a monastery. Sir John Marshall was undoubtedly right when he described it as a watch tower, the opening on the sides being sentries posts. Their subsequent utilization by monks for purposes of meditation probably earned it the appellation of 'Pipphalaguhā'. The cave where the Buddha came to succour Mahākassapa Thera during his illness, was probably behind it, but it has now entirely disappeared. On the summit of this structure there are now five Moslem graves.

History of Rājagṛha : Rājagṛha is one of the oldest cities of India. According to Rāmāyaṇa, the well-known Hindu epic, it was founded by King Vasu and called 'Vasumati' after his name. It has many other names and some of them have already been referred to. The name Rājagṛha was applied during the Buddha's time on account of the many palaces which adorned it. As the capital of the powerful Magadha kingdom, it became famous throughout India for its wealth and magnificence. Its vastness is indicated by the boundary walls. Buddhaghosa mentions that the city had 32 main gates with 64 minor ones but the prosperity of Rājagṛha declined after the building of Pāṭalīputra by Ajātasattu on the river Ganges. It is said that he also strengthened the walls of the old city to resist a contemplated attack by King Padyota of Avanti.

Rājagṛha (P. Rājagaha) was a favourite residence of the Buddha and he visited it very often during his wanderings. The first visit was before his Enlightenment in quest of alms. It was then that King Bimbisāra saw him and learning that he was the son of a Sākya ruler, invited him to abandon religious life and accept a portion of his own kingdom. The Buddha who had already renounced a throne, declined the honour with thanks. The king, however, obtained a promise from him to visit him directly on achieving his purpose in life. This he faithfully kept and the king became a lifelong devotee.

At the time of Fa-Hien's visit, the old city had been almost completely abandoned. His account is given below:

"... Hence going to the distance of one *Yeou Yan*, you can come to the new town, of the Royal Residence. This new town was built by King Acheshi.[1] In the midst there are two *Seng kia lan*.[2] On leaving by the western gate, you arrive at the distance of three hundred paces, at a tower raised by the king Acha shi, when he obtained a portion of the relics of Fo; it is lofty, grand, beautiful and majestic.

Leaving the town on the southern side and proceeding four *li* to the south, you enter a valley which leads to the five hills. These five hills form a girdle like the walls of a town; it is the ancient town of King Ping she.[3] From east to west may extend five or six *li*, and from north to south seven or eight. Here is the place where She li fo[4] and Mou lian[5] first beheld o hi; the place where Ni kian tse[6] made a pit filled with fire and served poisoned food to Fo[7] and that where the black elephant of the king Ache shi having drunk wine sought to injure Fo.

At the north east angle of the town, the ancients erected a chapel in the garden where An pholo[8] invited Fo and twelve hundred and fifty of his disciples to do them honour; this chapel still exists.

The town is entirely deserted and uninhabited.

Entering the valley and going to the mountains about fifteen *li* to the south east, you arrive at the peak of Khi che.[9] Three *li* before reaching the summit of the mountain you come to a tavern situated amongst the rocks and facing the south. Fo was seated there in a stone grot: A nan[10] was sitting there in meditation. The demon of heaven, Phi siun [11] transformed into a vulture, stopped before the grot and terrified A nan. Fo by his supernatural power opened the rock, took A nan by the arm with his hand and removed his fear. The trace of the bird, and the hole through which Fo protruded his hand still exist. It is from this circumstance that the hill is called the 'Hill of the cave of the vulture'. Before the cave is the place of those of the four Buddhas. All the Arahats likewise, had each his cave when they sat to meditate. The number of these caves is several hundreds.

Fo, being in front of the stone house, was passing from the east to the west. Thiao tha,[12] standing on the steep edge towards the north of the mountain, threw down a stone which wounded Fo on the toe. This stone still exists. The hall in which Fo taught the doctrine is in ruins; there are but the foundations of a brick wall remaining. The peaks these hills are regular and majestic;

They are the loftiest of the five mountains.

Fa Hien, having purchased in the new town perfumes, flowers and oil lamps, hired two aged Pi Khieoou[13] to conduct him to the grots and to the hill Khi che. After having made an oblation of the perfumes and the flowers, the lamps increased the brilliance. Grief and emotion affected him even to tears; he said, "Formerly, in this very place was Fo; here he taught the Sheou leng yan;[14] Fa Hien, unable to behold Fo in life, has but witnessed the traces of his sojourn. Still it is something to have recited the Sheou leng yan before the cave and dwelt there one night.

Proceeding to the north three hundred paces he saw to the west of the road the Bambo gardens of Kia[15] where was constructed a chapel which remains to this day; the ecclesiastics sweep and water it. To the north of the chapel, at the distance of two or three *li*, is the Shi mo she na.[15] Shi mo she na signifies in Chinese, the Field of Tombs where they lay the dead. On crossing the southern mountain and proceeding westwards three hundred paces, there is a stone building, called the grot of Pin Pho lo; Fo, after his meals habitually sat in this place to meditate".

Pilgrimage of Fa Hien, pp. 288-9, 298

The following extracts are from Hiuen Tsiang's account:

"From this spot proceeding eastward through the mountains about 60 *li*, we arrive at the city of Kusagara-pura (Kiu-she-kie-lo-pu-lo), or the royal city of best grass (lucky grass). This is the central point of the city of Magadha. Here the former kings of the country fixed their capital. It produces much of the most excellent, scented, fortunate grass and therefore it is called 'the city of the superior grass'. High mountains surround it on each side and form as it were its external walls. On the west it is approached through a narrow

pass; on the north there is a passage through the mountains. The town is extended from east to west and narrow from north to south. It is about 150 *li* in circuit. The remaining foundations of the walls of the inner city are about 30 *li* in circuit. The trees called *kie-ni-kia* (*kanakas*) border all the roads, their flowers exhale a delicious perfume, and their colour is of a bright golden hue. In the spring months the forests are all of a golden colour.

Outside the north gate of the palace city is a *stūpa*. Here Devadatta (Ti-po-to-to) and Ajātasattu-rāja (Wi-sing-yuu) having agreed together as friends, liberated the drunken elephant for the purpose of killing Tathāgata. But Tathāgata miraculously caused five lions to proceed from his finger ends; on this the drunken elephant was subdued and stood still before him.

To the north-east of this spot is a *stūpa*. This is where Sāriputta (She-li-tseu) heard Asvajita (o-shi-po-shi) the Bhikkhu, declare the law, and by that means reached the fruit of (an Arahat).

To the north of this place, not far off there is a very deep ditch, by the side of which is built a *stūpa*; this is the spot where Srīgupta (She-li-Kio-to) wished to destroy Buddha by means of fire concealed in the ditch and poisoned rice. Now Srīgupta (Shing-mi) greatly honoured (believed in) the heretics, and mind was deeply possessed by false views.

To the north-east of this fiery ditch of Srīgupta (Shing-mi), at the bend of the city, is a *stūpa*; this is where Jīvaka (Shi-fo-kia), the great physician, built a preaching hall for Buddha. All round the walls he planted flowers and fruit trees. The traces of the foundation walls and the decayed roots of the trees are still visible. Tathāgata, when he was in the world, often stopped here. By the side of this place are the remains of the house of Jīvaka, and the hollow of an old well also exists there still.

To the north-east of the palace city going 14 or 15 *li*, we come to the mountain Gridharakuṭa (Ki-li-tho-Kiu-ch'a). Touching the southern slope of the northern mountain, it rises as a solitary peak to a great height on which vultures make their abode. It reflected, the colours of the mountain and the heaven being commingled.

When Tathāgata had guided the world for some fifty years, he dwelt much on this mountain and delivered the excellent law in its developed form (Kwang). Bimbisāra-rāja, caused to be built a staircase from the foot of the mountain to its summit. They leveled the valleys and spanned the precipices, and with the stone made a staircase about ten paces wide and 5 or 6 *li* long. In-the middle of the road there are two small *stūpas*, one called 'Dismounting from the chariot' (Hia-shing), because the king when he got there, went forward on foot. The other is called 'Sending back the crowd' (T'ui-fan), because the king separating the commonfolk, would not allow them to proceed with him. The summit of this mountain is long from the east to the west and narrow from north to south. There is a brick *vihāra* on the borders of a steep precipice at the western end of the mountain. It is high and wide and beautifully constructed. The door opens to the east. Here Tathāgata often stopped in old days and preached the law. There is now a figure of him preaching the law of the same size as life.

To the east of the *vihāra* is a long stone, on which Tathāgata trod as he walked up and down for exercise. By the side of it is a great stone about fourteen or fifteen feet high and thirty paces round. This is the place where Devadatta flung a stone from a distance to strike the Buddha.

South of this, below the precipice, is a *stūpa*. Here Tathāgata, when alive, in old times, delivered the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*.

To the south of the *vihāra*, by the side of a mountain cliff, is a great stone house. In this Tathāgata, when dwelling in the world long ago, entered *samādhi*.

To the north-west of the stone house and in front of it is a great and extraordinary stone. This is the place where Ānanda (O-nan) was frightened by Māra. By the side of the *vihāra* there are several stone houses, where Sāriputta and other great Arahats entered *samādhi*.

Going about one *li* from the north gate of the mountain city we come to the Karandavenuvana (Kia-lant'o-chuh-yuen), where now the stone foundation and the brick walls of a *vihāra* exist.

To the east of the Karandavenuvana is a *stūpa* which was built by Ajātasatturāja. After the Nirvana of the Tathāgata, the kings divided the relics (she-li); king Ajātasattu returned then with his share, and from a feeling of extreme reverence built (a *stūpa*) and offered his religious offerings to it. When Asoka-raja (Wu-yau) became a believer, he opened it and took the relics, and in his turn built another *stūpa*. This building constantly emits miraculous light. By the side of the *stūpa* of Ajātasattu-rāja is another *stūpa* which encloses the relics of half the body of Ānanda. To the south west of the bamboo garden (Venuvana) about 5 or 6 *li* on the north side of the southern mountain is a great bamboo forest. In the middle of it is a large stone house. Here the Venerable Kassapa with 999 Arahats, after Tathāgata's Nirvāṇa, called a convocation (for the purpose of settling the three *Piṭakas*).

North west of the place where the great Kassapa held the convocation is a *stūpa*. This is where Ānanda, being forbidden by the priests to take part in the assembly, came and sat down in silence and reached the fruit (position) of an Arahat. After this he joined the assembly. Going west from this point 20 *li* or so, is a *stūpa* built by Asoka-raja. This is the spot where the great assembly (Mahāsaṅgha) formed their collection of books (or, held their assembly). To the north of the Venuvana-vihāra about 200 paces, we come to the Karanda lake (Karandahrada).

To the north west of the Karandahrada, at a distance of 2 or 3 *li*, is a *stūpa* which was built by Asoka-raja. It is about 60 feet high; by the side of it is a stone pillar on which is a record engraved relating to the foundation of the *stūpa*. It is about 50 feet high, and on the top has the figure of an elephant.

To the north east of the pillar of stone, not far, we come to the town of Rājagṛha (Ho-lo-shi-li-hi). The outer walls of this city have been destroyed and there are no remnants of them left; the inner city (walls), although in a ruined state, still have some elevation from the ground, and are about 20 *li* in circuit.

It is also said that Ajātasattu-rāja first founded this city, and the heir-apparent of Ajātasattu having come to the throne, he also appointed it to be the capital and so it continued till the time of Asoka-rāja, who changed the capital to Pāṭaliputra, and gave the city of Rājagṛha to the Brahmins, so that now in the city there are no common folk to be seen, but only Brahmins to the number of a thousand families.

It is possible to trace two distinct towns called Rājagaha. The older one was a hill fortress, called Giribbaja. It was very ancient and was laid out by Mahāgovinda, a skilled architect. The latter one, at the foot of the hills was built by Bindusāra. The name Giribbaja seems to have been restricted to verse passages. Giribbaja means mountain stronghold. Surrounding it were the five hills - Paṇḍava, Gijjhakūṭa, Vebhāra, Isigili and Vepulla. Rājagaha was the seat of many kings such as Mandhāta and Mahāgovinda. Rājagaha was first visited by the Bodhisatta (i.e. before Enlightenment), soon after his renunciation, journeying there on foot from the River Anomā, a distance of thirty leagues. When King Bimbisāra met him, he obtained a promise from him to pay a visit to his town as soon as his aim was achieved. In order to redeem his promise, the Buddha went to Rājagaha from Gayā, after the conversion of the Tebhatika Jaṭilas. On this occasion the Buddha was given a great welcome. On the day of the entry into the palace of the king, it is said that the Sakka led a procession in the guise of a young man, singing songs of praise of the Buddha. King Bimbisāra gifted Veluvana to the order at this time and Sāriputta and Moggallāna were admitted to the order as disciples. Many others also joined the order; the Sattarasavaggiyā with Upāli at their head need special mention in this instance. The Buddha's first *vassa* was spent in Rājagaha. He remained there during winter and the following summer. It is said that the Buddha spent also in Rājagaha, the third, fourth, seventeenth and twentieth *vassa* seasons. After the twentieth year of his teaching, he made Savatthi his headquarters but continued to visit Rājagaha very frequently. It thus became the scene of several important *suttas* i.e. *Āṭānāṭiya*, *Udumbarika*, *Kassapasīhanāda*, *Jīvaka*, *Mahāsakuladāyī* and *Sakkapañha*. Many of the *Vinaya* rules were enacted at Rājagaha. The Buddha paid his last visit to Rājagaha shortly before his death.

After the *Parinibbāṇa* of the Buddha, Rājagaha was chosen by the monks, with Mahā Kassapa at their head, to hold the first convocation. This was done at Sattapaṇṇiguhā and Ajātasattu extended to this undertaking his whole-hearted patronage. A *stūpa* was also erected at Rājagaha by this king enshrining therein the relics of the Buddha which he had obtained as his share. Some time later, as suggested by Mahā Kassapa

Thera, the king gathered at Rājagaha seven *doṇas* of the Buddha's relics which had been deposited in various places; a large *stūpa* was erected over them. It was from this *stūpa* that Asoka obtained relics for his *vihāras*.

During the days of the Buddha, Rājagaha was one of the six chief cities. Several important trade routes passed through it. Mention is made of various places besides Veḷuvana, with its Kalandakanivāpa-vihāra in and around Rājagaha i.e. Sitavana, Jīvaka's Ambavana, Pipphaliguhā, Udumbarikārāma, Moranivāpa with its Paribbājakārāma, Tapodārāma, Indasālaguhā in Vediyagiri, Sattapaṇṇiguhā, Laṭṭhivana, Maddakucchi, Supatitthacetiya, Pāsāṇakacetiya, Sappasoṇḍika pabbhāra and the pond Sumāgadhā. There were eighteen large monasteries in Rājagaha at the time of the Buddha's death. The rivers Tapodā and Sappinī flowed close to the city. During the days of the Buddha, Rājagaha had a population of 18 crores, nine in the city and nine outside. The Treasurer of Rājagaha and Anāthapiṇḍika had married each other's sisters and it was while Anāthapiṇḍika was on a visit to Rājagaha that he first met the Buddha.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

References

1 Ajātasattu
2 Saṅghārāma (monastery)
3 Bimbisāra
4 Sāriputta
5 Moggallāna
6 Nighaṇṭha?
7 Buddha
8 Ambapāli
9 Gijjhakūṭa
10 Ānanda
11 Pisuna
12 Devadatta
13 Bhikkhus
14 Sigālovāda?
15 Kalandaka
16 Susāna

RĀJAGṚHA See RĀJAGAHA

RĀMAÑÑADESA. The Rāmaññadesa is the ancient name of lower Burma which was an independent kingdom in the past. The upper Burma was called "maramma" and the term "Burma" is thought to be a corrupt form of the word "maramma". Later Rāmañña was annexed by the powerful kings of Upper Burma and at present it is included in the union of Burma or union of Myanmar as it is called today. Thus the distinction of "Rāmañña" "Maramma" does not exist anymore, the terms Burma (q.v.) or Myanmar refer to the integrated country which include "Rāmañña" and "Maramma" both.

Since ancient times Rāmañña was inhabited by a group of people called "*Talaing*" or "*Mon*." The term "*Talaing*" is thought to have been derived from the term "*Teligana*" the Pallava country of south India. As the influence of south Indian Andhra culture is observed in Rāmañña, it is clear that there has been contact between the two apparently in the trade sphere since ancient times. At the same time Rāmañña is among the south eastern countries where the Theravāda form of Buddhism spread at an early date. According to the Burmese tradition the Theravāda form of Buddhism was established in Rāmañña by the Buddhist missionaries sent out by Emperor Asoka in the third century B.C. The *Mahāvamsa* (*Mhv.* chapter XII verse 44) states that elders Sona and Uttara proceeded as per Asoka's Missionary Programme, to "Suvaṇṇabhûmi" (Golden land), vanquished a demon who preyed upon the male offsprings born in the royal household, and propagated Buddhism. The Burmese tradition identifies Râmañña in the present context with Suvaṇṇabhûmi:[1]. The earliest identification of Rāmañña with Suvaṇṇabhûmi is found in the Kalyāni Inscription of the 15th century A.C. and the *Sāsanavamsa* of the 19th century. The identification of Rāmañña with Suvaṇṇabhûmi is not beyond dispute. For, while some identify it with Burma, others place it in Siam (Thailand) or take it to denote broadly the whole of Indo china. Other than the attempted identification of Râmañña in the *Mahâvamsa* with Suvaṇṇabhûmi, there is no other historical evidence as to the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism to Râmañña *vide* Asoka's missions.

Yet considering Burma's position in close proximity to India and the existence of the easy land routes between the two countries it is possible to

surmise that Buddhism found its way to Rāmañña even before, perhaps long before, the fifth century A.C. As from 5th century A.C. there are definite evidence to prove not only the existence but also the flourishing state of Theravāda Buddhism there. The archaeological remains of the old kingdom of Pyus known as Siriksetra with its capital near Prome found at Hmawza testify to the flourishing state of Theravāda Buddhism at Rāmañña. Thus it is clear that the Theravāda form of Buddhism with Pāli canonical texts has been introduced by the Indian missionaries who came from the eastern coast of Deccan and south India and it was in a flourishing state in the 5th century A.C. among the Hinduized *Mons* or *Talaings* settled in Pegu (Hamsavati), Thaton (Sudhammavati) and other neighboring regions collectively known as Râmañña.

At the same time there is archeological evidence to conclude the existence of Mûla Sarvastivâda and Mahâyāna side by side with Theravāda in the region above referred to. Mahâyāna and Sarvastivāda appear to have come to Rāmañña from Bihar and Bengal. It is significant that late Gupta style Buddhist images inscribed with Sanskrit legends have been discovered in the region. Thus maritime Provinces of Burma called Rāmañña, an independent Kingdom with its capital at Thaton (Sudhammavati) was a flourishing Buddhist center in South East Asia with international contacts by the 11th century A.C.

Rāmañña helps Maramma to revive Religious culture and literature:-The conditions at "Marammaraṭṭha", Upper Burma[2], a separate kingdom, was quite different from their neighbours at Râmañña who have already enjoyed an advanced state of Religious Culture and Literature. It was inhabited by Marammas, a Tibetan, Dravidian tribe who established their capital at Pagan (Arimaddana); the country inhabited by Marammas came to be known as Marammaraṭṭha. It is said at the beginning that they were a rude and unlettered people. They followed a debased form of Tantric Buddhism. Their religion was in the hands of 'false monks' called "*samaṇakuttakas*". Their religion, a Buddhist from the South (Râmañña) would have scorned to call a "religion." They preached that even worst crimes need no retribution, if the guilty person recites (or engage some one to recite) an appropriate '*paritta*'. The tyranny of those false monks went so far as to extract from the parents the handing over of either sons or daughters to the teacher before giving them in marriage.

It was at this juncture that a new king, Aniruddha[3], (1044-77 A.C.) ascended the throne at Pagan (capital of Upper Burma). A monk from Rāmañña named Shin Arahan also called "Dharmadarsi" became the spiritual adviser to the new king. The king with help of Shin Arahan and a few monks from Rāmañña took necessary steps to crush the tyranny of the *Samaṇakuttakas* and relieve the country from debased Tantric Buddhism and spread the pure Theravâda form of Buddhism at Marammaraṭṭha. But the non-availability of sacred canonical texts at Pagan was a severe constraint for king Aniruddha's efforts to spread the Theravâda form of Buddhism in his kingdom. The king learnt from Shin Arahan that the sacred canonical texts were available in abundance at Rāmañña. The king sent ambassadors to the Talaing King Manohari (Manuha) at Thaton with the request to send him the texts and the relics. But the Talaing king refused to accede to the request of Aniruddha to release the sacred texts and relics. He was outraged and furious and descended the River Irrawady with his armies and laid siege on Thaton the capital of Sudhammapura and the city fell to besiegers. The relics, the sacred canon and the learned monks were forcibly taken from Thaton to Pagan. The Talaing king Manohari himself was taken prisoner to Pagan and Râmañña was annexed to upper Burma. Thus the Theravâda form of Buddhism was introduced to upper Burma from Rāmañña and it was the beginning of the literary activities, too, there. The Marammas, the victors, had no hesitation in adopting the religion, literature, cultures and scholasticism of those defeated. The development at upper Burma was unprecedented and surpassed Rāmañña within a short period. Yet it was Rāmañña which gave them every thing. According to the Burmese and Thai chronicles Aniruddha was not content with the canon taken from Rāmañña. He sent a delegation to King Vijayabāhu I (1070-1110 A.C.) of Lanka and got down canonical texts to be compared with those brought from Rāmañña and to decide the correct form finally. The *Mahâvamsa* (Ch. LX verse 4 ff) in this context provides additional information not found in Burmese or Thai sources. As the *Mahâvamsa* says King Vijayabahu found that there were no sufficient bhikkhus to form a chapter to perform the *upasampadâ* ceremony. He sent a delegation to the king of Rāmañña with valuable

presents and got down virtuous and erudite monks from Rāmañña for the purpose.[4]

King Parākramabāhu's Conquest of Ramañña : As stated in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter LXXVI verse 10 ff) the inhabitants of Lanka and Rāmañña [5], professed the same true faith Theravāda, there was no difference between them. The kings who reigned in the two countries had a great regard to each other and preserved their friendship for a long time. In addition to the religious contacts there was prosperous trade relations between the two countries, specially the elephant trade. It is said the Rāmañña king gifted an elephant to each ship that bore him presents.

When it came to the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153-86 A.C.), he too honoured and followed the ancient customs towards Rāmañña as done in the past. But the foolish king of Rāmañña, as the *Mahāvamsa* calls him, listening to the words of a messenger who went from this country, ill treated and harassed the envoys and confiscated the goods of the traders. King Parakramabahu was outraged and felt insulted, sent a punitive expedition to Rāmañña in order to avenge the insult. As recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter LXXVI Verse 66) the armies of Parakramabahu set out for Rāmñña in hundred ships and landed there. In the battle that followed the king of Rāmñña was killed and the supreme authority of the lord of Lanka over Rāmañña was declared. The people of Rāmañña were frightened and appealed to the *Mahā Sangha* of Lanka through their counterpart in Rāmñña for their intervention. The *Maha Sangha* of Lanka intervened and the king of Lanka acceded to the request and the matter was settled. The age-old traditional friendship between the two prominent Theravāda countries in the east was restored.

The Establishment of Sīhala Sangha in Rāmañña: The Sīhala Saṅgha was introduced and established in upper Burma by Chapaṭa (Saddhammajotipala) under the patronage of king Narapatisithu (1167-1202 A.C.). Afterwards the king made necessary arrangements to introduce the Sīhala Saṅgha to Rāmañña. The king summoned a Talaing monk named Sariputta also named Dhammavilāsa for the mission. He arrived at Pagan while yet a *samaṇera* and received Sīhala Ordination. The king honored him and sent him to Rāmañña with instructions to purify the *sāsana*. Sariputta staying at Dāla established the Sīhala Saṅgha at Rāmañña. The establishment of the Sīhala Saṅgha at Rāmañña is calculated from this date. Sariputta alias Dhammavilāsa is also regarded as the first literary personage from Rāmañña.

The Confirment of Upasampadā on Rāmañña monks at Colombo along with Thai, Laos and Kamboja monks during the reign of Parakramabahu VI (1415-67A.C.)- Kotte period: *Jinakālamāli* a historical treatise written in the 16th century in Northern Thailand, Chieng Mai (Nabbisipura) reveals information of a *upasampadā* ceremony held near Colombo, Sri Lanka, during the reign of King Parakramabahu VI of Kotte, where some monks from Rāmañña received *upasampadā* along with a group of monks from Thailand, Laos and Kamboja. According to the treatise referred to above 25 great theras from the city of Nabbisis (Chieng Mai), eight from Kamboja and six from Rāmañña visited Sri Lanka in order to learn the orthographic system in vogue in Sri Lanka as well as the manner of recital of the sacred texts and the vocal intonation in conformity with it. They, desirous of obtaining the Sri Lankan *upasampadā* begged of Mahāsamy Vanaratana to confer them the *upasampadā*. With the patronage of King Parakramabahu VI (1415-67) of the Kotte kingdom, they were given the *upasampadā* on a flotilla of boats tied together at Yāpāpaṭṭna[6] in the river Kalyani, in 1424 A.C. In the *upasampadā* ceremony, it is reported that Mahāsamy Vanaratana officiated as *kammavacācariya* (the teacher administering the ordination formula) and Dhammacāri as *upajjhāya*, the preceptor. No further details of the six Rāmañña monks who received the higher ordination in Sri Lanka is given. Probably they would have returned to Rāmañña to help the *sāsana*.

Upasampadā ceremony for Rāmañña monks in the Kalyāni River, Sri Lanka - During the Kotte period: It is significant that there has been an *upasampadā* ceremony held exclusively for the Rāmañña monks during the Kotte period. King Dhammaceti also known as Rāmādhipati (1460-91), who himself was in robes prior to his ascending the throne at Pegu, was determined to purify and uplift the *sāsana* at Rāmaññadesa for which he wanted to get fresh the Mahāvihāra *upasampadā* from Sri Lanka. King

Dhammaceti took necessary steps to dispatch a mission to Sri Lanka with costly presents to the reigning king Bhuvanekabahu VI (1470-79 a.c.) and to the *Mahasaṅgha*. The mission accompanying 22 monks, the *upasampadā* aspirants, set out for Sri Lanka in two ships, one ship in charge of a minister named Chitradūta and the other in charge of the minister Rāmadūta. The ship under the care of Citradūta reached Colombo safely while the other under the charge of Rāmadūta, affected by bad winds, reached the harbour at Weligama in south Sri Lanka some time later. On the order of the king the "water boundary (*udakukkhepa sīmā*)" was built in the Kalyāni River by tying several rafts together for the *upasampadā* ceremony. Mahāthera Wīdāgama who presided over the ceremony selected 24 pre-eminent monks for a chapter. They conferred the *upasampadā* on Rāmañña monks. The king conferred honorary titles on each of the Rāmañña monks. On their return journey, after obtaining the *upasampadā*, Citradūta's party had to face some casualties, but Rāmadūta's party reached Rangoon safely. King Rāmādhipati accorded a grand reception for them. The first thing they undertook was to establish a valid *sīmā* for holding Ecclesiastical Acts of the Order. Thus a *sīmā* was established in a small village of the Minister Narasura. As the *sīmā* consecrated by the monks who received the higher ordination in the Kalyāni River, Sri Lanka, it was named "Kalyāni Sīmā." The monks thereafter requested king Dhammaceti to permit them to receive the "*Sīhala Upasampadā*" and the king left it entirely to the discretion of the monks to judge by themselves as to whether they should undergo a second *upasampadā*. The monks agreed. Fraternities of the entire Rāmaññamaṇḍala both urban and forest dwelling (*gāmavāsi* and *araññavāsi*) received the *Sīhala upasampadā* pertaining to the Mahavihāra fraternity. This was the beginning of the unification of the *saṅgha* in Burma, when as a result of it all the monks without exception became members of the Mahavihāra fraternity.

The other important act of king Dhammaceti is the establishment of a set of inscriptions called "Kalyāni Inscriptions." The Kalyāni Inscriptions comprise of ten slabs written on both sides installed at Zaingganaing in the western suburb of Pegu (Hamsavati) the capital of Rāmañña at the time. The Kalyāni Inscriptions give authoritative rulings on divergent opinions and prescribe ceremonials for the consecration of a valid *sīmā*. Further the inscriptions describe the conferment of *upasampadā* in the Kalyāni river in Sri Lanka for the Rāmañña monks on the request of King Dhammaceti of Rāmañña under the patronage of king Bhuvanekabahu VI (1470-79 A.C.).

The *upasampadā* ceremony conducted in the Kalyāni River and subsequently taking the same *upasampadā* to Rāmañña and Rāmañña monks without exception joining the same *upasampadā* is a landmark in the history of Buddhism in Rāmañña and also a land mark in Sri Lankan Rāmañña relations.

Mānāvulusandesaya[1]: Among the Pali literary works of Sri Lankan origin, it is significant to find a Pali *Sandesa* Poem (a type of versified literary work in the form of a message addressed to an eminent person embodying a request) written by an erudite *thera* of South Sri Lanka addressed to a similar *thera* in Rāmañña. It is a short Pali Poem also called *Mahānāgakulasandesaya* or *Rāmañña sandesaya*[2] written by Mahānāgasena Thera of Mānāvulupura of Rohana (South Sri Lanka) addressed to Mahakassapa Thera of Rāmañña. In the poem the author Mahānāgasena Thera requests Kassapa Thera of Arimaddanapura to purify the *sāsana* at Arimaddana with the support of king Siridhamma, in the same way the *Mahāsangha* of Lanka purified the *sāsana* with the assistance of king Parakramabahu. The period of composition appear roughly to be circa 1153 A.C. within the reign of king Parakramabahu (1153-186 A.C.) of Polonnaruwa. The king named Siridhamma stated to have been reigning at Arimaddanapura is identified by Mable Bode as king Jeyyasankha (in 1227 or 1234 A.C.). The scholars of Lanka were in constant touch with the scholars of Rāmañña and Upper Burma during the 12th century A.C.

Ramaññadesa and Buddhaghosa. The Burmese tradition attempts to connect Buddhaghosa with Rāmaññadesa. According to the tradition referred to above, he was born in a town called Gola, suburb of Saddhammapura and was ordained at Kesapabbatavihāra. But Buddhagosa's works do not reveal any information of his birth place etc. Therefore the Burmese tradition is not historically supported. A.P. Budhadatta however, says that though Buddhaghosa would not have been born in Rāmañña,

it is possible that he came to Lanka after staying at Rāmañña.

Rāmañña Nikāya (q.v.). It is interesting to note that one of the three main Buddhist sects (*nikāyas*) of Sri Lanka at present is named after and connected to Rāmaññadesa. Ambagahawatte Saranankara (later Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi) a monk of the Siamese sect who was not happy with the Siamese *upasampadā* he received, decided to bring the *upasampadā* from elsewhere. He proceeded to Burma and having undergone *upasampadā* first under Sangharāja Ñeyyadhamma, on his way back obtained another *upasampadā* at the Kalyāni Simā already referred to and returned to Sri Lanka and established the Rāmañña Nikāya[5] on 12th June 1863. This strengthened the traditional relationship between the two countries.

Shwe Dagon Pagoda: - The Shwe Dagon pagodā, a magnificent edifice and the centre of attraction of entire Burma is sited in Rāmañña, to their credit. This unique *Pagodā* rising to a height of 368 ft from the center of the city of Rangoon (Yangoon) is covered with pure gold from the base to the summit is also the centre of religious life. Further Rāmañña has produced Shin Sawbu (1453-72 A.C.) the only queen regent of Burma. She enlarged the Shwe Dagon Pagoda giving her own weight in gold to gild the famous spire, which deserves mention.

Conclusion: Owing to their position close to the sea there were advantages as well as disadvantages. They came in direct contact with the Indian civilization at the beginning through the trade links and got Buddhism long before their neighbors in the upper Burma. Thus they were far ahead of "marammas" the inhabitants of upper Burma in respect of the religion, literature, language and culture. As already stated it was they who gave upper Burma religion, language etc. They came in contact with the western nations such as the British, the French before Upper Burma. Consequently they had to face foreign invasions. Rāmañña was annexed to upper Burma several occasions in the history and lost their independence. However their principal kingdom "Pegu" survived till 1757. British annexed lower Burma or Rāmañña in a brief campaign during the second Burmese war. After the Second World War Burma got its independence from the British in 1947. The distinction Rāmañña and Maramma or lower and upper Burma does not exist any more. They are distinguishable from their brethren in the upper reaches of River Irravady only in language. They form a part of the union of Burma, now union of Myanmar.

Bibliography:

1. *Pāli literature of Burma*, Mabel Haynes Bode. Royal Asiatic Society London 1909.
2. *Pāli Literature*, A.P. Buddhadatta (Sinhala) Colombo 1962.
3. *Epochs of the Conqueror*, - N.A. Jayawickrama *PTS*. London 1968.
4. *Sambhāshā* (Mahabodhi Centenary Volume, Ministry of Education and Higher Education Vol. I No 2. 1991 (Articles by Prof. N.A. Jayawickrama and Dr. Kanai Lal Hazra.)
5. *Encyclopaedia Britanica* Vol. 4 1953 page 424 ff.
6. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. III 515 ff.
7. *Mahavamsa* (*Culavamsa*) Reign of Vijayabahu I and Parakramabahu I.
8. *Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, G.P. Malalasekara Colombo, pp195 f.

K. Arunasiri

References

[1]. Burmese claim that three out of nine Buddhist missions dispatched by Asoka proceeded to upper Burma (*Sāsanavamsa* (*P.T.S.*) Introduction p. 3 ff)

[2] Though at present the name Burma applies to the entire region coming under 'Union of Burma' in the past, it was used only to the upper section of the Irrawady valley. The lower part of the Irrawady valley was called Ramañña.

[3] The name of the king is also appearing as Anorata, Anuruddha, Anawartha in literature.

[4] N.A. Jayawickrama does not agree with the *Mahāvamsa* statement that there was no sufficient number of monks to form a chapter. He says "This perhaps reflects the state of the *sāsana* in the metropolitan province Rajaraṭṭha while it would not be true of Rohana from where monks could easily have been obtained for the purpose" (*Sambhāshā* Mahābodhi Centenary commemorative Volumes I No. 2, 1991 p. 174

(Articles by Dr. N.A. Jayawickrame "The Sinhala Sangha in South-East Asia).

[5] *Mahavamsa* refers to Ramañña as "Rāmaññavisaya"(Mhv lx verse 4)

[6] Probably a trading post on the river or the estuary meet in the roadstead of Colombo.

[7] *Mānāvulusandesaya* written in Ceylon edited by Barnett. JRAS April 1905 p. 265

[8] A.P. Buddhadatta does not agree with its being called *Rāmaññasandesaya* for the poem is addressed to Ven. Kassapa Thera to Arimaddana (Pagan) was in upper Burma. (not in Rāmañña). He says it has nothing to do with Ramanna (*Pali Literature* (in Sinhala script) Buddhadatta A.P. 1906 p. 551.

[9] The monastery named Mahāvissutārāmaya where Ven. Ambagahawatte Saranankara (Later Indāsabhavarañana Sāmi the founder of the Rāmañña Nikāya) obtained his first *upasampadā* from the Sangharāja Neyya dhamma appear to have been in Upper Burma not in Ramañña. But *Kalyānisīmā* where he underwent a subsequent *upasampada* was in Rāmañña. Hence there is no problem in naming the new *nikāya* as the Rāmañña Nikāya.

RĀMAÑÑA NIKĀYA: Ramañña Nikaya is one of the three main Buddhist Sects existing at present in Sri Lanka. Rāmaññadesa is the ancient name for Lower Burma, which was a separate kingdom in the past. Since the "Higher Ordination" (*upasampadā*) was obtained from the *mahāsaṅgha* of Rāmaññadesa in order to establish this sect, it is named Rāmañña Nikāya. Rāmañña Nikāya is the third sect established one after the other within a short period of 110 years in the 18th and 19th centuries in the island. When discussing the establishment of the Rāmañña Nikāya, it is necessary to examine the circumstances that led to its establishment in spite of the two sects already established and functioning in the country.

Background: Buddhism as well as the country flourished under the peaceful and prosperous rule of King Parākramabāhu VI (1410-68 AC), which covered a major part of the 15th century. But that peace and prosperity was short lived. The Portuguese who landed in the island accidentally at the beginning of the 16th century became rulers of the Maritime Provinces before the end of the 16th century, due to mutual rivalries that existed among the local rulers. In the years that followed Christianity spread with the help of the sword, and persecution of the Buddhists by the Portuguese as well as on account of the conversion of King Don Juan Dharmapala to Christianity. The Dutch followed the Portuguese. Though not as barbarous as the Portuguese, they too started spreading their own faith, the Reformed Form of Christianity, at the expense of Buddhism. The country was in a chaotic situation in the 16th and 17th centuries due to the frequent wars between the foreign powers as well as among the local rulers themselves. Buddhism suffered severely during this period. When it came to the 17th century, it is said that there were no qualified monks to perform the *upasampadā* ceremony, the conferment of the Higher Ordination, which was essential for the continuation of the *sāsana*. It was found necessary to introduce the *upasampadā* from another country, in order to revive Buddhism which was fast declining. Though several earlier attempts failed to bring the *upasampadā* either from Burma or Siam, Ven. Welivita Sāmanera Saranankara (later Saṅgharāja) was able to obtain the *upasampadā* from Siam with the help of king Kirthi Sri Rājasinghe (1747-80) and the *upasampadā* ceremony was performed in Kandy and the order of Sangha was established by a team of Siamese monks headed by Elder Upāli in 1753. There was great enthusiasm at the beginning; a large number of monks received the higher ordination both in the Kandyan kingdom as well as in the low Country. The ruined temples were repaired and books were re-written with royal patronage. But again the Buddhist revival was hampered due to the rivalry and distrust between the Nāyakkar kings and the powerful nobility, which destabilized the Kandyan kingdom. The rivalry and the struggle for power between the Nāyakkar and the nobility ultimately resulted in the British annexation of the Kandyan kingdom in 1815. Though the British undertook to protect and look after Buddhism in the Kandyan convention which was agreed upon at the time of the annexation of the kingdom, soon they shed their responsibility and acted contrary to their agreement. The British too followed the same religious policy of the Dutch and spent from the Govt. coffers to propagate their own form of Christianity at the expense of Buddhism. They also encouraged the conversion to Christianity by several means such as offering govt. jobs etc. to the natives. Buddhism was

considered as the religion of heathens. Buddhists were ashamed to admit in public that they were Buddhists. Buddhism fell into such a pathetic state that James De Alwis, a Sinhala Christian, a recognized Sinhala scholar of the day predicted at a meeting held in Colombo, October 25th 1861 that Buddhism would disappear from Ceylon by the close of the 19th century.[1]

Although the Siamese *upasampadā* was accepted with great joy and enthusiasm, unfortunately it became confined only to a particular social group which claims the highest position among all other social groups, depriving a very large segment of the population the right to enter the Buddhist *saṅgha*, which is totally against the Buddha's teachings. If not for the timely action taken by Ven. Ambagahawatte Gnāṇavimala Thera who brought *upasampadā* from Burma and established the Amarapura Sect in 1803 which had no caste basis and which was open to everybody, the entire low country would have been converted to Christianity. However the Amarapura Nikāya which was originally thought to be open to all irrespective of caste divisions later split into sub sections on the basis of castes, each caste having its own sub section in the Amarapura Nikāya.

In addition to external forces working against Buddhism there arose internal problems inside the Buddhist Saṅgha. There arose a dispute between the Malwatta and Asgiriya chapters of the Siam Nikāya. Malwatta and Asgiriya chapters criticized each other as regards the authenticity of their *upasampadā*. The ordinary people were bewildered as to which section of the monks had the pure form of *upasampadā*. This crisis too was detrimental to Buddhism during the period under review.

Such was the situation in the country as regards Buddhism towards the middle of the 19th century. British Raj was in full power. The agrarian economy was being transformed into a plantation economy. In the meantime an indigenous middle class also began to emerge.

Ven. Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi: The founder of the Rāmañña Nikāya was Most Ven. Ambagahawatte Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi who was born on 16th November 1832 in South Sri Lanka, Galle, Akmīmana Ambagahawatta (Totagoda being the present name of the village). His parents were Mathes De Silva Madanāyaka Rālahāmy and Lenohāmy Ratnāyaka of Idiwala Walawwa. His lay name was Kornelis Madanāyaka Podirālahāmy. Ven. Wilāne Sumaṅgala of Mahamodara Temple, Galle who was closely connected to the Madanāyaka family, having read his horoscope entrusted the child to Ven. Akmīmana Sobhita of Tuwakkugala- watta Temple, who belonged to the Siamese Sect, for ordination. He was ordained on June 15th 1847, with Ven. Akmīmana Sobhita as the preceptor and Ven. Wilāne Sumaṅgala as the teacher and the new *sāmanera* was named Ambagahawatte Saranaṅkara.

The *sāmanera* Saranaṅkara while staying with his preceptor got his initial training together with the basic education needed for a novice. It is significant that novice Saranaṅkara was given a chance to learn English under Pedric Panditasekera an ex Buddhist monk, later converted to Christianity, who was residing at Panadura. The novice was staying at Sri Mahā Vihāraya at Panadura while learning English under Panditasekera. Novice Saranaṅkara was next entrusted to Ven. Bentara Atthadassi , one of the distinguished erudite monks at the time, who was the head of the Vanavāsa Pirivena, Bentara. There he had the opportunity of studying under Ven. Atthadassi along with Yātrāmulle Dhammārāma, Kommala Indasāra, and Weligama Sumaṅgala who later attained distinguished positions in the country. Ven Atthadassi took the novice Saranaṅkara to the Malvatta Vihāraya, the head quarters of the Malvatta Chapter of the Siamese sect along with his other pupils and was conferred the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) on May 15 1856. That was the time Malwatta and Asgiriya chapters were criticizing each other as regards the authenticity of their *upasampadā*.

However, it is said that Ven. Atthadassi and the other Mahā Theras of the low country were not satisfied with the *upasampadā* which their pupils, including Ven. Saranaṅkara received from Malwatta. It is said that the Nāyaka Theras of the low country after returning from Kandy assembled in Colombo and made arrangements to perform another *upasampadā* in the Kelani river for their pupils. The *upasampadā* concerned is said to have been organized by eminent Nāyaka Theras of the low country such

as Bentara Atthadassi, Maligaspe Dharmakirthi Maṅgala, Walāne Siddhārtha and Parakumbure Vipassi, on a raft in the Kelani river. Bhikkhu Saranaṅkara was among those who received *upasampadā* in the Kelani river.[2] It is believed that this *upasampadā* conferred in the low country for the first time was the beginning of the Kotte Sri Kalyāni Sāmagri Dharma Mahā Saṅgha Sabhā which broke away from the Siam Sect. After the *upasampadā* Ven. Saranaṅkara returned to Bentara and was staying with his teacher Bentara Atthadassi Thera of Vanavāsa Rajamahā Vihāraya. On a request made by his teacher he accepted an invitation made by some devotees to spend the rainy season (*Vas*) at the Elabada Vihāraya Payyāgala. Some devotees headed by David Wirakoon Appuhamy and a native doctor named Sāmis who were pleased with the virtues of the young bhikkhu, put up a *vihāraya* in the land called "Dūwa": and persuaded him to stay there. Henceforth it became his permanent residence and it is the same premises presently known as Payyāgala Mūlamahāvihāraya, the head quarters of the Rāmañña Nikāya.

It is also said that Ven. Saranaṅkara being not satisfied with both *upasampadā* he received, renounced both and was staying with an Amarapura Nikāya monk Ven. Metiyalamulle Ratnapāla of Ātagama temple as a novice once more observing the ten precepts (*dasa sila*). However, it is also said Ven. Saranaṅkara did not agree to obtain the *upasampadā* from the Amarapura Sect.

The prevailing conditions of both existing *nikāyas*, Siam and Amarapura did not satisfy Ven. Saranaṅkara's ideas of a Buddhist monk. Malwatta and Asgiriya chapters of the Siam Nikaya were criticizing the *upasampadā* of each other. Their *upasampadā* was restricted to one social group only. At the same time the Amarapura Sect established with no such caste basis was gradually being segregated into various social groups. Ven. Saranaṅkara having had experience in both the existing *nikāyas* realized that the authentic *upasampadā* and the ideal monkhood he had in his mind was not obtainable in the island, and the alternative left was to obtain the *upasampadā* from another country. He was particularly concerned with the authenticity of the *upasampadā* in an environment where authenticity of the existing *upasampadā* was being challenged. Such were the circumstances that led Ven. Saranaṅkara to seek *upasampadā* from outside.

Journey to Rāmaññadesa (Lower Burma). He expressed his noble objective to proceed to Rāmaññadesa and bring the authentic *upasampadā* and establish a new lineage of monks, with more strict disciplinary foundation as prescribed in the *vinaya*, to his teachers, preceptors and the other senior *theras* in and around Galle, who approved the proposed mission with whole hearted blessings, He contacted the monks who had already gone to Burma and returned having obtained *upasampadā* and acquainted himself with difficulties of the sea voyage. With help of his teachers like Akmīmana Sōbhitha, relatives of Galle, devotees and friends both at Galle and Payyāgala he was able to collect everything necessary for his voyage to Burma. It was Ven. Bulathgama Dhammālaṅkāra Siri Sumanatissa who had connections with Burma who provided him the necessary letters etc. to be taken to Burma. Ven. Dipegoda Sīlakkhandha, Pelpola Dhammadassi, Kodāgoda Sumaṅgala and Weligama Dhammapāla were selected to accompany him to Burma while Babuwe upāsaka, Porolis Upāsaka and Appu Upāsaka were selected as lay attendants to join the group. Amids a group of monks of Amarapura Nikāya numbering over 40, headed by Ven. Bulathgama Dhammālaṅkāra and Sri Sumanatissa, Akmīmana Sōbhita and Dodandūwe Piyaratana chanting pirith, the group set off from Vijayānanda Vihāra Galle and boarded the American ship "Graneda" sailing to Calcutta on October 10th 1860. As the ship was not a steamer but a sailor, it took one month and four days to reach Calcutta. From Calcutta having boarded another ship, the party reached Rangoon harbour in six days. From Rangoon they had to take another ship to proceed to Mandalay along the river and reached Mandalay on February 24, 1861.

The Sinhala monks were received with great honour and joy, under royal patronage of king Men Dun of Ratanapuṇṇa kingdom and arrangements were made for the conferment of the *upasampadā* sought by them. Bhikkhu Ambagahawatte Saranaṅkara received *upasampadā* from Most Ven. Neyyadhamma Munivara Ñānakitti Siripavaradhammasenāpati Sangharāja with the participation of seventy Mahā theras in the "*Visuṃgāma-sīmā*" (built village boundary) on 12th June 1861 at Mahāwissutārāmaya where the Saṅgharāja was residing. After the *upasampadā* Ven. Saranaṅkara was given the name Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi. However, it is reported that

it was not Bhikkhu Saranaṅkara who received the *upasampadā* first. As Ven. Dipegoda Sīlakkhandha and Ven. Pelpola Dhammadassi were senior, he requested that they be conferred with the *upasampadā* first and he volunteered to receive the *upasampadā* after them. The rest of the Sinhala monks were given the *upasampadā* afterwards. Ven. Saranaṅkara, now Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi was very particular about the authenticity of the *upasampadā* he received. He thought that the *upasampadā* received in the "*Visuṃgāma-sīmā*" might be disputed one day. Therefore on his insistence, he was given the *upasampadā* once more within an *Udakukkhepa sīmā* (water boundary) in the river Irravady. This is called the consolidation (*daḷhīkaraṇa*) of the *upasampada* already received. The rest of the Sinhala monks too received the same second *upasampadā* in the Irravady river. It is also said that Ven. Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi received another *upasampadā* at the hands of the forest dwelling monks in the *Kalyāni Sīmā* established in Burma by the Burmese monks who received the *upasampadā* in the Kelani river, Sri Lanka, during the Kotte period (15th century A.C.)

It should be clear that Ven. Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi had no doubt about his *upasampadā* for he had received three *upasampadā* in Burma. First in the *Visuṃgāma sīmā* (village boundary), *Udakukkhepa Sīmā* (water boundary) and the *Kalyāni Sīmā* connected to Sri Lanka.

Though the Saṅgharāja and the pious King Men Dun were anxious to keep the Sinhala monks in their country for some more time the conditions in the Marammaraṭṭha (Lower Burma) gradually became unfavorable to them. A mutiny was reported against the king. There was a severe heat coupled with scarcity of water. It was also thought that food too would be scarce shortly. In the meantime the other monks of the group, too, were anxious to return to Sri Lanka. Therefore Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi finally decided to return. The king's concurrence, too, was obtained and the king was kind enough to make necessary arrangements for their return journey. The king not only provided necessary expenses but also gave them a letter addressed to the British Governor at Rangoon to provide the returning group of monks whatever assistance they needed. The Sinhala monks headed by Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi left Mandalay in June 1862, sailed down the river and reached Rangoon where they were received by the king's ambassadors and the British governor. Then the party boarded a steamer from the Rangoon harbour and arrived in Madras in four days. It is seen that by this time Rangoon region had been under the British and there has been a British Governor in charge of the region.

The party had to wait six weeks in Madras till the arrival of a Ceylon bound steamer. Finally to the great joy of the monks a Ceylon bound steamer, *Colombia* touched at the Madras harbour on the12th day of the bright half of the month *Nikini* (August) 1862. The group of Sinhala monks took no time to board the ship and the ship left theMadras harbour the same day midnight. The ship carrying monks safely arrived and anchored in the Galle harbour on 18 August 1862. The group of monks headed by Ven. Indāsabhavarañ āṇasāmi that accomplished the noble objective of obtaining the authentic *upasampadā* from Ramañña desa were received by the Galle Buddhists and monks with great pomp and honour and were conducted to the Vijayānanda temple in a colorful procession.

On the advice of Ven. Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi a second batch of monks left the Galle harbour for Burma (Pegu) on 18 September, 1862 to obtain *upasampadā* in the *Kalyāni sīmā* already referred to. The group consisted of 18 monks such as Bedigama Soratha, Puwakdandāwe Paññānanda, Baṭa-ata Gunaratana, Bedigama Dhammānanda, Baṭa-ata Ratanapāla, Bata-ata Sumaṅgala, Nārandeniye Indaratana, Tibbotuwāwe Sīlaratana, Paravāhera Sīlananda, Wagegoda Gunasāra, Galagama Upatissa, Māpalagama Sumana, Udugalmote Dhammārāma, Nehinne Sumanatissa, Galle Saddhānanda, Mirisse Saddhātissa, Galle Weliwatte Paññājoti and Koṭṭe Gunānanda. They returned in November the same year having got *upasampadā* and joined Ven. Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi in establishing the Ramaññanikāya.

The establishment of the Rāmañña Nikāya by holding the first *upasampadā* ceremony in Sri Lanka. It was decided to hold the first *upasampadā* ceremony in Galle in a *Udakukkhepa sīmā* (Boundary of water) built on the Mahāmodara river, a small rivulet north of the Galle city. The *sīmā* house built in the river was named *Ñeyyadhamma sīmā* to commemorate the name of the Saṅgharāja who

conferred *Upasampadā* to Ven. Indāsabhavaran āṇasāmi. It was 13th July 1863 evening. Ven. Ambagahawatte Indāsabhāvarañāna-sāmi, Ven.Dipegoda Saddhammavarajotipāla Sīlakkhandha and Ven.Puwakdandāwe Paññānanda as the first reciters of the "*Kamma vākya*". Ven. Pelpola Dhammadassi , Baṭa-ata Gunaratana and Weligama Dhammapāla recited the *Kamma vākya* for the second and third times. The twenty-four monks who got the *upasampadā* from Ramaññadesa formed the "*Gaṇapūraka kāraka Saṅgha*" of the *upasampadā* ceremony. After finalizing the above formalities the *upasampadā* ceremony commenced at the auspicious hour and Udugalmote Gunatissa, Telikaḍa Nandasāra, Kottegoda Gunānanda and Tanahenepola Sīlaratana were given the higher ordination (*upasampadā)* at four separate moments. Next day Gālle Dhammakusala, Kadurupokune Ratanajoti and Māwelle Janānanda were given the *upasampadā*. Thus the Rāmañña Nikāya was officially established in Sri Lanka on the 13th day of 1863 (13th day of the waning moon of the month of *Āsāḷha*. 2407 years after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha).

The establishment of the Rāmañña Nikāya is a landmark in the long history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and it was the need of the hour to revive the Buddha Sāsana that was in a state of crisis in the 19th century. After having personal ,experience in both prevailing Nikāyas in the island, the farsighted Ven. Ambagahawatte Saranaṅkara thera, later Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi, though not satisfied, did not try to criticize them nor did he try to find fault with them, which would have aggravated the existing crisis. He understood that it was very essential to establish a genuine disciplined order of monks to remedy the situation. Facing unsurmountable obstacles and challenges with a firm determination, he finally achieved his objective of establishing a new order of monks, as per genuine Buddhist ideals. There was great enthusiasm as regards the new order of monks from the very beginning. The numbers that obtained ordination and higher ordination increased steadily. Even some of the well-known monks from Siam and Amarapura Nikāyas joined Rāmañña Nikāya obtaining the higher ordination. The *Rāmañña vaṃsa dīpani* of Ven. Gālle Ñānobhāsa Thera gives a list of 16 well known monks who joined the Rāmañña Nikāya from the Siam and Amarapura Nikāyas. The behavior of the new order of monks strictly as specified in the *vinaya*, minimal wants (*appicchata*) and austere living were appreciated by the people and the Nikāya became very popular. Though established in Galle, Southern Province, it had no provincial district or social boundaries. It started spreading throughout the country even in the Kandyan provinces and the far north central provinces.

Mahānāyakas of the Rāmaññanikāya: Though Rāmañña Nikāya was established in July, 1863, Ven. Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi did not wish to accept the position of Mahānāyaka immediately, since he had not reached the status of a senior monk (*mahatherabhāvam)*. Ambagahawatte Indāsabhavaran āṇasāmi was appointed as the first Mahānāyaka of the Rāmañña Nikāya on 12th February 1880 at a meeting of senior monks held at Dhammagupta Pirivena, Mūla Mahā Vihāraya, Payyāgala. Since then up to date twelve theras have adorned the chair of Mahānāyaka of the Rāmañña Nikāya:

Most Ven. Sāsanavaṃsa Kavidhaja Siri Saddhammācariya yati Saṅghapati Ambagahawatte Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi 1863-1886,

Most Ven. Deepegoda Saddhammavara Jotipāla Silakkhandha Mahā Thera 1886-1916,

Most Ven. Siripavara Sugata sāsanasobhana Saddhammakitti Vinayācariya Obadakande Siri Wimalanandatissa Maha Thera 1917-24,

Most Ven. Siri Saddhammācariya Mātara Siri Ñānindāsabha Mahā Thera 1924-37,

Most Ven. Sāsanavaṃsa Kavidhaja Tipiṭaka Vāgīsvarācārya Kodāgoda Upasena Maha Thera 1937-40,

Most Ven. Tipiṭaka Vāgisvarācārya Sāsanadhaja Paṇḍitācārya Mātale Dhammasiddhi Mahā Thera 1940 May- December,

Most Ven. Sāsanasobhana Yati Saṅghapati Karatoṭa Indasāra Tissa Mahā Thera 1941-1954,

Most Ven. Aggamahā Paṇḍita Tipiṭaka-vāgisvarācārya Sāhityasūri Hisselle Ñāṇodaya Mahā Thera 1954-66,

Most Ven. Sāsanadhaja Sri Silakkhandha Saddhammavara Jotipāla Deepegoda Candavimala Mahā Thera 1966-76,

Most Ven. Rājakiya Paṇḍita Vidyāvisārada Tipiṭakavāgisvarācārya Sāsanavaṃsa Kavidhaja Siri Saddhammācarya Pravacana Visārada Induruve Uttarānanda Mahā Thera 1977-86,

Aggamahāpaṇḍita Tipiṭaka Vāgisvarācārya Sāsanasobhana Siri Saranaṅkarāvaṃsāvataṃsa Pravacana Visārada Pottewela Paññāsāra Mahā Thera 1986-91,

Aggamahā Paṇḍita Sāsanasobhana Siri Saddhammavāgisvarācārya Siri Saranaṅkaropasena Vaṃsātāvaṃsa Weweldeniye Medhālaṅkara Mahā Thera 1992 up to date.

Lineage of Teachers (Ācariya Paramparā): A special feature of the Rāmañña Nikāya is the existence of several groups of monks descending from various eminent Theras of the past. They take pride in identifying themselves as descendents of a particular Mahā Thera of very high position. The monks of those lineages who have performed valuable services to the Nikāya and the *sāsana* are honoured by the Nikāya giving the name of the particular lineage as honorary titles to be used prefixed to their names. Among such honorary titles denoting the lineages of various teachers are Siri Saranaṅkaropasena Vaṃsāvataṃsa, Siri Sumitta Saddhamma Vāgisvara, Ñānasīha-vaṃsālaṅkāra, Siri Sīlakkhandha Saddhammavara, Siri Saranaṅkara-vaṃsāvataṃsa, Siri Sīla Vaṃsālaṅkāra, Ñānakitti Siri Priyadarsi Vaṃsālaṅkāra, Ñānakitti Siri Ñānappiya Vaṃsālaṅkāra, Atthadassi Siri Sumana Vimalavaṃsa Vaṃsālaṅkāra.

It is unique that though they claim to be descending from a particular Mahāthera they all exist under one Mahānayaka.

Organizational Structure: The Ramañña Nikāya has a sound organizational structure, developed in the course of time, making necessary adjustments according to the changing needs. The history of the governing body of the Nikāya goes as far back as the year 1886 when a committee was formed called the ten-member committee *(Dasa Vargika Kāraka Sabhā)* to handle matters pertaining to the Nikāya. It was chaired by the second Mahānāyaka Thera Deepegoda Silakkhandha Thera and the members comprised of Ven. Udugalmote Gunatissāsabha, Nārampanāwe Indrajothyāsabha, Ven. Obaḍakande Vimalānandatissa, Ven. Mātara Ñānindāsabha, Ven. Yālegama Siri Sumanatissa, Ven Payyāgala Siri Sumanatissa, Ven. Aluthgama Sujāta, Ven. Ilukwatte Medhaṅkara, and Ven. Udugampola Suvaṇṇajoti. The number had been gradually increased from time to time as the Nikāya grew and at present the supreme Administrative body of the Nikāya *(Pālaka Mahā Saṅgha Sabhāva)* has 165 members. Below the general body there are two more bodies, the committee *(Kāraka Mahā Saṅgha Sabhā)* and the Board of Special Authority *(Visesa Adhikāri Maṇḍalaya).* The Mahānāyaka patriarch appointed by the supreme Administrative body comes next. Under the Mahānāyaka Thera are four Anunāyakas or Sub Mahānāyakas, 15 *Mahopādhyāyas* (great Preceptors) and the *Adhikaraṇa* Nāyaka the Chief Judicial Authority.

The administration of the Nikāya is carried out by the four secretaries, namely *Mahālekhakādhikāri* the Secretary General, *Saññālekhaka* the Registrar, *Pariyattilekhaka*, the Chief of the Scriptural Education and Examinations and the *Adhikaraṇalekhaka* the Judicial Secretary. Each of the above four secretaries are given deputy secretaries.

District Organisation: The Nikāya has a well represented District Organization, since the early days of the Nikāya. At present the island is divided into 42 divisions which grew up from 20 to begin with and increased as time went on. From each of the divisions three members of the Saṅgha, namely *Kāraka Sabhika* (committee members), *Disāpālaka* (Divisional Administrators) and *Anuvijjaka* (Reconciler) are elected and they represent the Division at the central level. All the three representatives are eligible to be the members of the *Pālaka Saṅgha Sabhā*, the Supreme Administrative Board of the Nikāya. The *Kārakasabhika* (committee Member) represents the division in the central committee *Kāraka Mahā Saṅgha Sabhā* and the *Anuvijjaka* (Reconcilor) in the Divisional Reconciliation Committee.

Judiciary: The Rāmañña Nikāya has its own judiciary system to settle disputes. Disputes are first referred to the Divisional Reconciliation Committee constituted

with *Anuvijjakas* elected at the Divisional level. Next disputes are referred to the Senior Reconciliation Committee *(Jyestha Anuvijjaka Maṇḍalaya)* formed with 21 *Anuvijjakas* selected from the Divisional Reconciliation Committee. The Supreme Judicial institution is the *Uparimānuvijjaka Maṇḍalaya* with eleven members, is chaired by the *Adhikaraṇanāyaka Thera*, the Supreme Judicial Officer of the Nikāya.

Pariyattipālakasabhā : The Rāmañña Nikāya has taken a special interest in the advancement of scriptural knowledge of the members of the Rāmañña nikāya monks. *Pariyattipālaka Sabhā* (Scriptural Education Board) has been set up in 1948 for the purpose, with the Secretary *Saññālekhaka* already referred to. There is a separate constitution for the *Pariyatti Pālaka Sabhā*. The *Pariyatti Pālaka Sabhā* examines the eligibility of the candidates seeking *upasampadā*. At the same time *Pariyatti Pālaka Sabhā* conducts examinations in the *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhamma* and makes arrangements for the conferment of the scriptural degrees such as *Dhammācārya*, *Vinayacārya*, *Abhidhammācārya*, *Tipiṭakācārya* and *Tipiṭaka visārada*. All examinations are conducted systematically according to a prescribed syllabus

Rāmaññanikāyārakshaka Sabhā: Another speciality of the Rāmañña Nikāya is that it has an organization for the protection and development of the Nikāya, headed by a layman. It is called *Rāmañña Nikāyārakshaka Sabhā*. It is seen that a layman of very high position has held the post of chairman of the Rāmaññanikāyārakshaka Sabhā, the first being Hon. D.S. Senanayaka, the first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka.

Katikāvata (Constitution) : It is significant that the Rāmañña Nikāya has had its own constitution or *Katikāvata* almost from the very beginning of the Nikāya. It was called *Dasapanata* or the "Ten Commandments". The first *Katikāvata* has been drawn in B.E. 2415 (1871 A.C.) during the tenure of the first Mahānāyaka Ven. Indāsabhavaraññāṇasāmi, for the administration of the Nikāya as specified in the *Vinayapitaka*. This old *Katikāvata* is today referred to as the *Mūlika Katikāvata* or the primary constitution. The authorities have taken steps to amend the constitution according to the changing conditions. According to the records, the first amendment has been effected in the year 1924 (B.E. 2468). Next it has been amended in 1945 (B.E. 2489), but printed and published in 1950. Once more amendments have been effected in the year 1964 (B.E. 2508) and published in 1973. The history of the constitution effective at present goes back to the year 1982 when the decision was taken to amend it incorporating disciplinary sphere as well as administrative matters. Drawn with deliberations of several years with the participation of several eminent erudite Mahā Theras, it has been approved at the *Kāraka Mahā saṅghasabhā* on January 11, 1990 (B.E. 2533) at Payyāgala Dharmagupta Pirivena Mūlamahāvihāraya. Action is being taken to amend it once more.

The Identity of the Rāmañña Nikāya: It is seen that the Rāmañña Nikāya monks have their own identity. It has to be stressed that there is no difference between the various Buddhist Sects (Nikāya) of Sri Lanka as far as the Dhamma and the Vinaya they follow. They follow the same scriptures. The differences are mostly in outward appearances and in minor religious practices. The founder of the Nikāya was a strict disciplinarian. He wanted to establish an order of monks as depicted in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. He wanted the new order to be easily supportable (*subhara*). Further the founder prohibited the use of certain items that appeared to be luxurious during the time. Therefore some of the practices and some of the requisites *(parikkhāra)* used by the Rāmañña Nikāya monks appear to be austere in modern society.

Unlike Siyam Nikāya monks who cover one shoulder only, the Rāmañña Nikāya monks wear robes covering both shoulders *(Ubhayansa Pārupana)*. In place of the modern umbrella they use *"Goṭuatta"* a foldable "sunshade" made of talipot leaves. When they go out for alms either invited or routine begging they carry the begging bowl hanging behind from the shoulders. To stain the robes they prepare a solution by boiling chips of the Jak wood and leaves of the *Bombu* tree. It is said the robes stained so get the correct colour prescribed in the *vinaya*. They have their own device to clean and season the bowl and make it rustproof. The bowl is rubbed with sand using the bark of the Mango tree. The bowl is then boiled in a vessel with Gingerly Oil.

When performing certain religious rites and ceremonies Rāmañña Nikāya sometimes differ from

the others – while administering *Tisaraṇa* and the *Pañ casīla* at the end of the "*Tisaraṇa*" they declare "*tisaraṇa*" is concluded (*saraṇāgamanaṃ sampuṇṇaṃ*). This practice is not found either in the Siamese Nikāya or Amarapura Nikāya. At the end of administering *Tisaraṇa* and *Pañcasīla*, Rāmañña Nikāya monks declare "*tisaraṇena saddhiṃ pañ casīlaṃ sādhukaṃ surakkhitaṃ katvā appamādena sampādetabbaṃ*" (three refuges and the five precepts should be heedfully accomplished). Amarapura Nikāya monks utter the same with the substitution of *sampādetha* which means (you) should accomplish in place of *sampādetabbaṃ*. This declaration is not found in the Siam Nikāya.

Another deviation of the Rāmañña Nikāya monks is that, they get the devotees to beg for "*Tisaraṇa* and *Pañcasīla* saying "excuse sir we beg of you to establish us in the *tisaraṇa* and *pañcasīla*; Sir favour us and establish us in the *Tisaraṇa* and *Pañcasīla*." (*Okāsa ahaṃ bhante tisaraṇena saddhiṃ pañcasīlaṃ dhammaṃ yācāma*). This practice is not found in the other *nikāyas*. The devotees of the Rāmañña Nikāya, when they address Rāmañña Nikāya monks, specially begin with the word "*Avasara*" which means "Excuse me Sir". This is also a novelty of the Nikāya.

In the *pirith* ceremony, too, there are some differences. The Siam Nikāya monks at the beginning of the ceremony recite *Jayamaṅgala gāthās* suppose to make the place hallow and it is called "*Pirith Pekirima*". This practice is also absent in the other nikāyas. In the middle of the enclosure (maṇḍapa) put up for the *pirit* ceremony Siam Nikāya monks install a tree called *Rājagaha* (Royal tree) using a young arecanut palm. The Rāmañña Nikāya monks never do this. For the conferment of the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) Rāmañña Nikāya monks always select an (*Udakukkhepa Sīmā*) (a spot bounded by water from all the sides). The Siam Nikāya does it in a built *sīmā* (*Baddha Sīmā*). For selection of the suitable "sāmaneras" for *upasampadā* the other Nikāyas do it by an oral test, but the Rāmañña Nikāya select the candidates by a written test.

Undivided Nikāya : In addition to the special characteristics referred to above, Rāmañña Nikāya is the only undivided Nikāya in Sri Lanka at present. In spite of the various vicissitudes in its history of 140 years it is highly significant that it was able to maintain its unity. While the other Nikāyas are split into more than one sub divisions Rāmañña Nikāya still continues to function under the administration of one Mahānāyaka thera.

Further more Rāmañña Nikāya is not restricted to a particular social group. It is open to all irrespective of caste divisions or locality they come from. Thus among the Rāmañña Nikāya monks today, one can see those born in the so called high castes as well as those born in the so called lower castes, enjoying equal positions.

Kalyāniyogāsrama Sansthāva : The Rāmañña Nikāya has its own organization for forest dwelling meditating monks of the Nikāya. It is known as Kalyāni Yogāsrama Sansthāva. It was established in 1951 initiated by Ven. Kadaweddūwe Jinavaṃsa Thero and Ven. Matara Ñānārāma Thera. The organization is managed strictly according to the *vinaya* rules and there is a separate constitution (*katikāvata*) for the organization. But it is under the same mahānāyaka thera of the Nikāya. At present there are over eighty hermitages scattered in the country managed by the Kalyāni Yogāsrama Sansthāva.

Rāmañña Nikāya's contribution to education: Rāmañña Nikāya has contributed in no small way to the upliftment of education, specially the religious education. Their religious education is not confined to the formal education namely *pirivenas* etc. At the very beginning the hierarchy of the Nikāya correctly realized the necessity to improve the religious knowledge of ordinary people, in order to create a righteous society, according to the teachings of the Buddha. Therefore, at a time when there was no proper transport facilities in the country, nearly one hundred years ago, Rāmañña Nikāya monks walked from house to house, village to village to preach to the ordinary people. At the same time they were not reluctant to teach *vinaya* to laymen which the other Nikāyas did not like. They knew that when the laity was aware of the basic *vinaya* rules, the monks would not openly behave contrary to them. Thus it would ensure good behaviour among the Buddhist monks.

Colonel H.S. Olcott and the Rāmañña Nikaya: Rāmañña Nikāya got the rare privilege of the conversion of Colonel H.S. Olcott to Buddhism. Colonel H.S. Olcott, an American, the father of modern

Buddhist Education in Sri Lanka, landed in Galle on 1880 May17th and became a Buddhist, taking *Tisaraṇa* and *Pañcasīla* from Ven. Akmīmana Dhammārāma, a Rāmañña Nikāya monk, at Vijayānanda Temple, Galle belonging to the Rāmañña Nikāya, two days after landing.

First Dhamma School: The Rāmañña Nikāya also gets the credit of starting the first Dhamma School in the island. It was at the Vijayānanda Temple at Galle referred to above that the first Dhamma school was started on August 3, 1895 by a Rāmañña Nikāya monk, called Allepola Jinorasa.

Pirivena Education: Rāmañña Nikāya is actively involved in the *pirivena* education too, from its early days. They manage a large number of successful *pirivenas* in the country. Saraswathy Pirivena in Balagalla established in 1902 and Vidyānanda Pirivena Veyangoda, established in 1897 are the most prominent among them. To mention a few others among the large number of *pirivenas* established by the monks of the Rāmañña Nikāya are Dharmagupta Pirivena in Payyāgala, Vijayānanda Pirivena in Galle, Saddharmodaya Pirivena in Wellawatta, Bauddhāloka Pirivena in Kurunegala, Vidyākara Pirivena in Bemmulla, Sri Bhārati Pirivena in Peradeniya, Gunānanda Pirivena in Hambantota, Mahāmahinda Pirivena in Anuradhapura, Saddharmodaya Pirivena in Walpola Panadura, Sirigala Sri Parākramabāhu Pirivena in Dambadeniya, Ñānodaya Pirivena in Badulla, Mayurapāda Pirivena in Pelawatta Talangama, Srimaṅgala Pirivena in Mātara, Indāsabha Pirivena in Matugama, Jetavana Pirivena in Colombo, Sāsanawardhana Pirivena in Mīrigama, Vidyāvāsa Pirivena in Mīrigama, Jinaraja Pirivena in Pottewela and Siri Sumana Pirivena in Ratnapura. Sri Lankā Vidyālaya in Maradāna which has produced a large number of lay graduates in addition to the graduate monks in recent times deserve special mention. The above Pirivenas together with a large number of other Pirivenas have performed a commendable service in the field of education specially in the Buddhist Educational Sector. Thus the Rāmaññanikāya was able to produce several erudite monks such as Ven Henpiṭagedera Ñānasiha, Ven. Dr. Henpiṭagedera Ñānāvāsa, Ven Dr.K. Ariyasena, Ven. Dr. Yaṭagama Dhammapāla, Prof. Kabellāwe Siri Bhārati and Ven. Dr. Warāgoda Pemaratana.

Dhammadūta Service: Even in the Dhammadūta work (Spreading of the Buddha's Message in other countries) Rāmañña Nikāya has earned a name. Anagārika Dhammapāla the Buddhist Revivalist established the Mahā Bodhi Society in 1891 and wanted the service of some monks to proceed to Buddhagayā, but he found it difficult to get some monks for the purpose. The four Rāmañña Nikāya monks Ven. Lunuwila Candajoti, Ven. Mātale Sumaṅgala Ven. Arurādhapure Pemānanda and Gālle Sudassana volunteered to proceed to India. It is said that those pioneer Dhammadūta monks had to undergo great difficulties at Buddhagayā and some had been assaulted and injured. Among the early monks who took the Buddha's message to the west are several notable Rāmañña Nikāya monks, such as Ven. Mirisse Gunasiri in U.K., Ven. Dikwelle Piyananda in U.S.A. and Ven. Aturugiriye Ñānawimala in Germany and they have performed a commendable service in the relevant countries. Ven. Baddegama Wimalawansa Anunāyaka Thero has taken a keen interest in taking the Buddha's message back to India. The Mahā Mahinda Dhammadūta Society established by him to propagate Buddhism in India is actively engaged in missionary activities coupled with social service, for the last 40 years. The society has its own establishments in the Kolar Gold Fields in Mysore, Ulhas in Bombay and Gorakpur in the Uttara Pradesh and working among the depressed classes of society they have achieved great success under difficult conditions. The monks of the Mahā Mahinda Dharmadūta Society are also actively working in Japan, Australia, U.S.A., Korea, Thailand and Nepal in spreading the Buddha's message, up to date . The services of the following Rāmañña Nikāya monks in the countries given against their names appear praiseworthy ie. Ven Kadawedduwe Jinawansa (Germany), Ven. Kaballāwe Siri Sumana, Matugama Wimalakitti and Keppitiyagoda Gunawamsa (U.K.), Nāotunne Vijita, Ratmale Vijita, Nākiyādeniye Ñānuttara (Australia), Indurawe Ariyakitti (Malasia), Gālle Udita and Omalpe Sobhita (Singapore).

Literary Service. Rāmañña Nikāya has excelled in the literary sphere too. A fortnightly journal named *Ñānopāyini*, to broaden the knowledge of the people, has been published by the Nikāya as far back as 1873. Though interrupted due to various reasons it has been started again in 1981. Another journal of the Nikāya is the "*Heladivruwana*" published in 1888.

At the same time Rāmañña Nikāya monks have enriched the literary field by writing a large number of books over the years. Ven. Henpitagedara Ñānasiha, Adhikaraṇa Nāyaka Thera and Ven. Baddegama Wimalawansa Anunāyaka Thera have produced the largest number of books. Among many other reputed writers belonging to the Nikāya are Ven. Balagalle Ñānodaya Mahānāyaka thera, Ven. Deepegoda Candawimala Mahānāyaka thera, Ven. Meda Uyangoda Wimalakitti thera and Kannimahara Sumaṅgala thera..

Social Service: The Service of the Rāmañña Nikāya monks appear not confined to the spread of the Buddha's message, education etc. only. There are several social service Organizations run by the Rāmañña Nikāya monks successfully. The Mahinda Buddhist Social Service Center in Ranmutugala Kadawata, National Service Educational Training Center for Children, Mulleriyawa, Sarvodaya Community Development Center in Pelmadulla, Sriwardhana Dharmadūkta Service Training center in Bemmulla, Gemson Meditation Center in Ampitiya and Dharmacakra Vidyapiṭhaya in Peradeniya are some of the successful social service centres managed by the monks of the Rāmañña Nikāya.

Conclusion : The Rāmañña Nikāya is 140 years old today. There are nearly 2000 temples and nearly 6000 monks belonging to the Nikāya. It was founded at a very critical hour when it was predicted that Buddhism would be extinct from the country by the close of the century (19th century). As so far discussed, Rāmañña Nikāya monks have taken the lead in many areas pertaining to the *sāsana* and the country in general, rendering yeoman service. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the establishment of the Ramañña Nikāya is among the main factors that averted the disappearance of the *Buddhasāsana* by the close of the century (19th century) as predicted by James de Alwis. See **PLATE XXIII**

K. Arunasiri

References

[1] *Buddhism; its origin history & doctrine* 1862 p.3

[2] The exact date of this second *upasampadā* of Ven. Saranaṅkra is doubtful. Some say it was on 15th May while others say it was on 16th May and there are others who say it was on the 17th May which is more probable. According to records Malwatta *upasampadā* had been on 15th May. If so, it is not possible to come to Colombo and have another *upasampadā* on the following day (16) due to the transport facilities of the day. At the same time some records pertaining to the life of Ven. Ambagahawatte Saranaṅkara later Ven. Indāsabhavarañāṇasāmi is silent on this second *upasampadā* of him in the Kelani river.

RASA. Savour, the objective field of the sense-organ of tongue (*jihvendriyagrāhyorthaḥ*: *Abhsy.* p. 4), a secondary matter derived from the four great elements (*catvāri mahābhūtānyupādāya*: *ibid*). It is one of the six external bases or spheres of perception (*āyatana* q.v.) called *rasāyatana*, and one of the eighteen elements of perception (*dhātu* q.v.) named *rasa-dhātu*. It is also called *rasārammaṇa*, the sense-object that is *rasa*.

The treatment of *rasa* in the early Pali Suttas is very general; the suttas are not concerned about what constitutes *rasa*; it is taken for granted. What is strikingly obvious is the ethical approach to the subject; no metaphysics is involved. Emphasis is always placed on ethics.

The schools were, however, interested in enumerating the items which constitute *rasa*. The Theravāda texts do not lay down a definite number of the different types of *rasa*. The *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* description is an enumeration of different types, e.g., bitter, pungent, saline, alkaline, acrid, astringent, followed by the words: "or whatever other savour there is (*Dhs.* p. 142).

The Vaibhāṣikas, on the other hand, recognize six fundamental varieties, viz., sweet, sour, salty, pungent, bitter and astringent, and admit that their mixtures could give this to a wide variety (*Abhkvy.* p. 27).

The Yogācārins, after giving the same six fundamental varieties, add, as examples of *rasa*, the savour that is agreeable, disagreeable and neither agreeable nor disagreeable as well as the savour that is original, mixed and evolved. (*Abhsy.* p. 4).

All schools agree with the suttas in describing *rasa* as impermanent (*anicca*) and as being devoid of abiding

essence (*asāra*), but as nourishing and prolonging samsāric existence, because it constitutes one of the five kinds of sensual attachment (*pañca-kāma-guṇa*) the strande that bind living beings to sensual pleasure. Attachment to something impermanent cannot be made the basis of true happiness. Hence it is that *rasa*, together with other objective fields, is sought to be described in such a way as to bring home the perils that result from attachment to it, and thereby to emphasise the need to eschew all kinds of craving for it. (*D.* I, 233; *M.* I, 503; III, 143, *S.* I, 144; III, 107, 139).

Upali Karunaratne

RASAVĀHINĪ. *Rasavāhinī* is a Pali text written by a Sri Lankan monk named Vedeha Thera. It contains 103 stories connected with India (Jambudīpa) and Sri Lanka. These stories contain numerous references to the social conditions prevailing in Sri Lanka such as beliefs, customs, agricultural work, houses, dresses, warfare, ornaments, festivals, and tools of trade as well as historical details. The text of the *Rasavāhini* was based on an earlier work.

Tatthatatthuppannāni vatthūni arahā pure
Abhāsuṁ dīpa bhāsāya ṭhapesuṁ taṁ purātanā

A monk named Raṭṭhapāla of Tanguttavaṅka-pariveṇa of Mahāvihāra, translated the text (which existed earlier in Sinhala) into Pali. As it contained many grammatical errors, Vedeha Thera re-wrote it in a better form.

Mahāvihāre Taṁguttavaṁka Pariveṇa vāsino
Raṭṭhapāloti nāmena sīlācāra guṇākaro
Hitāya parivattesi pajānaṁ pāli bhāsato
Punaruttādi dosehi tamāsi sabbamākulaṁ
Anākulaṁ karissāmi taṁ suṇātha samāhitā

The stories given here are divided into two sections. Those relating to Jambudīpa amount to 40. The remaining 63 stories are related to Sri Lanka. The Sinhala text named *Saddharmālaṁkāra* of the 14th century, written by Ven. Dhammakitti of Gaḍalādeniya, has as its source, the *Rasavāhinī*. There are two other Pali texts, namely *Sīhalavatthu* and *Sahassavatthu*, which are intimately connected with *Rasavāhinī*.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

RĀṢṬRAPĀLAPARIPṚCCHĀ, also called *Rāṣṭrapāla Sūtra* (*śikṣ.* p. 153) and *Rāṣṭrapālokta-gāthā* (*śikṣ.* p. 203), an important Mahāyāna *sūtra* dealing mainly with the bodhisattva doctrine. This work is considered both as a separate text as well as a part of the *Ratnakūṭa*. The exact date of the work is not known. Scholars however agree that it cannot be assigned to a date much earlier than the 8th century A.C., during which period it was also rendered into Chinese. The work is in a mixture of prose and verse, and the language is not at all elegant, especially the verse portions being composed in a mixture of Prakrit and corrupt Sanskrit. The *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* has been originally edited by Finot and published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersberge, 1901 as vol. II of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*. A Photostat reproduction of this appeared in 1957 as vol. II of the *Indo-Iranian Reprints*.

It is said that *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* was preached by the Buddha to an assembly of *bhikṣus*, bodhisattvas, devas, nāgas and other supernatural beings while he was sojourning in Rājagṛha on the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain. The text is divided into two parts. The first part is called the *Nidāna-parivarta* and it begins with a salutation to all the Buddhas, bodhisattvas, pratyekabuddhas, and *śrāvakas*. This is followed by a *śloka* in praise of the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* itself. Thereafter begins the *sūtra* proper with a lengthy description of the assembly. Bodhisattva Prāmodyarāja who was in the assembly praises the Buddha. In the meantime Venerable Rāṣṭrapāla who had spent the rainy season in Rājagṛha and who was touring the country comes to the assembly and paying homage to the Buddha, praises him. Then with the Buddha's permission Venerable Rāṣṭrapāla poses the question: "By possessing what qualities does a bodhisattva become endowed with the special characteristics of all virtues?" In replying this question the Buddha enumerates numerous virtuous qualities that enable a bodhisattva to follow successfully the path to Enlightenment.

Firstly the Buddha enumerates four qualities by which a bodhisattva attain purity. They are: i. good mental disposition (*adhyāśaya-pratipatti*), ii. Equanimity towards all beings (*sarvasattva samacittatā*), iii. contemplation on void (*śūnyatā - bhāvanā*), iv. acting according to one's own words

(*yathāvādi - tathākāritā*). Then the Buddha enumerates four qualities that imparts life to a bodhisattva. (*āśvāsapratilābha dharma*). They are: i and ii receptivity of *dhāraṇis* and good friends, iii. receptivity of profound doctrine (*gambhiradhar makṣāntipratilābha*), and observance of good conduct (*pariśuddha - śīla - samācāra*). Four things cause happiness to a bodhisattva: i. the sight of the Buddha, ii. hearing the doctrine conforming to the bodhisattva vow to attain enlightenment (*anulomadhar maśravaṇa*), iii abandonment of all possessions (*sarvasvaparityāga*), iv. receptivity of inconceivable doctrines (*anupalambhadharmakṣānti*). A bodhisattva should be regardless of the following four things. i. of house-hold life, ii. of gain and honour, iii. of family praise (*kulasaṃstava*), and also iv. of body and life itself. By following four things a bodhisattva does not come to grief. They are: i. by the continuation of virtuous practices, ii. by not despising forest-dwelling, iii. by confirming to the fourfold attitude of a Buddhist monk (i.e.,) contentment with garments, food, seats and beds, devotion to the way of release: *caturṇām āryavaṃśānām - anuvartaṇatā*), and iv. by the acquisition of learning.

Four, in number, are the noble producers (*ājāneya - gati*) that a bodhisattva has to follow: i. he should attain a happy state of existence (*sugatipratilābha*), and prepare himself for the birth of the Buddha (*buddhotpādasamavadhāna*), ii. obey teachers without aiming at any worldly rewards (*guruśuśrūṣaṇā nirāmiṣasevanatā*), and iii. live in solitude without any desire of obtaining gain and honour (*prāntaśayyāsanābhiratiḥ lābhasatkāranāpekṣatayā*) and iv. acquire confidence through the receptivity of profound doctrines (*pratibhānapratilābhah gambhīra - dharmakṣāntisamanvāgatatayā*). The following four qualities purity the career of a bodhisattva: bodhisattva discipline which is not separated from unimpaired practical knowledge (*apratihatavijñānavirahita bodhisattvacaryā*), ii. forest-dwelling which is devoid of extracting gifts through hypocrisy, boastfulness and threats (*kuhanalapananiṣpoṣaṇa*), iii. devotion of oneself day and night to the doctrine and being without longing for the results brought about by the abandonment of all possessions (*sarvasvaparityāgino vipākapratikāṅkṣatā rātriṃdivaṃ dharmakāmatā*) and iv. non-examination of the deficiencies of the preachers (*dharmabhāṇakānām skhalitagaveṣaṇatā*). There are four pit-falls a bodhisattva has to avoid i. dishonorableness (*agauravatā*), ii. ungratefulness (*akṛtaññatā*) and association with dishonest people (*śāṭhyasevanatā*), iii. desire to obtain gain and honour (*lābhasatkārādhyavasanam*), and iv. procuration of gain and honour through hypocrisy and boastfulness.

The Buddha points out four obstacles to the attainment of Enlightenment, i. lack of faith (*aśrāddhanatā*), ii. sloth (*kauśidya*) iii. conceit (*māna*) and iv. feelings of jealousy at the reception of gain and honour by others (*parapūjyer ṣyāamātsarya - citta*). The Buddha describes four types of people with whom a bodhisattva should not keep company. They are: i. evil friends (*pāpamitra*), ii. one who holds the heretical view of reliance on mental perception (*upālambhadṛṣṭika*), iii. one who discards the true doctrine (*saddharmapratikṣepaka*) and iv. one who covets worldly objects (*āmisa – lolupa*). If a bodhisattva is conceited because of his learning, is jealous and envious, lacks zealous application, and seeks enjoyment then these four defects bring about evil result to him. Degradation of others, accomplishment of desired objects by worldly means and formation of notions which cannot be accomplished, permitting the unrestrained, ignorant mind to indulge in heedlessness (*anigṛhītacittasya jñānavirahitasya pramādasevanatā*), and praising the family with an attached mind are the four fetters that bind a bodhisattva to worldly existence.

This enumeration of the virtues that a bodhisattva has to cultivate and the obstacles and defects that he has to escape is followed by an enumeration of fifty *jātakas* to illustrate how the Buddha himself, in his previous births, practised these virtuous qualities and successfully proceeded along the path of Enlightenment. Among the *jātakas* enumerated are a number of *jātakas* found in the Pali *jātaka* collection. There are a few others found in such texts as the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Jātakamālā*, the *Mahāvastu* and the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*.

This enumeration is abruptly followed by a prophecy of future decadence of the religion and the Order. Scholars regard this satirical description as reflecting the actual state of affairs that prevailed round about the 6th century, and as such the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* serves as an important document for the study of the history of Buddhism.

The second part begins with an enumeration of numerous faults found even among those who follow the path of the bodhisattva. It also lists eight causes that obstruct the attainment or Enlightenment. They are birth in hell, in a poor family, in a far away country (*pratyantajanapada*), in a low caste, ugly complexion and blindness, association with bad friends, over estimation of oneself and untimely death.

This is followed by a *jātaka* which narrates the story of Puṇyaraśmi, a previous birth of the Buddha himself. This *Jātaka* has some resemblance to the story of prince Siddhartha's renunciation.

The colophon of the text gives three other titles by which the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā* should be remembered. They are *Amoghapratijñāviśuddham, Satpuruṣavikrīḍitam - bodhisattvacaryāviniścayam Arthaparipūri*.

S.K. Nanayakkara

RATANA SUTTA is a *sutta* occurring in the *Khuddhakapātha*. According to its commentary, the *Ratana Sutta* was preached to rescue the great city of Vesāli from famine, plague and demonic influences (*KhpA*. p. 164 ff; *DhpA*, III, p. 436 ff). Buddha caused Ānanda to recite the *Ratana Sutta* going round the city. Accompanied by the Licchavi princes he did so, sprinkling water from the Buddha's alms bowl. As soon as the demons came in contact with water, they fled and the epidemic subsided. The people then constructed an assembly hall and annointed it with all perfumes, tied a canopy above, decorated it in various ways and prepared a seal for the Buddha. Once the Buddha occupied his seat, the monks, princes and the common folk took their appropriate seats. The celestial beings of the two Deva worlds, with Sakka at their head, too arrived-Buddha preached the entire *Ratana Sutta* to the great-congregation for seven consecutive days. On each day 84,000 beings realized the Truth. According to Buddhagosa, however, the Buddha preached to the crowed only the first two stanzas (*DhpA*., III, p. 165) as the rest had already been recited by Ānanda. Also the Buddha recommended the recitation of *paritta* to overcome such calamities in the future. Since this *sutta* was first preached to ward off the evil from *Vesāli*, it became the most famous of Buddha ward-runes (*paritta*) (*DPPN, S. V*). This event further marks "the first *paritta* ritual. The important ritualistic features observable here are the ritual water, the decorated hall provided with a canopy and chanting continued for seven days" (Prof. Lily de Silva, *Paritta, the Buddhist ceremony for Peace and Prosperity in Sri Lanka*, A Publication of the National Museums of Sri Lanka, Colombo, 1980, p. 17).

Ratana Sutta comprises of seventeen stanzas, the first two being an invocation to the Devas to receive their homage and offerings and to protect them in their calamity; the next-twelve stanzas are descriptive of the virtues of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*. The last three stanzas, according to Buddhagosa, are said to have been recited by *Sakka* on behalf of the Saṅgha (*DhpA*. pp. 195-6)

In ancient Sri Lanka the *sutta* was also known as the *Gangārohaṇa Sutta* (*Mhv*. Ch. XXXVII, VV. 189-98). When the country was vexed by famine and plague during the reign of Upatissa II (368-410 A.C), who came to know about its proven efficacy in ridding Vesāli of its troubles earlier, caused to perform a similar ritual. He got a golden image of the Buddha fashioned, and mounting it on a chariot, the king accompanied by monks, took it round the city reciting the *Ratana Sutta* and sprinkling water from the Buddha's alms bowl. It is recorded that there occurred a heavy downpour that washed out the famine as well as the plague. High esteem in which the *Ratana Sutta* was held in ancient times is again evinced from the fact that Sena II (853-87 A.C) got it inscribed on a golden plate and celebrated the occasion with a great festival.

It is in this *sutta* that the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha are symbolized as a Triple-gem for the first time. Hence some argue that it manifests the embryonic stage of the Vaitulya doctrine (Gemunu Siri Gamage, *Piriteki Parināmaya*, Nugegoda, 2003, p. 68).

C. S. Ranasinghe.

RATANATTAYA: The word *Ratanattaya* refers to the three-fold refuges termed the Triple Gem, i.e. the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. *Vandanā* or devotional paying of homage to the Triple Gem by

chanting certain stanzas every morning and evening and when offering *dāna* before noon, symbolically to the Buddha, features prominently in the day to day religious practice of Buddhists, whether bhikkhus, bhikkhunis, laywomen, or laymen. The *Vandanā* begins with a salutation to the Triple Gem and then seeking refuge in it.

As the practice of meditation and study of the Dhamma deepens in one, his/her devotion to the Triple Gem increases. This is so because the devotion becomes based on knowledge of the Buddha's wisdom and the truth and depth of the Dhamma and not on mere blind faith. The salutation to the *Ratanattaya* and taking refuge in it for one who has gone beyond the initial stage of initiation into the doctrine becomes very meaningful. Such a person does not merely chant the words of the stanza parrot-wise but in tones them with understanding and ever increasing faith in them. The *Vandanā* then becomes a meditation in itself with inspired devotional feeling. For example, the words of the often- chanted salutation to the Triple Gem which begins "*Iti pi so….*" become so meaningful that one can bring one's concentration to bear on each word with profound awareness of its meaning.

In the early days of the Buddha's dispensation, when the Buddha was walking barefoot to and fro along the valley of the Ganges, delivering discourses, people from all walks of life would come to him wishing to become ordained or to become a lay devotee. The Buddha admitted those who wished to join the Order by simply pronouncing the words "*Ehi bhikkhu cara brahmacariyaṃ sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāti*" (*Vin.* 1.12) "Come, O Bhikkhu, live the higher saintly life to end suffering completely".

A person could become a lay devotee by seeking refuge in the *Ratanattaya*, as they still do.

In time, ordination developed into a formal ceremony. For example, the prospective renunciate had to request entry into the Order in a formal way by saluting the *upajjāya* monk (preceptor monk) in a prescribed manner and then recite the following formula:

"*Okāsa karuññaṃ katvā pabbajjaṃ deta me bhante*"

May the Ven. Sir, grant me permission out of compassion to go forth (into the homeless life).

"*Ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi*
Dutiyampi, Ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi
Tatiyampi, Ahaṃ bhante pabbajjaṃ yācāmi"

I Ven. Sir, request the going forth.
For the second time, Ven. Sir, I request the going forth.
For the third time, Ven. Sir, I request the going forth.

Having made the request, the candidate then utters the formula:

"*Sabba dukkha nissaraṇa nibbāna sacchikaraṇatthāya imaṃ kāsāvaṃ gahetvā pabbājetha maṃ bhante anukampaṃ upādāya*"

"May the Ven. Sir, out of compassion for me accept these robes and grant me permission to go forth for the purpose of destroying all ills and realizing nibbāna."

It is only after this request is granted that the candidate for the going forth (*pabbajjā*), with shaven head, wearing robes and with the alms bowl slung over one shoulder, now requests ordination by uttering a similar formula as above and seeks refuge in the *Ratanattaya* , viz.

"*Buddham saraṇam gacchāmi*
Dhammam saraṇam gacchāmi
Saṅgham saraṇam gacchāmi"

This formula is repeated thrice. Then the variant form is recited.

"*Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*
Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi
Saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi"

When the request for seeking refuge in the *Ratanattaya* is granted the ten precepts of the Sāmaṇera are administered for the novice to take upon himself.

The simplicity of the original formula is preserved in the texts though the ceremony has become

somewhat elaborate over the years. It is clear that the formula for seeking refuge in the *Ratanattaya* as a password, so to speak, confirms one's entry into the dispensation either as a member of the saṅgha or as a Buddhist devotee. The latter may seek refuge in the *Ratanattaya* everyday, even several times a day.

Apart from the recitation of stanzas in homage to the *Ratanattaya* , certain other stanzas have been composed extolling the virtues of the Triple Gem for incorporation in the recitation of *paritta* (a special selection of suttas and stanzas for protection). The foremost, standard stanzas for paying homage to the *Ratanattaya* is the recitation of the set of stanzas beginning with "*Iti pi so....*" The stanzas run as follows:

"Iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho,
vijjācaraṇa sampaṇṇo, sugato lokavidū,
anuttaro purisadamma - sārathi, satthādevama
nussānaṃ, buddho bhagavāti"

"Such indeed, is the Blessed One; Worthy, Omniscient, Endowed with knowledge and virtue, well-gone, knower of worlds, an Incomparable charioteer for the training of persons, Teacher of Gods and men, Enlightened, and Blessed."

"Ye ca buddhā atītā ca- ye ca buddhā anāgatā
Paccuppannā ca ye buddha-ahaṃ vandāmi
sabbadā"

The Buddhas of the ages past,
The Buddhas that are yet to come,
The Buddhas of the present age,
Lowly, I, each day, adore."

"N'atthi me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ-buddho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ Etena saccavajjena – hotu me jayamaṅgalaṃ"

"No other Refuge do I seek
Buddha is my matchless Refuge
By might of Truth in these my words
May joyous victory be mine"

"Uttamaṅgeṇa vande'ham- pāda paṃsuṃ varuttamṃ Buddho yo khalito doso- buddho khamatu taṃ mamaṃ"

"With my brow I humbly worship,
the blest dust on His Holy Feet;
If Buddha I have wronged in aught
May the Enlightened forgive me!".

The salutation to the Dhamma is as follows:

"Svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko,
akāliko
ehipassiko, opanaiko, paccattaṃ veditabbo
viññuhiti"

"Well expounded is the Dhamma (Doctrine) by the Lord; to be self realized; with immediate fruit; inviting investigation; leading on to Nibbana; to be comprehended by the wise, each for himself."

The second stanza follows the same format as for the second stanza of the salutation to the Buddha except that the word "Dhamma" is supplied for 'Buddha'.

"N'atthi me saraṇam aññaṃ -dhammo me saraṇaṃ varaṃ Etena saccavajjena-hotu me jayamaṅgalaṃ"

"No other Refuge do I seek;
Dhamma is my matchless Refuge
By might of Truth in these my words
May joyous victory be mine!"

The third stanza follows the same format with a few changes.

"Uttamaṅgena vande'haṃ-dhammañca tividhaṃ varaṃ
Dhammo yo khalito doso- dhammo khamatu taṃ mamaṃ"

"With my brow I humbly worship
The dhamma threefold and supreme
If Dhamma I have wronged in aught
May dhamma's acquittance be mine!"

Salutation to the Saṅgha is as follows:

"Supatipanno bhagavato sāvaka saṅgho, ujupatipanno bhagavato sāvaka saṅgho, ñāyapatipanno bhagavato sāvaka saṅgho, sāmici patipanno bhagavato sāvaka saṅgho, yadidaṃ cattāri purisa yugāni; attha purisa puggalā, esa bhagavato sāvaka saṅgho āhuneyyo, pāhuneyyo, dakkhineyyo, añjalikaranīyo, anuttaram puññakkettaṃ lokassā'ti."

"Of good conduct is the Order of the Disciples of the Blessed One; of upright conduct is the Order of the Disciples of the Blessed One; of wise conduct is the order of the Disciples of the Blessed One; of dutiful conduct is the Order of the Disciples of the Blessed One. This Order of the Disciples of the Blessed One – namely, these four pairs of persons, the eight kinds of individuals – is worthy of offerings is worthy of hospitality, is worthy of gifts, is worthy of reverential salutation, is an incomparable field of merit to the world.

The next two stanzas follow the same format as for the salutations to the Buddha and Dhamma. The third stanza has a slight change, viz.

"Uttamaṅgena vande'haṃ-saṅghaṃ ca tividhottamaṃ Saṅgho yo khalito doso – saṅgho khamatu taṃ mamaṃ".

With my brow, I humbly worship
The Saṅgha triply unrivalled'
If Saṅgha I have wronged in aught
May Saṅgha forgive me that ill".

Another popular set of stanzas dedicated to the honouring of the *Ratanattaya* is the following:

Yo vadataṃ pavaro manujesu
Sakya muni bhagavā kata kicco
Pāragato bala viriya sumaṅgi
Taṃ sugataṃ saranattham-upemi"

"Who is the chiefest speaker among mankind?
Sākya sage, O Holy One, whose task is done,
Gone beyond, possessed of power and energy
To this, the Welcome One, I go for refuge!

"Rāgavirāga manejamasokaṃ
Dhammamasaṅkata mappatikūlaṃ
Madhuramimaṃ pagunaṃ suvibhattaṃ
Dhammamimaṃ saranattham-upemi"

"Exempt from lust – from craving, sorrow -free;
Law unconditioned and delectable
Sweet, potent, profoundly analytic
To this very Dhamma I go for Refuge!".

"Yattha ca dinna mahapphalamāhu
catusu sucisu purisayugesu
Attha ca puggala dhamma dasāte
Saṅghamimaṃ saranattham-upemi"

"Whate'ver is given bears great fruit 'tis said
To four Pure pairs of persons; and these Eight'
Are people who have realized the Truth;
To this very Saṅgha I go for Refuge!'

Another dedication to the *Ratanattaya* recited very often before a *Paritta* recitation is the following:

Imāya dhammānudhamma-patipattiyā buddhaṃ pūjemi;

Imāya dhammānudhamma-patipattiyā dhammaṃ pūjemi

Imāya dhammānudhamma-patipattiyā sangham pūjemi"

By this righteous practice according to the Dhamma I revere the Buddha By this righteous practice according to the Dhamma I revere the Dhamma By this righteous practice according to the Dhamma I revere the Sangha.

By far the most well known *sutta* for *paritta* recitation which features the virtues of the *Ratanattaya* is the *Ratana Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*. It is commonly believed that the recitation of this *sutta* will protect the devotee from all ills. The *Suttanipāta* is a very old collection of *suttas* in verse form, so the *Ratana Sutta* may look back to very ancient times. It ends with the formula:

"Yānīdha bhūtāni samāgatānī- bhummāni vā yāni va antalikkhe

Tathāgataṃ deva- manussa pūjitaṃ- buddhaṃ namassāma suvatthi hotu"

"We beings here assembled, whether terrestrial or celestial, salute the accomplished Buddha, honoured by gods and men. May there be happiness!"

The last two stanzas follow the same format except that the word 'Dhamma' or 'Sangha' is supplied, as the case may be, in place of 'Buddha' in the final two stanzas.

The *Dhajagga Sutta* is also a popular *sutta* recited during *Vandanā*. In it the Buddha tells the bhikkhus that if they have gone into forests, to the foot of trees, to lonely abodes and fear, trembling or hair-standing-on-end should occur in them, they must first think of gods such as Sakka, Pajāpati, Varuṇa, and if fear, etc. have not left them they must think of him and it fear etc. still remain, they must think of the Dhamma. If thinking of the Dhamma does not dispel their fear, etc., they should think of the Saṅgha (the *sāvaka saṅgha* who are beyond fear) and then surely they would have got rid of their fear, etc. The reason given is that the old gods of the Brahmana Culture were themselves subject to fear unlike the *Ratanattaya* which is devoid of all defilements. The *Dhajagga Sutta* ends thus:

"Evaṃ Buddhaṃ sarantānaṃ
Dhammaṃ saṅghañca bhikkhavo
Bhayaṃ vā chambhitattaṃ vā
Lomahaṃso na hessati".

" As you thus think of the Buddha
the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, O Bhikkhus,
fear, trembling, or hair-standing-on-end
will not arise".

No recitation of *paritta* is complete without reciting the *Mahā-Jayamaṅgala gāthā*. It has many benedictory stanzas invoking blessings of the *Ratanattaya*:

1. *"Mahākāruṇiko Nātho-hitāya sabba-pāṇinaṃ*
Pūretvā pāramī sabbam-patto sambodhiṃ uttamaṃ
Etena sacca-vajjena-hotu me jayamaṅgalaṃ."

"The great Merciful Lord, for the good of all living beings, practiced all perfections and attained supreme Enlightenment. By these true words may joyous victory be mine.

2. *"Jayanto bodhiyā mūle-sakkyānaṃ nandhivaddhano*
Evaṃ mayhaṃ jayo hotu-jayassu jayamaṅgalaṃ".

"He who enhanced the happiness of the Sakyans was victorious at the foot of the Bodhi tree. Like wise may there be victory to me, and may I be ever blessed!"

3. *"Sakkatvā Buddha-ratanaṃ-osadhaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ*
Hitaṃ deva-manussānaṃ-Buddha-tejena sotthinā
Nassant 'upaddavā sabbe-dukkhā vūpasamentu me."

I revere the Buddha jewel, highest balm and blest, ever beneficial to gods and men. By that Buddha's glory safely may all obstacles and sufferings cease!".

4. *"Sakkatvā Dhamma-ratanaṃ-osadhaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ*
Pariḷāhupasamanaṃ- Dhamma -tejena sotthinā
Nassant 'upaddavā sabbe-bhayā vūpasamentu me."

I revere the Dhamma Jewel highest balm and best, that cools down the heat. By the power of that Dhamma safely may all obstacles and fears cease!"

5. *"Sakkatvā Saṅgha-ratanaṃ-osadhaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ*
Āhuneyyaṃ pāhuneyyaṃ- Saṅgha -tejena sotthinā
Nassant 'upaddavā sabbe-rogā vūpasamentu me."

"I revere the Saṅgha-jewel, highest balm and best, worthy of offerings, worthy of hospitality. By the power of that Saṅgha safely may all my obstacles pass away! May all my diseases be cured!"

6. *"Yañkiñci ratanaṃ loke-vijjati vividhā puthū*
Ratanaṃ Buddha- samaṃ natthi- tasmā sotthi bhavantu me".

"Whatever diverse precious jewels there be in this universe there is no jewel equal to the Buddha. By this truth let me be prosperous.'

7. *"Yañkiñci ratanaṃ loke-vijjati vividhā puthū*
Ratanaṃ Dhamma- samaṃ natthi- tasmā sotthi bhavantu me".

"Whatever diverse precious Jewels there be in this universe there is no Jewel equal to the Dhamma. By this truth let me be prosperous."

8. "Yaṅkiñci ratanaṃ loke-vijjati vividhā puthū
Ratanaṃ Saṅgha- samaṃ natthi - tasmā sotthi bhavantu me".

"Whatever diverse precious Jewels there be in this universe-there is no jewel equal to the Saṅgha. By this truth let me be prosperous."

9. "Natthi me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ-buddho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ
Etena saccavajjena-hotu me jayamaṅgalaṃ".

There is no other refuge to me. Buddha is my matchless refuge. By these true words may joyous victory be mine".

10. "Natthi me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ-dhammo me saraṇaṃ varaṃ
Etena saccavajjena-hotu me jayamaṅgalaṃ".

There is no other refuge to me. The Dhamma is my matchless refuge. By these true words may joyous victory be mine!"

11. "Natthi me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ-Saṅgho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ
Etena saccavajjena-hotu me jayamaṅgalaṃ".

There is no other refuge to me. Saṅgha is my matchless refuge. By these true words may joyous victory be mine!"

12. Bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ-rakkhantu sabbadevatā
Sabbabuddhānu bhāvena-sadā sotthi bhavantu me."

May all blessings be to me. May all gods protect me. By the power of all the Buddhas may happiness ever be mine"

13. Bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ-rakkhantu sabbadevatā
Sabbadhammānu bhāvena-sadā sotthi bhavantu me."

May all blessings be to me. May all gods protect me. By the power of all the Dhammas may happiness ever be mine"

14. Bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ-rakkhantu sabbadevatā
Sabbasaṅghānu bhāvena-sadāsotthi bhavantu me."

"May all blessings be to me. May all gods protect me. By the power of all the Disciples may happiness ever be mine"

Sāmaṇeri Suvimālee

RATHAVINĪTA SUTTA, the 'discourse on the relay of chariots', is the twenty-fourth discourse in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*M.* I, 145). Two Chinese versions of this discourse are extant, occurring as the ninth discourse in the *Madhyama Āgama* (Taishō I. 429c) and as the tenth discourse in the thirty-ninth chapter of the *Ekottara Agama* (Taisho II. 733c). Though a number of differences can be found, the main thrust of the two Chinese versions corresponds to the Pāli discourse.

The *Rathavinīta Sutta* begins with Sāriputta overhearing some monks speaking the praises of Puṇṇa Mantāṇiputta to the Buddha. When on a later occasion Puṇṇa Mantāṇiputta came to visit the Buddha, Sāriputta went to meet Puṇṇa in order to test out the latter's wisdom. Without revealing his identity, Sāriputta asked Puṇṇa if any out of a set of seven stages of purification were the aim of living the holy life under the Buddha. Puṇṇa denied, explaining that none of them was the final goal, though each of them was required to reach that goal.

For the sake of further clarification, Puṇṇa came out with the simile of the relay of chariots after which the *Rathavinīta Sutta* takes its title. According to this simile king Pasenadi had some urgent matter to settle at Sāketa, a town over forty miles distant from Sāvatthi. In order to quickly cover this distance, he used seven chariots in sequence. Just as each out of this relay of chariots was for the purpose of reaching Sāketa, Puṇṇa explained, so each of the seven stages of purifications mentioned by Sāriputta were only the means to reach the final goal.

The *Rathavinīta Sutta* takes its significance from these seven stages of purification, which form the scaffolding for the *Visuddhimagga*, a work of almost paradigmatic importance in the *Theravāda* tradition. These seven stages of purification are:

(1) Purification of morality (*sīlavisuddhi*)
(2) Purification of the mind (*cittavisuddhi*)
(3) Purification of view (*diṭṭhivisuddhi*)
(4) Purification by overcoming doubt (*kaṅkhāvitaraṇavisuddhi*)
(5) Purification by knowledge and vision of what is the path and what is not the path (*maggāmaggañāṇadassanavisuddhi*)
(6) Purification by knowledge and vision of the way (*paṭipadāñāṇadassanavisuddhi*)
(7) Purification by knowledge and vision (*ñāṇadassanavisuddhi*)

The *Rathavinīta Sutta* itself does not provide further explanations of these seven stages. According to *Buddhaghosa's* treatment in the *Visuddhimagga*, the first two stages of purification represent the development of morality and concentration. Purification of view and purification by overcoming doubt cover the development of insight into the nature of mind and matter and into conditionality. The next two purifications correspond to the more mature stages of insight into the impermanent and therefore unsatisfactory and self-less nature of phenomena, while the last stage, purification of knowledge and vision, corresponds to the four levels of awakening.

In the Pāli discourses, this set of seven stages of purification occurs only once again, as part of a set of altogether nine purifications in the *Dasuttara Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* III, 288). The terminology used for the seven stages in this discourse is the same as in the *Rathavinīta Sutta*, a difference being that while the latter speaks in each case simply of 'purification' (*visuddhi*), the *Dasuttara Sutta* additionally qualifies each as a 'factor of exertion for purity' (*pārisuddhi-padhāniyaṅga*). The eighth and ninth stage of purification found in the *Dasuttara Sutta* are purification of 'wisdom' (*paññā*) and of 'liberation' (*vimutti*).

The expression 'factor of exertion for purity' (*pārisuddhi-padhāniyaṅga*) recurs in the *Sāpugiya Sutta* (*A.* II, 195). According to this discourse, to undertake the precepts corresponds to 'purity of morality', to develop the four *jhānas* to 'purity of the mind', insight into the four noble truths to 'purity of view' and the eradication of all mental defilements to 'purity of liberation'.

'Purity of view' in terms of knowing the four noble truths 'as they really are' (*yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti*) suggests that such purity is attained with stream-entry. With stream-entry the fetter of personality view (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) has been eradicated and from this moment on the noble disciple, who has had a direct experience of the four noble truths 'as they really are', is firmly endowed with right view.

When one applies this explanation to the scheme of seven purifications, however, it becomes clear that the implications of 'purity' (*pārisuddhi*) go beyond the implications of 'purification' (*visuddhi*). Though the stages 'purification of view', 'purification by overcoming doubt' and 'purification by knowledge and vision of what is the path and what is not the path' bring to mind the three fetters to be eradicated with stream-entry (personality view, doubt, and clinging to rules and vows), these three fetters are eradicated simultaneously, at the moment of stream-entry itself (*A.* I, 242 and *Sn.* 231). In contrast, the stages of purification follow each other in a temporal sequence, just as the chariots in the simile given by Puṇṇa. Hence 'purification of view' cannot represent the right view gained with stream-entry, as doubt is only overcome with the next stage of purification.

Several of the seven stages of purification recur elsewhere in the discourses. Purification of morality occurs on its own (*A.* II, 200) and also together with purification of view (*D.* III, 214 and *A.* I, 95), yet these instances do not provide further information on these purifications. The fourth stage of purification can be found in the *Udāna* (*Ud.* 60), which reports the monk Kaṅkhārevata reviewing his 'purification of overcoming doubt' while seated in meditation.

'Knowledge and vision of path and not-path', though not as a 'purification', occurs in the *Kāḷī Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* V, 47) as insight into the nature of deep stages of concentration attained through *kasiṇa* meditation, in terms of the inherent danger

(*ādīnava*) of such attainments and in terms of what goes beyond (*nissaraṇa*) them.

Coming to the last of the seven stages, 'purification by knowledge and vision' should according to the *Visuddhimagga's* interpretation include the attainment of all four levels of awakening (*Vism.* 672). Though the explanations provided by Buddhaghosa in regard to the earlier stages of purification fit with the information found about them in the discourses, in regard to this last stage his presentation may seem less convincing.

The Pāli expression 'knowledge and vision' does at times indeed represent the gain of full awakening, such as in the case of the Buddha's own insight into the four noble truths, described by him in the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* as being 'thoroughly purified' (*S.* V, 423: *suvisuddha*). The same expression 'knowledge and vision' can however also connote realizations of lesser import. Among others it may refer to insight into the distinction between the material body and consciousness (*D.* I, 76), to telepathy (*D.* II, 216), to knowing the past and the future (*D.* III, 134), or to internal meditative visions of light (*A.* IV, 302). These instances indicate that the expression 'knowledge and vision' can cover a variety of different realizations and does not necessarily imply the realization of *Nibbāna*.

Judging from its usage in the *Mahāsāropama* and the *Cūḷasāropama Suttas*, 'knowledge and vision' as a stage of the path still falls short of full awakening, being only stage that immediately precedes and leads up to liberation (*M.* I, 195 and *M.* I, 202). These two discourses are of particular relevance in the present context, since they are concerned with the same issue that also forms the central topic of the *Rathavinīta Sutta*: the goal of living the holy life. All three discourses agree that the achievement of knowledge and vision should not be mistaken for the final goal.

Though 'knowledge and vision' constitutes the final stage of purification mentioned in the *Rathavinīta Sutta*, the same 'knowledge and vision' forms only an intermediate stage in the scheme of nine purifications found in the *Dasuttara Sutta*. The *Dasuttara Sutta* speaks of purification of 'liberation' only with the ninth stage, indicating that only at this stage the culmination point of the process of purification has been reached. This scheme of nine purifications could well be at the background of *Sāriputta's* questions in the *Rathavinīta Sutta*, the whole purpose of which was to test out *Puṇṇa's* wisdom by presenting him with stages of purification that still fall short of the final goal. In reply to these questions, Puṇṇa explained that the seventh stage of purification is still affected by clinging (*sa-upādāna*) and thus should not be considered the final goal.

The *Rathavinīta Sutta* concludes with Sāriputta revealing his identity to Puṇṇa and the two monks praising each other's wisdom in posing subtle questions and replying to them appropriately.

Anālayo

RATNAGIRI VIHĀRA, A monastery complex located on the crest of Jaipur mountains in Orissa (ancient kingdom of Oḍivisa), India. This Monastery, dating from the 5th century A.C. and built during the reign of Buddhapakṣa (identified with the Gupta emperor Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya) flourished till the 12th Century A.C. as a famous centre of Buddhism in that region. Tibetan historian, Tāranātha mentions that in this *vihāra* were kept three sets of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna texts and there were around 500 monks residing in it (N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, Calcutta 1958, p. vii). It was looked upon as an important religious and philosophical academy, which drew intellectual monks and students from distant regions. However, towards the end of the 13th century A.C., it suffered at the hands of the Muslim invaders and was abandoned.

Though it is evident that both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna sects co-existed in this monastery at its inception, by and by Mahāyānism gained grounds and finally it became a centre noted for spiritual inspiration and lively pursuit of the Kālacakra-tantra (Debla Mitra, *Buddhist monuments*, Calcutta, 1980, p. 226). Recent excavations at the site yielded hoards of ruins including a main stūpa, two exquisite quadrangular monasteries, a single-winged monastery, temples, a large number of small stūpas, myriads of images of Buddha, Dhyāni-Buddhas and other Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna deities.

The main *stūpa* is completely dilapidated and believed to be buried under the debris of structural stūpas. Located to its right is the *stūpa* 2, which yield five terracotta plaques inscribed with *dhāranis*. Scattered around the main *stūpa* are myriads of small *stūpas*, some of which are decorated with images of Buddha, Dhyāni-Buddhas, Tārā, Lokeśvara, as well as Vajrayāna deities like Aparājitā and Vajra-tārā. "A fairly large number of sculptures and stone and terracotta plaques bearing *dhāranis*, the Buddhist creed and *Pratītya-Samutpāda-Sūtra*, both indicative of the Mahāyāna - Vajrayāna affiliation of the establishment were found in the debris around the main *stupa*" (Debla Mitra, *op cit.*, p. 228).

Lying on the mound to the north of the stūpa are ruins of two grand monasteries. The monastery located in the eastern direction is the larger one with two stories. This monastery, built around the 7th century A.C., is decorated with figurines of Vajrapāni and Padmapāni on the front of stone-paved walls. The back wall is adorned "with an admirable exuberance of sculptured figures and decorative patterns ...unparalled in the structural monasteries in India" (Debla Mitra, *op. cit*, p. 229). The original monastery had fallen into decay and reconstructed after the 11th century A. C. The second monastery was smaller in size and single storied.

Besides these ruins, remains of eight temples built of bricks have been excavated. The discovery of images of Dhyāni-Buddhas, Vajrarāga, Vajradharma and Vajrasattva, and hoards of miniature votive *stūpas* at the site suggest that Ratnagiri Vihāra was a flourishing centre of Mahāyana and Vajrayāna faiths at the time Muslim invasions occurred.

C.S. Ranasinghe

ṚDDHI See IDDHI

REBIRTH

1. Introduction: The Buddhist doctrine of liberation (*vimutti*) derives its meaning and significance primarily from its teaching concerning the inevitability of a cyclic process of suffering arising from certain identifiable causal conditions in a repeated series of births and deaths. The paean of joy attributed to Gotama Buddha immediately after attaining enlightenment implies that the liberation he was seeking was from suffering that had been continuously reproduced in a cyclic process of rebirth into countless lives *(anekajātisaṃsāraṃ)*'. As stated in the Buddhist scriptures, it was the discovery of the mechanism that brought about such a re-becoming process involving the numerous anxieties and hazards of existence, and the successful dismantling of that mechanism that led the Buddha to utter this paean of joy. The ultimate goal of Buddhism, and the way of life recommended in order to attain it would lose much of its significance if the teaching concerning rebirth is not considered as a cardinal tenet of the system. Hence, the doctrine of rebirth has played as significant a role in Buddhism as the concept of God in monotheistic religions.

The first noble truth of Buddhism, namely the truth of unsatisfactoriness *(dukkha)* is causally explained by the Buddha as resulting from birth (*jāti*) in terms of the scheme of dependent arising consisting of twelve factors. The liberated person, according to Buddhism, is one who lives the last birth. In this sense the Buddha claimed that since his enlightenment he lived his last birth and that there could not be a rebirth for him. *(ayamantimā jāti natthidāni punabbhavo*). This was considered in early Buddhism represented in the Pali scriptural tradition as the destiny of all persons who attained the goal of the destruction of mental cankers *(āsavakkhaya)* and became worthy ones *(arahanta)*.

There is no doubt that the doctrine of rebirth is an integral part of the Buddhist theory of reality. However, the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth may be distinguished from many other allied doctrines known in the history of thought under other terms such as reincarnation, transmigration, and metampsychosis. It is also important to recognize the fact that the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth has also gone through many different stages of development and transformation both within and outside each different school of Buddhism. This will be illustrated in the present inquiry with a special focus on the development of the doctrine for over thousand years within the Theravāda Buddhist tradition.

2. Concept of Rebirth in Pre-Buddhist India

In the opinion of most scholars on the history of Indian religions the doctrine of rebirth had already

taken root in Indian religious thought by the time of the rise of Buddhism. According to Oldenberg it is one of the dogmas inherited by Buddhism from the earlier Brahmanical religious tradition.[2] According to E.J. Thomas, transmigration and the doctrine of retribution of action were well established as part of the commonly accepted view of life during pre-Buddhist times. In his opinion they were chief among the specific Indian beliefs that the Buddha took for granted because they were already widely accepted.[3] Prof K.N. Jayatilleke has challenged the opinion that the doctrine of rebirth had taken firm root in Indian thought prior to the time of Buddhism. He points out that on the contrary a clear conception of rebirth is conspicuously absent in the Ṛgveda. The Ṛgveda had a conception of the departed ancestors from this world surviving in the world of the "Fathers" or *pitrs* but it did not have a conception of departed ones being repeatedly subject to birth and death. It also had a doctrine of the annihilation of evil souls due to being cast in the abysmal hell in which they were utterly destroyed. The Brahmana literature has reference to a second death, but there is no evidence in them of a theory of transmigration. In the Upanisads there is a variety of theories of the destiny of a person after death. Among this variety of theories rebirth is sometimes presented as one among a number of other alternatives. Many Upanisadic sages like Yajnavalkya, Uddālaka and Prajāpati who held the belief in the eternity of the self believed in the survival of the self after death but did not speak of a series of future lives. There is mention of rebirth as man or animal in the Brhadaranyaka and Chandogya Upaniṣads, but it cannot be said to be the standard belief in the early pre-Buddhist Upaniṣads.

Jainism and Buddhism were the two main systems of thought in the fifth century B.C that consistently held the doctrine of rebirth as an essential part of their liberation doctrines. There is also reference to a determinist or fatalist school of philosophy in the early Buddhist scriptures according to which rebirth was thought to occur in the form of a pre- determined cyclic pattern. It was the view of this school of thought as described in the Buddhist scriptures, that a person is liberated from suffering not as a consequence of any personal effort on his part but after going through a predetermined series of rebirths *(saṃsārasuddhi)*. It is also evident that there was a considerable body of opinion that expressed skepticism about the doctrine of rebirth or totally denied its possibility. The materialist school of Indian thought denied rebirth on epistemological grounds.[4] Skeptics did not wish to commit themselves to any definite view on the issue.[5]

The Buddha identified two positions on the issue, as the eternalist position *(sassatavāda)*, according to which an immutable soul substance which is indestructible is affirmed, and the nihilist position *(ucchedavāda)*, according to which the physical body and the life principle are conceived as identical entailing the view that after bodily death the existing individual is totally annihilated. The Pali *Nikāyas* also refer to them as *bhavadiṭṭhi* and *vibhavadiṭṭhi*, two extreme views on the nature of life held in mutual opposition to each other.[6] This indicates that the annihilationist view too must have had a considerable influence on the thought of the period. The Buddha, however, expressed his disagreement with both these positions and accepted the idea of a continuity of an individuated series without accepting the notion of annihilation or that of all underlying substantial entity called the permanent self.

Prof. K.N. Jayatilleke's contention that the Buddha did not accept the theory of rebirth as a concession to the widespread opinion that prevailed on the matter at the time is defensible. He points out that the Buddha criticized dependence on authority and tradition and emphasized the importance of direct experience. The doctrine of an eternal self was widely held by pre-Buddhist thinkers both of the Vedic and non-Vedic traditions. Yet the Buddha did not accept it because he found that there was no experiential evidence for the affirmation of its existence.

3. Concept of Rebirth in Early Buddhism

The teachings of the Buddha preserved in the Pali *Sutta Piṭaka* and the Chinese *āgama* literature belongs to a time when Buddhism had not separated into different schools of thought. Therefore, it could safely be assumed that those teachings represent the early Buddhist views on most of the fundamental doctrinal issues. According to this early stratum of Buddhist literature, rebirth is represented as a phenomenon directly experienced by a person who progresses on the path of mental culture that culminates in the attainment of final liberation. The scriptures refer to a stage at which a person, through the systematic

training of the mind resulting in the attainment of intense mindfulness, equanimity and mental composure acquires the ability to direct the mind for the purpose of attaining an extraordinary form of knowledge and vision *(ñāṇadassana)*. The cognitive experiences of an extraordinary nature that result from such direction of the mind are considered in the *Sutta* literature as the six kinds of *abhiññā*. Two out of these supercognitive experiences, namely, the knowledge based on the memory of previous life-experiences *(pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇa)* and the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of other beings *(cutūpapātañāṇa)* in accordance with their deeds *(yathākammūpage)* are said to be related to the experiential verification of the phenomenon of rebirth.[7] The material contained in the *Suttas* implies the existence of other non-Buddhist teachers who had also acquired these supercognitive abilities through meditative culture of the mind.[8] This claim on the part of the Buddhist and other Yogis of the time was not received with favour by some who adopted a skeptical approach to such claims. A Brahmin student named Subha, for instance refused to accept the Buddha's claim that the latter had supernormal faculties of knowing. Subha contended, referring to the opinion of his teacher Pokkharasāti that the claim on the part of a human being to have attained super-human knowledge and vision is ridiculous, worthless and empty.[9] The theoretical position held in early Buddhism was that the doctrine of rebirth, just as the other fundamental teachings of Buddhism was not based on traditional authority or rational speculation but on paranormal experience.

It is maintained in the *Suttas* that even with the unlimited capacity attributed to the Buddha to retrace his memories of past lives, it was not possible to find a first beginning in the cyclic process of rebirth. The Buddha is represented as affirming the view that *saṃsāra*, the cyclic process of birth, death and rebirth has no known beginning *(anamataggo ayaṃ saṃsāro, pubbā koṭi na paññāyati)*. Buddhism explains the process in terms of the twelve factors of the law of dependent arising *(paṭiccasamuppāda)* but this formulation is not to be viewed as a linear process of evolution having one of the factors as the first beginning of the series. It only represents the relative and mutually dependent nature of existence without indicating a first cause of it.

4. Early Buddhist Cosmology and the Rebirth Doctrine

In early Buddhism pre-existence and survival are not conceived merely in terms of a series of earthly lives. Other planes of existence are recognized in which a variety of forms of life is supposed to exist. Rebirth is considered as a psychologically determined process and the doctrine of action and its consequence *(kamma* and *vipāka)* is considered to be closely linked with it. The performance of wholesome action results in rebirth in happy planes *(sugati)* whereas the performance of unwholesome action results in rebirth in unhappy planes *(duggati)*. The different planes of existence could be graded according to the pleasure or pain experienced in them. One of the classifications of different planes of existence is in terms of the five types of destiny *(pañcagati)*. They are (1) purgatory *(niraya)*, (2) the class of lower animals *(tiracchāṇayoni)*, (3) the sphere of the ghosts *(pettivisaya)*, (4) the human world *(manussa)* and (5) the world of the luminous or divine beings *(deva)*. Out of these the first three are considered as unhappy destinies *(duggati)* and the remaining two as the happy destinies *(sugati)*.

The term *bhava* having the meaning 'becoming' also has a cosmological significance. It is to be noted in this context that the term *puna* which means' again' is conjoined with the verb *'uppajjati* ' or with the noun' *bhavo* ' to express the idea of rebirth. The *Sutta*. sources refer to three kinds of becoming *(bhava)* as sensuous becoming *(kāmabhavo)*, becoming associated with form *(rūpabhavo)* and formless becoming *(arūpabhavo)*. Each of these kinds of becoming is determined by the nature of the consciousness acquired by a person through the cultivation of different modes of conduct. The ordinary consciousness that is tied up with the gratification of the senses is known as consciousness associated with the sensuous realm *(kāmāvacara)*, and it is believed to be transcended in certain stages of mental composure *(jhāna* or *samādhi)* by the person who engages in the withdrawal of the mind from the desires stimulated by the contact of the senses with their corresponding objects. The consciousness cultivated in the four stages of *jhāna* (meditative absorption) is considered as consciousness associated with form *(rūpāvacara)*. The consciousness cultivated in the formless attainments is called *arūpāvacara*. Consciousness in *nibbāna* is said to

transcend all these states of consciousness which bring about some kind of *bhava* and the former is therefore considered as supra-mundane *(lokuttara)*. As long as becoming in any form takes place, birth results, as explained by the connection *bhavapaccayā jāti* in the dependent arising series. The material worlds where greed and sensuous desire predominate such as the world of the humans and some of the sensuous divine realms are designated as the world of sensuality *(kāmaloka)*. Those who have developed a higher consciousness through the cultivation of the four meditations *(jhāna)* are destined to be reborn in the world of form *(rūpaloka)* where sensuality is absent. Those who have developed the four formless attainments such as the sphere of the infinity of space *(ākāsānañcāyatana)* are reborn in the formless world *(arūpaloka)* where there is no consciousness of form.

The Theravāda canon refers to nine types of abodes of living beings *(navasattāvāsa)* in which one may be reborn. The first four of these abodes are differentiated in terms of the similarity or dissimilarity in the type of physical and psychical constitution of the beings born in these abodes, while the others correspond to the state of higher consciousness attained beginning with the consciousness of the sphere of infinity of space and ending with the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling *(saññ āvedayitanirodha)*. The ninth abode is called the abode of beings without perceptual consciousness *(asaññ asatta)*. The first seven of these abodes of beings are also called the seven stations of consciousness indicating that rebirth involves the establishment of consciousness in one or the other of these stations.

The abodes of living beings are also classified into four planes of existence in the post canonical Pali texts. They are called (1) *apāyabhūmi*, (2) *kāmasugatibhūmi*, (3) *rūpāvacarabhūmi* and (4) *arūpāvacarabhūmi*. The first includes all spheres described as woeful states of existence and the second the human world where there is a mixture of pleasure and pain and some heavenly worlds like the *Cātummahārājika* and the *Tāvatimsa* heavens where there is a predominance of pleasure. The third one corresponds to the state of becoming described as *rūpabhava* and the fourth corresponds to that described as *arūpabhava* and are conceived as spheres transcending sensuality where persons who have attained the corresponding meditative superconsciousness are reborn. Vivid descriptions of the pleasures in the superhuman heavenly worlds *(sagga)* as well as the pains in the lower woeful states of existence *(niraya)* are given in the Theravāda scriptures. Such enumerations and descriptions of heavenly worlds and hells may be seen as an attempt on the part of Buddhist cosmological thought to create its own cosmic mythology, to fit the life of morality and mental culture advocated in the Buddhist teaching. In accordance with the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth and *kamma* the universe is conceived as consisting of many planes of existence inhabited by diverse types of living beings enjoying or suffering varying degrees of pleasure or pain depending on the state of their moral and mental development. All planes of existence were considered merely as temporary stations, no matter how immensely long was the life span in some of them. Ultimately, whether they were heavens or hells life in all of them was characterized as *dukkha* because of their transient nature. According to Buddhism the process of wandering hither and thither in this vast cosmic ocean of *saṃsāra* is without a known beginning *(anamataggo)*. Buddhism does not hold that there is a progressive evolution in this process. There could be progression as well as regression depending on the moral law of *kamma*. Corruptibility is a fact about all living beings until such time as one gets established in at least the first fruit of the path of spiritual progress *(sotāpatti)* which ensures liberation after seven more rebirths. A further progression in eliminating the corruptions may lead a person to the fruit of once returner *(sakadāgāmi)* or a non-returner *(anāgāmi)* whereas a person who eradicates all corruptions and becomes incorruptible attains the fruit of *arahatta*, in which case there is no more rebirths. Existence as a human is considered as the most opportune time to strive for the attainment of liberation from the cycle of rebirth, for, in the life in higher heavens where one enjoys the fruits of good *kamma* there could be no concern for further progression while in the lower realms of existence one is destined to suffer the consequences of bad *kamma* and would lack the freedom, intelligence or capacity for moral progress.

5. Early Buddhist Account of the Mechanics of Rebirth

There are a few instances in the *Sutta* literature where short descriptions are given of the mechanics

of rebirth. The *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* is one of the most significant among them. It states that the conception of a life in a mother's womb takes place when three conditions come together. The first condition is the sexual union of the parents *(mātāpitunnaṃ sannipāto hoti)*. Secondly, the mother has to be in the proper fertile season *(mātā ca utunī hoti)*. Thirdly, the *gandhabba* has to be present *(gandhabbo paccupaṭṭhito hoti)*.[10] Thus a third factor in addition to the observable biological conditions for conception of life has been recognized. The term *gandhabba* has not been explained in the *Sutta* passage. As a result different interpretations have been given to it in later Buddhist traditions. According to some non- Theravāda *Abidharma* schools *gandhabba* was considered, as an intermediate ghostly kind of existence to which the departed person is believed to enter before that person takes a definite rebirth. The commentary to the *Kathāvatthu* attributes this view to the Pubbaseliyas and the Sammitiyas. The *Abhidharmakoṣa* which belongs to the Sautrantika sect also advocated the view that immediately after death there is an intermediate existence. The *Sutta* reference to *gandhabba* has been explained in this tradition with reference to this intermediate being seeking for a new birth. The Theravāda School rejected this view and interpreted *gandhabba* as the psychic element which reconnects the succeeding life with the preceding in the rebirth process. It was conceived as a kind of *viññāṇa*, a state of consciousness, which was later explained in Theravāda scholasticism in terms of its theory of mental instants *(cittakkhaṇa)*.

The role of *viññāṇa* (consciousness) in the rebirth process is also implied in a passage in the *Dīghanikāya* where the Buddha puts a series of questions to his disciple, Ananda regarding the dependent arising process that connects *viññāṇa* and *nāmarūpa*. *Nāmarūpa* is understood as the psychophysical unit that interacts with consciousness or *viññāṇa* that flows in *saṃsāric* life in mutual dependence with it. Ananda give a negative answer to each of the questions put implying that the opposite is the case.

Supposing Ananda, consciousness were not to descend into the mother's womb would the psychophysical unit form in the mother's womb?

No, it would not, Sir.

Supposing consciousness were to descend into the mother's womb and depart from it, would the psychophysical unit be born into this regular form of existence?

No, it would not, Sir.

Supposing while one is yet an infant the consciousness of a male or a female child is cut off would the psychophysical unit come to growth, maturity and development?

No, it would not, Sir."[11]

Nāmarūpa as defined in the *suttas* is a combination of certain psychic and material components which together form the individual organism. The psychic part of the organism consists of feeling *(vedanā)*, perception *(saññā)*, volition *(cetanā)*, sense impression *(phasso)* and mental reflection *(manasikāro*). The material part consists of the four material elements and whatever is derived from them.[12] *viññāna* is said to be supported by it while it is in itself supported by the former. We have seen that according to the *Mahānidāna Sutta* passage quoted above, without the support of *viññāṇa nāmarūpa* can neither be sustained nor can it attain growth. Also in the absence of *nāmarūpa, viññāṇa* cannot continue. It is pointed out that a particular *viññāṇa* series re-arises in cyclic continuity with dependence on *nāmarūpa*, and it does not go beyond the scope of *nāmarūpa*.[13] The dependent arising connection between *nāmarūpa* and *viññāṇa* is considered as mutual *(nāmarūpapaccayā viññāṇaṃviññāṇa paccayā nāmarūpaṃ)*. As described in these contexts the rebirth process is the unbroken continuity of personality determined by the dependent arising relationship between *viññāṇa* and *nāmarūpa*. It is probably the continuity of consciousness in such a process that is referred to as "a person's stream of consciousness that is established in this and the other world".[14]

According to Buddhaghosa' s explanation of the twelve fold formula of dependent arising, the twelve factors can be separated into those that belong to the past, present and future in the cyclic process of becoming. *Avijjā* (ignorance) and *sankhārā* (volitional impulses or *karma* formations) belong to the past life; *viññāṇa* (consciousness), *nāmarūpa* (psycho-

physical unit), *saḷāyatana* (the six sense spheres), *phassa* (sense impression), *vedanā* (feeling), *taṇhā* (craving) and *upādāna* (clinging) belong to the present life; *bhava* (becoming), *jāti* (birth) and *jarā*(decay) and the rest belong to the future life. Although the Buddha may not have intended to apply the twelve factors in this manner, it is clear that since the order in which the factors have been presented show some recognizable causal sequence. Buddhaghosa may be justified in proposing it. The connection between *kamma* formations *(sankhārā)* and consciousness *(viññāṇa)* and that between clinging *(upādāna)* and becoming *(bhava)* are crucial in the rebirth process. This accounts for Buddhaghosa' s suggestion.

The Buddha has indicated in the *Nidānasaṃyutta* where he explains the notion of dependent arising in various ways, that rebirth takes place as a consequence of consciousness taking a foothold in a renewed becoming series. As stated in the *Nidānasaṃyutta*:

Whatever one intends, whatever one plans for, whatever one has a latent desire for that becomes an object for the establishment of consciousness. When such an object is given, that becomes a foothold for consciousness. When consciousness is established there, and when it grows, there is the occurrence of a future becoming.[15]

This passage indicates the role of thought directed by intention, volition and latent desire in determining the rebecoming process. The passage that immediately follows in this context points out that even if there is no volitional activity and no planning for, if there is latent desire (*anuseti)* it is sufficient for the rebirth process to take place. When consciousness gets established and attains growth there occurs a renewed progression of a psychophysical organism *(tasmiṃ patiṭṭhite viññāṇe viruḷhe nāmarūpassa avakkanti hoti).*[16]

The passages just mentioned can be understood as amplifications of the connection stated briefly in the dependent arising formula as that between volitional formations *(sankhārā)* and consciousness *(viññāṇa)*. Volitional formations are generated by the avenues of the body, speech and thought. In the *Kukkuravatika Sutta* they are referred to as *abhisankhāra* and are considered in terms of their injurious *(sabyābajjha)* or non-injurious *(abyābajjha)* nature in relation to the individual concerned, who generates them. They are also considered from an evaluative point of view as being either good *(kusala/puñña)* or bad *(akusala/apuñña)*. In the *Kukkuravatika Sutta* the Buddha points out that a person who practices in a perfect way the habits of a cow in thought word and deed will be born as a dog or a cow respectively. One is reborn according to the way one acts *(yaṃ karoti tena upapajjati).*[17]

The canonical teachings indicate that a certain degree of free control and self- direction can be exercised regarding the volitional formations that determine the rebirth process. A person with certain moral qualities like confidence, virtue, learning, renunciation and wisdom is said to be able to cultivate the kind of mentality and resolve and develop the kind of dispositions required for birth in a happy state.[18] There is recognition in this instance of the possibility of control and direction of the rebirth process through the moral will of the person. At any point in a person's conscious life the conditioning process can be altered for the better or for the worse.

According to the canonical teaching the last thought of a dying person is very crucial in determining that person's immediate state of rebirth. This allows a considerable degree of indeterminacy also to the process. The *Mahākammavibhanga Sutta* shows that it is not the case that all those who have generally conducted themselves in an evil way in this life are reborn in an unhappy state in the life that immediately follows. The same applies to a person who generally conducts oneself in a good way, for such a person could be reborn in an unhappy state immediately after death. This may be due to one of two reasons. It is possible that at the time of death the mind of the person, who conducted himself generally in good ways, got momentarily polluted. It could also be the case that some remnant of evil *kamma* formations of the remote past became active at the moment of death thereby determining his state of immediate rebirth. A similar explanation applies to the person who generally conducts oneself in bad ways but finds the immediately following life after death to be satisfactory. It is as a consequence of this teaching that an attempt is made in popular Buddhist religious practice to introduce wholesome stimuli to the dying person with a view to making his last thought moment a wholesome one.

6. Rebirth and the no-self teaching.

A distinctive feature of the Theravāda theory of rebirth is its denial of a continuing, eternal or immortal and identical self that is reincarnated in a series of lives. The doctrine which affirms an eternal self which transmigrates until the attainment of final liberation is called *sassatavāda* (eternalist thesis) and is rejected in Buddhism. The eternalist view about the nature of life is considered in Buddhism to be as objectionable as the opposite extreme which holds that a living being is annihilated at death *(ucchedavāda)*. As we have already observed in section (1) these extreme positions were associated with the way the connection between the body and the life principle were conceived by pre-Buddhist thinkers. The Buddha rejected the view that the body is identical with the life principle as well as the view that they are entirely distinct and separable. Metaphysical doctrines that affirmed the absolute non-identity of the body and the life principle conceived liberation as the survival of the soul in eternal life transcending the process of rebirth. According to these doctrines rebirth and the operations of the law of *karma* cannot be explained without postulating an eternal soul which is an enduring subject of all experience.

In the canonical teachings of Theravāda, the person is analyzed into five aggregates, twelve spheres of sense or eighteen elements. All these elements of existence that constitute the so-called individual are shown in the analysis to be transient processes lacking in any substance. The person is therefore viewed not as a separate entity that can have an existence without the causal interaction and interconnection between the constituent elements. It is pointed out that just as the concept of a chariot comes into being when certain parts are found together in a certain order and connection so the concept of a person arises when the aggregates, spheres of sense or the elements are found in a certain order and connection.[19]

The Buddha did not consider it necessary to accept the notion of a permanent self in order to explain the kind of personal identity that may be admitted in the rebirth process or the kind of moral responsibility ascribable to a person in terms of the operation of the law of *kamma*. A disciple of the Buddha is represented in the canon as raising the question as to how one can be said to experience the consequences of *kamma* in the absence of a permanent self. The Buddha immediately dismisses the question as arising out of a serious misunderstanding of his teaching.[20] The canonical teachings identify two extreme views in connection with the doctrine of *kamma* and its consequences. The first extreme affirms a permanent entity which is both the agent of actions and the experiencer of their consequences *(so karoti so paṭisaṃvediyati)*. The second extreme is that there is no continuity whatsoever between the doer of action and the experiencer of the consequences *(añño karoti añño paṭisaṃvediyati)*. The Buddha's position implies that in the real world of events, a strict distinction between the act and the actor, the consequence and the person who reaps the consequence cannot be made since they occur as a series of dynamic causal interconnections. However, in our attempt to describe these processes by linguistic means we adopt language that refers to static entities. They serve the practical purpose of description and communication, but do not conform strictly to reality. Therefore, the Buddha cautions his disciples not to be misled by conventional usage.

The Buddha' s response to a misunderstanding of his teaching by a person called Sāti also elucidates the early Buddhist position on the recognition of a permanent entity as an explanation for the identity of a person across different lives. Sāti is reported to have held the view that it is *viññāṇa* that transmigrates without undergoing any change (*viññāṇam sandhāvati saṃsarati anaññaṃ)*. The Buddha repudiated Sāti's view as a heresy.[21] The Buddha's position was that whatever is conceived by the terms *citta, mano and viññāṇa* all of which were used to signify some facet of mental activity, make no reference to permanent entities of any kind. They are considered as changing with greater rapidity than the physical body of a person. The physical body serves as the most convenient and general criterion for establishing the identity of a person within one lifetime. The question that puzzles the metaphysician is, 'How is identity to be established after the physical body is destroyed at death?' The early Buddhist position is that despite the destruction of the spatio-temporally continuous visible body, the organic unity of the process is preserved by the reproduction of the aggregates through the unbroken connection between consciousness and the psychophysical unit *(viññāṇa*

and *nāmarūpa)*. Just as any inanimate object retains its identity as an individuated object by maintaining its organic unity within changes that occur in its constituent parts, the organic unity of an individuated living being can also be retained within changes that occur in its constituent parts, physical and mental. From a common sense point of view Buddhism did not consider identity and change to be incompatible. There was no necessity, from the early Buddhist point of view to introduce some permanent entity to recognize the identity of a person whose constituent elements undergo constant change either during one life time or across different lives.

7. Ethical Aspects of the Rebirth Doctrine

Buddhist literature has used the rebirth doctrine in popular fictional literature with a view to promoting Buddhist moral values. A classic illustration of this can be found in the Buddhist *Jātaka* literature which has served as a supreme source of Buddhist moral values as well as a basis for the enrichment of Buddhist art and literature. The book of *Jātaka* verses contained in the fifth collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka* of the Pali canon are believed in the tradition to contain utterances made by the Buddha on certain occasions referring to incidents in his past births to illustrate important Buddhist religious and moral teachings. Elaborate stories were composed as commentaries to these verses, in some instances making use of some of the prevailing folklore. The stories represent some of the moral perfections that the Buddha himself is supposed to have fulfilled in the remote past in order to qualify himself for the supreme attainment of Buddhahood. Each of the stories illustrates a recognized Buddhist moral or one of the perfections of the *Bodhisatta* (a person aspiring to become a fully enlightened Buddha), such as liberality *(dāna)*, virtue *(sīla)* etc. admitted in Buddhism. The popular notions about rebirth among Buddhist believers have been conditioned largely by these *Jātaka* stories. The stories attempt to bring together all living beings by showing that the phenomena of rebirth and *kamma* apply to all of them, and that no strict demarcation can be made between human beings and other species of living beings in this respect. It has promoted a deferential attitude among Buddhist believers towards other animal species. The *Bodhisatta* is represented in these tales sometimes as having taken a birth among animals such as deer, lions or monkeys. Such Buddhist literature was meant to create the conviction among the lay Buddhists that moral progression is not limited to just one life; one could gradually perfect oneself until one attains complete liberation as a fully enlightened Buddha, a *Paccekabuddha* or an *Arahanta*.

From the point of view of the lay Buddhist, rebirth provides an opportunity for gradual perfection of conduct towards the attainment of the final goal of liberation *(nibbāna)*. It also affords an opportunity to acquire merit *(puñña)* that assures a person a good rebirth in *saṃsāric* life. The belief also serves as a deterrent to those who are likely to engage in immoral behaviour, in that it instills fear of the harmful consequences of such behaviour that one may have to experience in the form of painful sensations in a woeful state of existence in one' s future birth. In the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* the Buddha points out that those who do not believe in the possibility of life after death are prone to indulge in immoral conduct because they do not fear the consequences of such behaviour. Two other books called *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu* belonging to the fifth collection of the *Suttapiṭaka* is also illustrative of rebirth stories in Buddhist literature. These collections deal with the survival of departed beings in the ghostly worlds. In the *Vimānavatthu* reference is made to a relatively superior kind of non-human existence that falls under the category of beings taking spontaneous birth (*opapātika yoni)*, in which a departed person is said to enjoy the fruits of his or her good deeds. The *Petavatthu* refers to another category of ghostly beings who are also supposed to take spontaneous birth in a woeful state of existence, where they suffer the afflictions of hunger, thirst and other intensely painful experiences. They are considered as a class of hell beings *(vinipātika)* born in that condition since they have lived their former life as backbiters, murderous brigands, crafty minded rogues, thieves and cheats.[22] According to Buddhism, our beloved relatives could be reborn in the woeful world of *petas* after they depart from this world due to excessive greed, attachment, jealousy, anger, ill-will or any other unwholesome trait of character cultivated as a human being. They can, however, be released from their pitiable condition if the living relatives perform meritorious deeds and transfer merit upon them. The Buddhist ritual of making offerings to persons of great virtue such as the Buddha or any other person of great

virtue such as the members of the Buddhist community of recluses *(saṅgha)* and sharing the merit acquired by such acts with them is believed to be efficacious in releasing them from their woeful condition.

8. Development of the Concept of Rebirth in Later Theravāda Literature

The post-canonical but pre-commentarial Theravāda text called *Milindapañha* is significant from the later argumentative defense as well as the elucidation of the Buddhist rebirth doctrine. In the *Milindapañha* Ven. Nāgasena becomes the chief exponent of the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth in response to questions raised by king Milinda. The no-self doctrine of early Buddhism is interpreted here as the doctrine that a person does not really exist *(na hi ettha puggalo upalabbhati)*. Nagasena is called upon by Milinda to explain how rebirth and moral responsibility becomes intelligible under the notion of an impersonal existence. The idea of 'reconnection' *(Paṭisandhi)* of life is used by Nāgasena in this context to defend the Buddhist theory. It is the *nāmarūpa* that reconnects. However, nothing passes from a previous *nāmarūpa* to a subsequent one. According to him volitional actions of a wholesome or unwholesome nature proceed from a present *nāmarūpa* causing the arising of another *nāmarūpa* process in rebirth. To Milinda's inquiry as to whether it is the same person who is reborn or a different person, Nagasena's answer is that it is neither *(na ca so na ca añño)*. Nāgasena gives several similes by way of explanation and the most important one he utilizes in this context is the simile of a flame. The same lamp is believed to continue to burn all night long although the flame of the lamp continuously changes. Nāgasena explains that there is such a continuity of phenomena in rebirth *(dhammas)* with imperceptible and unbroken succession producing the idea of sameness.

The concept of rebirth involves the notion of individual identity across different lives. The identity question within one life can be resolved with reference to one observable body which emerges with birth, undergoes growth, and remains in an unbroken continuity holding the mental life of the individual together until the time of death. Those who reject life after death consider the body as a necessary criterion of personal identity .The soul theorist seeks to justify the belief in life after death in terms of the notion of a persisting eternal soul. Buddhism rejects both the above positions and yet admits rebirth. According to the Buddhist theory there is no single, simple entity that persists through the series of rebirths. It is conceived as a rebecoming of the aggregates. Such rebecoming is explained in terms of the principle of dependent arising. No extra element that binds the aggregates together and retains individual identity is recognized.

In the commentarial works and Buddhaghosa' s treatise *Visuddhimagga*, the no-self doctrine is given much emphasis. Buddhaghosa maintains that *saṃsāra* is not a series of rebirths resulting from the transmigration of a soul but an unbroken continuity of the aggregates, elements and spheres of sense.[23] He quotes from the authoritative Theravāda tradition known to him in favour of the thesis that in reality there is only a process of mind and matter, but no being or person.[24] Buddhaghosa points out that there is no doer of action *(kammassa kārako*) and an experiencer of its consequences *(vipākassa vedako)*. Life is explained as a mere flow of phenomena, without permanent owners behind them *(suddhadhammā pavattanti)*.[25] Following the early *Sutta* teachings, Buddhaghosa rejects the idea of a person altogether analyzing the person into the transient constituent elements. He maintains that thinking in terms of a person who suffers and who is delivered from suffering by following the path of the Buddha is a mistake. Here too he quotes from the accepted Theravāda tradition which asserts:

There is only suffering, but there is no one who suffers. There is no doer, but there is action. There is attainment of appeasement, but there is no person who attains it. There is a path to deliverance, but no person who walks along it.[26]

These assertions may have been elaborations of the Buddha's position that he did not teach about the annihilation of a really existent person but only taught the arising of *dukkha* and its cessation.[27]

Following canonical Buddhism Nāgasena is represented in the *Milindapañha* as using the simile of the chariot to deny the concept of a simple entity called the soul *(atta)* or being *(satta)*. With the *Milindapañha* the Theravāda distinction between two levels of truth gained prominence as a way of

reconciling the notion of personal identity with the doctrine of no-self. Nāgasena maintains in the *Milindapañha* that a person or a being does not exist in the ultimate sense *(paramatthato)*, but only as a linguistic convention *(lokasamaññā)*. This distinction between linguistic convention and what accords with real existence is elaborated in Buddhaghosa's commentaries and subsequent Theravāda *Abhidhamma* as a distinction between two types of truth, the absolute *(paramattha)* and conventional *(sammuti)*. The Buddha, according to Buddhaghosa, used two types of language, the absolute and the conventional. Absolute language *(paramattha)* is in agreement with the real characteristics of phenomena *(dhammānaṃ bhūtalakkhaṇaṃ)*. Conventional language *(sammuti)* is the symbolic or figurative use of language *(lokasaṅketa)* according to worldly conventions.[28] Such analysis that developed in the *Abhidhamma* traditions seems to have gone in the direction of searching for the ultimate constituents of existence leading to philosophical controversies within the Buddhist schools themselves. The *Abhidharma* traditions attempted to show that persons do not exist in reality because they are unobservable when reality is analyzed into its constituent elements. But the actual implication of the teachings of early Buddhism was that persons in the form of permanent and simple entities do not exist in reality because such entities are unobservable. Early Buddhism does not deny the concept of a person, but only denies the concept of an immutable person. *Abhidharma* analyses moved in the direction of denying persons altogether and affirming other entities as having a real existence. It is this theory of real elements of *Abhidharma* scholasticism that was exposed to the attack of the Buddhist philosophy of *śūnyatā* that was developed under Nagarjuna's dialectical arguments.

Buddhaghosa attempted to overcome the problem of personal identity in rebirth by introducing the new concept of *bhavaṅga*. The term *bhavaṅga* first appears in the *Paṭṭhāna* which is the last book of the Theravāda *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Although no instances of its use can be found in the early *sutta* literature, it came into wide use in the *Milindapañha* and the works of Buddhaghosa. Since then individuated existence in the series of life's becoming *(bhava)* came to be seen as a continuation of mental states unified through *bhavaṅga* which was considered as a continuum or stream *(sota)*. It is stated in the *Milindapañha* that in deep sleep the mind *(citta)* enters the *bhavaṅga* state, and although the body stays alive, the mind stops functioning *(cittaṃ appavattaṃ hoti)*.[29] That does not imply that the mind ceases. The notion of *bhavaṅga* is brought in as a device to make the *Abhidhamma* concept of the mental continuum consisting of thought moments intelligible. However, the *Abhidhamma* did not conceive of *bhavaṅga* as an enduring entity. That too was conceived as having only a momentary existence leaving no place for anything that can be understood as a permanent soul. Making use of the concept of *bhavaṅga* Buddhaghosa explains the stream of becoming as consisting of an alternation of active conscious processes and passive processes of *bhavaṅga*. *Bhavaṅga* is the mind in its passive condition, where the mind is freed from the pathways of thought activity *(vīthimutta)*. Buddhaghosa and his successors made use of the concept of *bhavaṅga* to explain the connection between the life of an individual before death and the new life that an individual takes after death. Continuity in the cyclic process of *saṃsāra* is explained in terms of immediately succeeding moments of mind in an unbroken series of moments of active and passive mind. The dying thoughts of a person as well as the first moment of consciousness in a person's mind at rebirth were considered as species of *bhavaṅga*. The last *bhavanga* in a particular life is called death consciousness *(cuticitta)* and the first in a new life, the relinking consciousness *(Paṭisandhicitta)*. According to Buddhaghosa the dying thoughts of a person could be of three kinds as *kamma*, *kammanimitta* and *gatinimitta*[30]. The consciousness of the dying person takes one of these dying thoughts and re-links with the consciousness at birth. *Bhavaṅga* is referred to as a kind of *viññāṇa* that is undisturbed by the impact of sensory stimuli. Thus the *Abhidhamma* affirms the continuity of momentary consciousness in a kind of introverted stream of consciousness even in the absence of any sense object stimulation. This account of mind enabled the *Abhidhamma* theorists to explain the identity of the person across lives through the notion of an unbroken flow of moments of consciousness alternating between passive *bhavaṅga* and active sense consciousness. According to this explanation there is a plurality of mutually separable streams, and the contents of one stream do not get mixed up with those of another. Although there is no

single entity that flows along the different streams retaining their identity and providing identity to them, it is only unbroken succession that provides identity to each one of the mental streams.

9.Concept of Rebirth in Non- Theravāda Buddhist Traditions

The fundamental principles of rebirth and *karma* doctrines were common to all Buddhist traditions. However in the course of time new developments that go beyond the fundamentals laid down in the early Buddhist canonical teachings have taken place. The analyses of the Theravāda tradition adopted primarily a psychological approach in developing its theories about rebirth and *kamma*. Theravāda refrained from developing any esoteric doctrines on rebirth and *kamma*. The Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna traditions made use of these concepts to develop esoteric teachings and give a new soteriological significance to them.

In the Theravāda rebirth came to be treated negatively as a state from which one ought to be liberated at the earliest opportunity. With the development of the Bodhisattva concept in Mahāyāna rebirth was considered more positively as affording an opportunity for the Bodhisattva to perform moral perfections in order to become a fully enlightened Buddha. Unlike those who follow the ideal of the Arahant in Theravāda Buddhism, the Bodhisattva does not seek immediate release from *saṃsāric* realms, but out of great compassion for suffering beings resolves to be reborn in different realms of existence in order to reach out to others. The soteriological value of seeking better rebirths, avoiding negative rebirths or attaining ultimate release is transformed and replaced by an altruistic concern for the release of all suffering beings. Mahāyāna Buddhism also introduced the notion of "Buddha fields" presided over by celestial Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. The faithful could aspire to be reborn in one of those heavenly realms. These developments are evident in the *Sukhāvatī Sūtras* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* of the Mahāyāna that extended far beyond the limits of the Theravāda tradition the religious, popular and symbolic aspects of the rebirth doctrine.

A unique contribution to the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth was made by the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Bardo Thodol), a Tantrayāna text which worked out in great detail as a body of esoteric doctrines the intermediate state of existence *(antarābhava)* accepted by non-Theravāda schools of Buddhism.[31] According to this work, "The interval between the two states of consciousness during which the transformation from the 'old' to a 'new' being is effected, is called the *Bardo* or intermediate state *(antarābhava)* divided into three stages called the *Chikhai, Chönyid* and *Sidpa Bardo* respectively".[32] It is a work on the art of dying, a religious therapeutic for the last moments of death, as well as a book of ritual for the dying.

10.Conclusion

The rebirth teaching is an essential component of the liberation doctrines of all schools of Buddhism. Buddhists generally consider it as an item of faith, although theoretically Buddhist teachings emphasize that it can be verified by means of paranormal experience. Viewed from the positivistic approaches of contemporary sociology of religion and philosophy of religion rebirth and *kamma* can be interpreted merely as religious teachings performing a morally regulatory function in the Belief system associated with Buddhism. Such a perspective denies the status of scientific truth and cognitive value to these concepts. However, some investigators into the sphere of the paranormal are inclined to believe that despite its religious affiliations, rebirth is a phenomenon that deserves serious investigation, making use of the most rigorous methods of science. Some modern philosophers are of the opinion that the concept of rebirth can be refuted on purely logical grounds whereas there are others who believe that it is a logically possible concept. One unique feature of almost all Buddhist traditions is the affirmation of rebirth as factually true, while denying the notion of a substantial self.

P.D. Premasiri

References

[1] *Dhammapada* verse 153.

[2] *Buddha*. Translated by Hoev. London. 1882. p.53.

[3] "*Buddhism in Modern Times*", University of Ceylon Review, Vol. I, p. 360

[4] The *Pāyasi Sutta* of the *Dighanikāya* is an instance in which the epistemological argument of the materialists is expressly stated as "I do not know this, I do not see this, therefore, it does not exist" *(tamahaṃ na jānāmi tamahaṃ na passāmi tasmā taṃ natthi*

[5] The skeptics as represented in the early Buddhist sources did not categorically answer the question whether there is or is not a life after death *(atthi paro loko, natthi paro loko)*.

[6] *Yañca kho bhikkhave ceteti yañca pakappeti yañ ca anuseti ārammaṇaṃ etaṃhoti viññānssa thitiyā ārammaṇe sati patiṭṭhā viññānssa hoti. Tasmiṃ patiṭṭhite viññāne virulhe āyatiṃpunabbha vābhinibbatti hoti.* Majjhimanikāya (PTS) Vol. I, p.65

[7] The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* refers to the circumstances under which such supercognitive experience is possible in the following terms: "He (the meditating bhikkhu) whose mind is thus composed, purified, cleansed, freed from blemish, freed from defilement, refined, made pliable, and made steady, and immovable, applies and inclines his mind towards the knowledge involving the remembering of past lives.

[8] The *Brahmajāla Sutta* attributes some of the metaphysical dogmas which the Buddha rejected to recluses and Brahmans who indulged in rational speculation based on experiences such as memory of past lives which they acquired by meditative cultivation of the mind ibid p. 13. The reason why pre-Buddhist Indian literature belonging to the Vedic tradition does not mention rebirth may be due to the fact that the yoga methods of acquiring knowledge belonged to a previously known *śramana* tradition of a pre-Aryan civilization in India as proposed by some recent scholars.

[9] *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. II, p. 200

[10] *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. II, p. 266

[11] *viññānaṃ va hi Ānanda mā tukucchiṃ na okkamissatha api nu kho nāmarūpaṃ mā tukucchismiṃ samucchissathāti. No hetaṃ bhante. viññānaṃ va hi Ānanda mātukucchismiṃ okkamitvā vokkamissatha api nu kho nāmarūpaṃ itthattāya abhinibba ttissathā ti. No hetaṃ bhante. Viññānaṃ vā hi Ānanda daharasseva sato vocchijjissatha kumārakassa vā kumārikāya vā api nu kho nāmarūpaṃ vuddhiṃ virulhaṃ vepullaṃ āpajjissathāti. No hetaṃ bhante.* (*Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II p. 63).

[12] . *Vedanā saññā cetanā phasso manasikāro idaṃ vuccatāvuso nāmaṃ. Cattāri ca mahābhūtāni catnnaṇca mahābhūtānaṃ upādāya rūpaṃ. Idaṃ vuccatāvuso rūpaṃ.* (*Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I. p. 53)

[13] *Paccudāvattati kho idaṃ viññānaṃ nāmarūpaṃhā. nāmarūpaṃ gacchati.* *Dīghanikāya* Vol. II, p. 32.

[14] *Purisassa viññāṇa sotaṃ pajānāti ubhayato abbhocchinnaṃ idhaloke patiṭṭhitañca paraloke patiṭṭhitañca.(Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 105.

[15] *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. II, p. 65. .

[16] Ibid. p. 66.

[17] *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 390.

[18] The *Saṅkhāruppatti Sutta* says that a person can volitionally control the process of rebirth and determine his future existence according to his wishes. Ibid. Vol.III. p. 99f.

[19] *Yathā hi aṅgasambhārā hoti saddo ratho iti Evaṃ khandhesu santesu hoti sattoti sammuti.* Saṃyuttanikāya Vol. 1. p. 135.

[20] Majjhimanikāya Vol. III, p. 19.

[21] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 259.

[22] *Āṭānāṭiyaya Sutta, Dīghanikāya.*

[23] *Visuddhimagga* (PTS) Vol. III, p. 544.

[24] *Nāmañca rūpañca idhatthi saccato ,nehettha satttoti manujo ca vijjati. Ibid. p.* 595.

[25] Ibid. 602.

[26] Ibid. 513.

[27] The Buddha rejected the accusation that he taught the annihilation of a really existent person at the attainment of liberation. He also pointed out that he did not talk about the arising of a person or the annihilation of a person but only about the arising and cessation of *dukkha*. *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p.140.

[28] *Dīghanikāya Aṭṭhakathā* (PTS) Vol. II, p. 383..

[29] *Milindapañha* (PTS) p. 299.

[30] *Visuddhimagga* p. 457.

[31] See W. Y. Evans-Wentz *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Oxford University Press) 1957.

[32] Ibid. p. IXVI.

RELATIVITY See PAṬICCASAMUPPĀDA

RELICS:

Relic Cult in the Primitive Society: The relics in the context of Buddhism means corporeal remains of the Buddha or his prominent pupils. But generally it could be used to denote corporeal remains of any one or even the remains of an inanimate object. The *homo sapien* or the modern man took interest of the bodily remains of his kith and kin, when he was yet in the primitive stage. It was this curiosity on the relics of the dead that manifested itself as the relic cult in the course of time. The "relic cult" is found in many early civilizations in various forms and varying degrees. The primitive man believed that by eating the dead or a part of his body it is possible to acquire the soul, power, strength, qualities etc. of the dead man. Because they thought that the dead body has all his strength, power, soul etc. In addition to the eating the dead, they used to wear their bones for protection or to harm their enemies. The headhunters used to collect the skulls of the victims they hunted. In some primitive societies, the widow used to wear or carry the skull of her dead husband as an amulet. It is said that some of these practices are prevalent even today in some primitive societies.

But as man gradually became more and more civilized such primitive and barbaric practices gradually gave way to more civilized cults such as ancestor worship etc. They used to express their love, attachment and respect towards their ancestors by preserving the dead bodies or bones of their ancestors. When the religions emerged in the remote era, it was the same instinct that compelled man to preserve the bones or dead bodies of the saints and sages they loved or respected. But in ancient Egypt it was not respect or love that made them to preserve the dead bodies of Pharaohs by mummification. They believed that their king would rise up in the same form to live again and they preserved the body for the purpose. Subsequently there arose a belief that the relics of the saints possess intrinsic magical powers and it resulted in emerging of many superstitions or mythology around relics of saints.

Pre Buddhistic Relic Cults in India: India was not an exception regarding various relic cults that were found in other primitive societies of the world. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D*. I. p.6) refers to a practice among the *śramaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas* of the day called "*dhōpana*" (washing). *Sumangalavilāsini* (*DA*. I. p. 84) explains this as a relic cult. Accordingly it is said that the people do not cremate the bodies of their relatives. Instead they bury them temporarily and exhume them when the flesh is decayed after sometime. Afterwards they wash the bones, apply scents and keep them aside. During the festive seasons they deposit the bones at one place and liquor at another place and used to weep or lament repeatedly drinking liquor. It is further said it was the practice in the southern provinces. Though few are recorded in the literary sources, it could be assumed that there had been many similar relics cults in primitive India where various cultures existed in different parts of the country. But when we come to the Vedic period we find detailed accounts of more advanced relic cults of India during the Vedic period which preceded the Buddhist period.

Among the Vedic texts *Śatapatha Brāhmana* is of paramount importance for the study of the sepulchric procedures of the Vedic society. *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (xiii 8.1 ff) contains a detailed account of the sepulchric rites of the Vedic Aryans, some of which appear to have influenced subsequent Buddhist sepulchres. The *Śatapatha Brāhmana* reveals that there had been two burials connected to Vedic Aryans. The calcined bones were first temporarily deposited in a jar and kept under a tree before undertaking the second burial after a long time, when the people have already forgotten the dead. The *Śatapatha Brāhmana* recommends that a pleasant spot, not visible to the village be selected for the second burial. The *Śatapatha Brāhmana* proposes that the memorial put up to deposit bones at the second burial should be a four cornered one and a round memorial for the easterners. It is also seen that the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* recommends memorials for all the four stratas of the society including ṣudra the lowest and gives the height shape etc, for the memorials proposed for each of the grades. The most prominent feature of the memorials put up for the Vedic Aryans was that it was meant for the service to the dead unlike the Buddhist counterpart that would be discussed below.

The Early Buddhist attitude towards the corporeal relics: The early Buddhist texts testify that not much attention has been given for the corporeal remains of human beings. The lifeless body of a human being was

compared to a useless log of wood *(niratthaṁ'va kaliṅgaraṃ)*. The Buddha disapproves Ven. Vakkali's gazing at the Buddha's beautiful body. The Buddha advised Vakkali to follow his *dhamma* without looking at his impermanent body. Therefore putting up of memorials enshrining the bodily relics of human beings is absent in the early Buddhist texts.[1] But as pointed out above the practice of putting up memorials for the dead was already there among the Hindus. But some of the pre-Buddhistic *cetiya* such as Udena Cetiya, Bahuputtaka Cetiya, Sarandada Cetiya and Cāpāla Cetiya, the scholars think, would have been connected to pre-Buddhistic ancestral worship.

The putting up of memorials enshrining the corporeal remains of human beings has been a pre-Buddhist practice in India. The Buddhists appear to have borrowed it from its Vedic background. But the Buddhist building memorials over the corporeal remains is completely different from the Hindu practice where all the sepulchric rites are for the purpose of cleansing the sins of the dead.

Mahāparinibbāna Sutta: The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D.* II p. 72-168) which deals with the last days of the Buddha, his *parinibbāna*, cremation and the erection of *Thūpas* is of vital importance for the study of the relic cult in Buddhism, since it reveals its origin and its early stage. Further it is the only reference in the canon pertaining to relics and relic worship. As recorded in the *Sutta* Ven. Ananda is supposed to have inquired from the Buddha before his *parinibbāna*, as to how to dispose the Buddha's corporeal body. In replying to Ven. Ananda, the Buddha is supposed to have indicated Ananda to follow the procedure followed in the case of a universal monarch (*cakkavatti*). In the same context the Buddha is supposed to have enumerated those who deserve to be honoured by raising *thūpas* (enshrining their bodily relics) after death. Accordingly, the Tathāgatha the Sammāsambuddha, Pacceka Buddhas, Tathāgatha sāvakas and the Cakkavatti universal monarch are those that deserve to be honoured by raising *thūpas* over their bodily remains.[2]

Unlike in the Vedic custom where all are entitled for memorials, the Buddha has restricted it for four persons only. The criterion here is the virtues of a person. Thus it is clear that the relic cult followed in the Vedic tradition has been adopted to Buddhism with a new meaning. The *Mahāparinibbānasutta* further states that the Buddha has explained the purpose of raising memorials over the relics of the above four thus :

"Ayaṁ tassa Bhagavato Arahato sammā sambuddhassa thūpoti Ananda bahujanā cittaṃ pasādenti. Te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassabhedā parammaranā sugatiṃ sagga lokaṃ uppajjanti"

"This is the Thūpa of the Exalted One, the Fully Awakened One". Thinking thus the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy and since they had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death in the happy realms of heaven" (*ibid*).

Thus it should be clear that the Vedic tradition raise memorials to dispel the sins of the dead – while the Buddhists raise memorials for the benefit of those living. The Buddhists have overturned the vedic idea. At the same time when Ven. Ananda wanted to know how to handle the Buddha's body after the *parinibbāna* the Buddha is supposed to have discouraged saying:

"Hinder not yourself, Ānanda by honouring the remains of the Tathāgatha. Be zealous, I beseech you Ānanda, in your own behalf. Devote yourself to your own good. Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good. There are wise men, Ānanda among the nobles, among the Brahmins, among heads of houses who are firm believers in the Tathāgata, and they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathāgatha." (*ibid*)

What is underlying this statement attributed to the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* is that attending to the corporeal remains of the Buddha is not that important compared to achieving the goal (*Nibbāna*). Further it is not a thing that the monks who are striving to achieve the goal should worry about. It is a thing to be attended by the laymen. The statement further reiterates the fact that early Buddhism did not consider the relic worship as that important and it was for the ordinary folk for their own good.

After the Buddha attained *parinibbāna* Mallas of Kusinārā made arrangements for the cremation of the

Buddha's body. As indicated to Ven. Ānanda prior to the *parinibbāna* by the Buddha, his body was wrapped with five hundred new clothes interspersed with five hundred layers of spun cotton, as done for the body of a Cakkavatti king to prepare the body for the cremation.[3] The Mallas gave all possible honour for the Buddha's cremation. The *Mahāparinibbānasutta* proceeds to describe the cremation and one is stuck by the simple and natural description of the cremation process described in the *Sutta* compared to the descriptions of the earlier events of the Buddha's life which are highly embellished with miracles.

The *Mahāparinibbānasutta* testifies that there has been a dispute among the kings of the surrounding kingdoms, each – claiming a share of the relics for them to honour by raising *Thūpas*. According to the record seven of the claimant eight parties were royals except the party of Brahmins of Veṭhadipa. However a Brahmin named Dona who won the respect of all, intervened and convinced the folly of fighting over the bodily relics of the Buddha who advocated non-violence. All agreed to share the relics equally and the relics were divided into eight parts. It is of vital importance that there is no mention of unbroken (*vippakiṇṇa*) relics such as collar bone, (*akkhadhātu*) forehead (*lalāṭhadhātu*) teeth (*dantadhātu*).[4] All the corporeal relics were identified as *sarīrāni* (relics). The Brahmin Dona who divided the relics did not get a share. He was not entitled to and he had to be satisfied with the measure he used to measure the relics. The Moriyas of Pippalivana who came late, too, did not get a share. They took the charcoal of the pyre over which they built a *thūpa*. It is said that each of the parties built *Thūpas* over the relics they got.

The eight royal parties claiming a share of the relics shows that already there has been a custom of building Thūpas over the remains of saints. Further the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* speaks of a "*Maha*" which means a "festival." All the eight claimants for the portions of relics said that they wanted to raise a *Thūpa* and perform a festival (*Mayaṃ pi Bhagavato sarīrānam Thupañca mahañca karissāma*). It is also said that after the cremation Mallas kept the relics of the Buddha in their assembly hall (*santhāgāra*) and paid their respects with dances songs music flowers and incense etc. for seven days (*naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandehi sakkarimsu mānesuṃ pujesum*). Therefore it appears that there has been a custom in the society to honour the relics with dances music etc. after the cremation and the Buddhists too followed the same.[5]

The *Mahāparinibbānasutta* brings out solid historical facts which cannot be contested. It is seen that this simple historic account has been expanded, embellished with miracles in the subsequent commentaries and the chronicles.

The first two and the last stanza of the five stanzas seen at the end of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* text which read as follows are of vital interest to students who examine the relic cult of Theravāda Buddhism.

Aṭṭha doṇā cakkhumato sarīrā sattadoṇam jambudipe mahenti ekañca doṇam purisavaruttamassa Rāmagāme Nāga rāja mahenti

Ekāhi dāṭhā tidivehi pūjitā
ekā pana Gandhārapure mahiyatī
Kaliṅga rañño vijite punekam
ekaṃ puna Nāgarājā mahenti

Cattalīsa samā dantā kesā lomāca sabbaso
devā harimsu ekekaṃ cakkavālaparamparā

"There were eight measures of relics of the Buddha. In India seven are worshipped. One measure is (worshipped) in the Nāga realm.

One tooth is honoured in heaven and one in Gandhāra city. One in the Kalinga realm and one more by the Nāga race.

The devas took forty teeth, hair of the head, hair of the body to each of the Cakkavālās".

The stanzas under reference supplement the information found in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*. It speaks of four canine teeth of the Buddha and the places where they are kept. But the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* is silent on them. Similarly the last stanza speaks of forty teeth and the hair of the Buddha. It is not possible to find a source of this supplementary information contained at the end of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*. The commentator

Buddhaghosa in his commentary *Sumaṅgalavilasini* (*DA* II p. 615) has very clearly identified those five stanzas as uttered by the Theras of Tambapaṇṇi. (*Aṭṭhadoṇam cakkhumato sarīranti ādigāthāyo pana Tambapaṇṇitherehi vuttā*). It is clear that he did not want to mix these stanzas with the original account in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*. Further he has not commented on them. Apparently he has not taken them seriously and left them aside. This is another instance of an addition made to the canon in Sri Lanka.

Mahādhātunidhāna: Nevertheless Buddhaghosa narrates a story of a *Mahādhātunidhāna* (*DA* II p. 611-614) at the end of his comments on the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, which is not mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* account, the source of which he does not give. As Buddhaghosa has recorded Ven. Mahakassapa after the eight Thūpas referred to above were built, foresaw danger to the relics in the future. He proposed to king Ajatasattu to have a central relic deposit (*Mahādhatunidhāna*). The king agreed to construct the *Thūpa* and the Thera to collect the relics from the *Thūpas*. The king completed the construction and the Thera brought (apparently by his magical powers) all the relics from the seven *Thūpas* leaving a small portion for the respective kings to worship. The relics at Rāmagāma of Koliyas were spared as it was to be deposited in the Mahā cetiya of Lanka in the future. This central deposit of relics was supposed to have been unknown for more than two centuries till it was discovered by King Asoka who deposited them in his *Thūpas*. The same story is repeated in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Dhātuvaṃsa* with little variations.[6]

Dhātuvaṃsa (Nalāṭadhātuvaṃsa):[7] It is in the *Dhātuvaṃsa*[7] (circa 13th century A.C.) that we find more information on the five stanzas that come at the end of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* which Buddhaghosa has identified as of Tambapaṇṇi Theras and left uncommented. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* provides more information on contents of the five stanzas specially on the canine teeth under reference. The stanzas refer to four canine teeth of the Buddha, one in the heaven (*Tidasapura*), one at the realm of the Nāgas, the other at Gandhāra and the fourth with the king of Kalinga. According to the *Dhātuvaṃsa* the Brahmin Dona who volunteered to divide the relics among the eight claimants made an attempt to pilfer three of the four canine teeth while he was measuring. He waited for an opportunity and concealed the right canine tooth in his turban. Sakka saw it and snatched it from him without his knowledge and took it to heaven. The Brahmin concealed one more right canine tooth between his toes. But the Naga king Jayasena snatched it by his Nāga powers and took it to the Nāga realm. The Brahmin once more tried to hide a left canine tooth in his garments. But this time a Thera resident at Gandhāra took it from him without his knowledge and proceeded to Gandhāra. The last, the left canine tooth of the lower jaw was taken by a Thera named Khema, a pupil of Ven. Sariputta while the pyre was yet in flames and gave it to the king of Kalinga (*Dhātuvaṃsa* p. 18)[8]. But the author of the *Dhātuvaṃsa* does not reveal the source of this story.

The *Dhātuvaṃsa* also provides some information on other prominent relics supposed to be deposited in the island of Thambapaṇṇi.[9] The *Nalāṭadhātu* (forehead bone) of the Buddha is supposed to be deposited in the cetiya at Serunagara. It was in the portion of relics given to Mallas of Kosinagara. Mahakassapa Thera went to Mallas and got it from them saying that the Buddha wished it to be enshrined in the Tambapaṇṇidipa. It was kept with the pupils of Mahākassapa. This was ultimately brought to Tambapaṇṇi and was enshrined in a cetiya at Serunagara by King Kākavaṇṇatissa. According to another episode in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* prince Abhaya, nephew of King Siva of Kalyani, who was married to Princess Somādevi, the sister of king Kakavaṇṇatissa, while residing at Somanagara built a cetiya in a Sāla grove and enshrined another right canine tooth of the Buddha which was in the possession of Mahā Mahinda Thera of Mahā Ariṭṭha's lineage, on the suggestion made by his queen Soma devi[10]. But how this tooth relic came to the possession of this Thera is not known. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* (also the *Mahavaṃsa*) describes how a Thera named Sarabhu, a pupil of Ven. Sariputta removed the neck bone (*Givaṭṭhi*) of the Buddha while the pyre was still in flames. This was later deposited in the Mahiyaṅgana Thūpa[11] in Sri Lanka. In addition to bodily relics of the Buddha it is interesting to note that the *Dhātuvaṃsa* provides information on the locations where some of the items supposed to have been used by the Buddha (called *pāribhogikadhātu* – Buddha's utility relics) are enshrined which are outside Sri Lanka. Accordingly

the robe and the bowl (*pattadaṇda*) at Mathura, the inner robe (*nivāsana*) at Kusinārā, the bedspread at Kapila (Kapilavatthu), the belt at Pataliputta, the *nisidana* (cloth used to sit) at Avanti, Attharana (probably a cloth spread for sleeping and sitting) at Devaraṭṭha, the needle and container at Indapattha.

Though the *Dhātuvaṃsa* is considered to have been based on an earlier Sinhala work on the subject, it is not a consistent work altogether. It speaks of eight measures of relics of the Buddha at the same time speaks of 16 measures. In another occasion it speaks of 128 measures of relics vide golden measure. There are many such instances. Thus the data on Buddha's relics supplied by the *Dhātuvaṃsa* is conflicting contradictory and are of poor historical value.

Introduction of Relic worship to Sri Lanka and its development: Till Asoka's time relic worship was not considered that important among the Theravāda Buddhists. According to the available records it was Asoka who built *Thūpas* enshrining the Buddha's relics or those of his prominent pupils on a large scale. In the course of archaeological excavations, a large number of *Thūpas* where the Buddha's relics or those of his disciples are deposited, have been unearthed in all the Buddhist sites of India after Asoka's time. The relics and relic worship had been introduced to Sri Lanka along with the introduction of Buddhism. As recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mhv.* ch. xvii verse 2) the Elder Mahinda after he spent the rainy retreat intimated to king Devānampiyatissa : Oh! King I have not seen the Buddha for a long time (*ciradiṭṭho hi Sambuddho satthā no manujādhipa*). The king in turn replied "why sir, you have told me that the Buddha has already attained *parinibbāna*. The king said *"Dhātusu diṭṭhesu diṭṭho hoti jino"* (when the relics are seen it is same as seeing the Buddha) Thus it is clear that the idea that the relics are equal to the living Buddha is as old as Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Though the relic worship commenced in India it was in Sri Lanka that it became popular widespread and ultimately became part and parcel of popular, Buddhism. The Pali commentaries written in Sri Lanka and the chronicles show how the relic worship became more and more popular. It was thought that the greatest thing that a king could do for the cause of Buddhism was to put up a gigantic *Thūpa* enshrining Buddha's relics. Such kings are given a prominent place in the chronicles.

King Duṭṭhagāmani built the biggest *Thūpa* at the time, the Mahāthūpa or Ruwanveliseya. It is recorded that the share of relics given to the Koliyas of Rāmagāma are enshrined there. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xxxi verse 49) it was Buddha's wish that the share of the relics given to the Koliyas of Rāmagāma should be enshrined in the Mahāthūpa in the future. After the Thūpa built by the Koliyas was washed away by the waters of the river, the relic casket was floating in the ocean, the Nāgas got hold of it and took it to their realm. Asoka wanted to wrest it from the Nāgas. But the Arahants prevented him reminding the Buddha's wish, the *Mahāvaṃsa* further adds. It was Sonuttara Thera who was able to take these relics from the Nāgas to be enshrined in the Mahāthūpa by Duṭṭhagāmani.

Intrinsic power of Relics: the Buddhists of Sri Lanka believe that the Buddha's relics possess intrinsic power of their own and the relics could perform miracles. The relic (of Rāmagāma) brought to be enshrined in the Mahāthūpa is said to have performed miracles according to the *Thūpavaṃsa*, the *Mahāvaṃsa* etc. But it is said that it is not due to the intrinsic power of the relics. It is as a result of the Buddha's wish at the time of *parinibbāna*. But this idea has gradually given way to the belief that the Buddha's relic has intrinsic power and could move about by its own, create rain, perform miracles and fulfill the wishes of the devotees.

Relics and Rituals: Further more, relics play an important part in Buddhist rituals at present in Sri Lanka. The relic casket is taken to the pirith ceremony and it represents the Buddha at the ceremony. In the alms-giving (*Dāna* ceremony) the relic casket is an essential item. It is always taken to the ceremony to represent the Buddha. Food is first offered to the relics before serving the monks.

Relics and Lliterature: The relics have enriched both Pali and Sinhala literature in Sri Lanka. In addition to the detail accounts on relics in the commentaries and the chronicles there arose a class of literature on various relics such as *Nalāṭhadhātuvaṃsa*, *Dhātuvaṃsa*, *Kesadhātuvaṃsa*, *Daladāsirita* etc.

The Relic and the kingship: The relics attained such an important position in ancient Sri Lanka that

ultimately it became the symbol of kingship. Whoever who was in the possession of the Tooth Relic was qualified to be the king. Therefore the Tooth relic was kept in a shrine especially built near the king's residence. This idea was prevalent even during the Kandyan period up to the 19th century.

Dhātuparinibbāna: It should be clear from the above discussion, though the relic cult was commenced in India, it was in Sri Lanka that it was developed to the maximum, popularized and sustained. Developed relic worship is seen in the Pali commentaries. The relic worship reached such an important position that *Sumaṅgala vilāsini* (*DA* II 604) says that if a person takes a relic of the Buddha equivalent in size to a mustard seed and enshrines it in a Thūpa in his own place and honours it, it is sufficient for him to be born in heaven. After developing the relic worship to the maximum possible stage the Theras of Tambapaṇṇidīpa have thought of the end of the relics too, for everything that exists should one day perish, according to the teachings of the Buddha. They speak of a *Dhātunibbāna* or the *parinibbāna* of the relics in the commentaries. *Sumaṅgala vilāsini* (*DA* III 899) and *Sammohavinodanī* (*Vbh.A.* 433) the *Dhātuparinibbāna* is described thus. At the end of the *sāsana* all the relics of the Buddha in Sri Lanka, of their own come to the premises of the Mahācetiya without leaving even a small portion equivalent to a mustard seed. From there they proceed to Rājāyatana cetiya in Nāgadīpa. From Rājāyatana cetiya the relics travel to Bodhipallaṅka, Jambudipa. All the relics of the Devaloka and the Nāgaloka too come to the Bodhipallaṅka. There all the relics become one body like a golden mass and emanate rays throughout the 10,000 world systems. All the *devas* assemble to see the Buddha for the last time. Then the relics burn themselves completely by a fire born from within the relics. It is noted that relics of Jambudipa are not mentioned in this context. Apparently they expected all the relics of the Buddha to be in Sri Lanka, the Deva world, or in the Nāga world by this time, nothing in Jambudipa.

Conclusion: Relics worship has nothing to do with the core of the Buddha's teachings. It is in popular Buddhism and it gathered momentum when the practical aspect of the Buddha's teaching lost its ground gradually among the Buddhists. In Buddhism the master is no more. He has attained *parinibbāna* and he is not coming back. But this situation does not satisfy the sentiments of the ordinary man. The ordinary man wants someone to pray to, pray for help, offer food, offer flowers etc. If not, there would be a vacuum, anarchy among the ordinary people. Hinduism, the impersonal Brahmanic principle did not appeal to the ordinary folk. For the sake of those who could not understand *Nirguṇa Brahman* they had to introduce *Saguṇa Brahman*.

The Buddha's attainment of Nibbāna, his not living and his not coming back did not matter for the wise who follow the path shown by the Buddha to attain *Nibbāna*. But the ordinary man wanted a living Buddha to worship and pray to. Mahāyānists introduced the concept of the *Dharmakāya* to satisfy the same need. For them the Buddha is existing in the form of the *Dharmakāya*. Mahāyānists were not much interested in the corporeal remains of the historic Buddha as they believed in the *Dharmakāya*.

It was the corporeal remains of the Buddha (*dhātu*) that took the place of the living Buddha among the ordinary Theravāda Buddhists. For the ordinary man there was hardly any difference between the Buddha's relics and the living Buddha. For them the Buddha was living among them in the form of relics. They offer food and robes to the relics as if offering them to the living Buddha in flesh and blood. It was this belief in relics, the relic worship, that binds the ordinary man with the religion. Whatever may be the historicity of some of the relics worshipped in Sri Lanka, it was the relics that keep the ordinary people within the Buddhist fold and sustain the religion among them and help the continuation of the faith.

Moreover there is an important fact underlying the Buddhist Relic Cult, that is the Buddha was a historic personality.

K. Arunasiri

References

[1] But *Udānaṭṭhakathā* (*UDA* p. 96) says that the Buddha instructed the monks to cremate the body of Bāhiya Dāruciriya and put up a *thūpa*, who was killed by a cow and the body found in the garbage

[2] The commentator Buddhaghosa in this context proceeds to explain why the Buddha approved a Thūpa for a Cakkavati king who lived as a layman, but not for the ordinary (*puthujjana*) virtuous (*silavato*) monk. He says it is due to lack of space. They are so many, the whole island (Tambapannidipa) would not be sufficient. He further says that they too should be honoured as in the case of an arahant. In the case of the Cakkavatti there is one. (*DA* II. p. 583f.)

[3] The Indian custom is to take the body open unwrapped to the cremation ground. The preparation of the Buddha's body wrapping number of times with clothes and cotton and placing the body in an oil vessel of iron and cover with another vessel appear to have some resemblance to the process adopted for mummification of the bodies of pharaoh of ancient Egypt.

[4] But *Sumangalavilāsini* (*DA* II 604) says that seven relics of the Buddha's corporeal body such as four canine teeth, two collar bones and turban (*uṣnisa*) were not broken (*na vippakiṇṇa*)

[5] The *Dhatumaha* festival in honour of the relics possibly be a reminiscence of the Relic cult named "*Dhopana*" referred to in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* q.v.

[6] The concept of the *Mahādhātunidhāna* or Central Relic Deposit of king Ajatasattu at Rajagaha appear to be common to both the schools of Buddhism Southern and Northern. Taranatha describes how king Asoka went in search of this relic deposit of Ajatasattu and found it hidden deep under the ground. Taranatha speaks of a revolving mechanical device installed for the safety of the relics as in the case of the Pali account (Taranatha's *History of Buddhism in India* Edited D. Chattopadhyaya, Motilal Banarsidas Delhi 1990 p. 60 f).

[7] *Dhatuvaṃsa* (*Nalāṭadhātuvamsa*) edited K. Nandaratana (Sinhala script) Colombo 1984 p. 18

[8] According to the *Dhātuvamsa* (p. 19) it was this left canine tooth of the Buddha, given to the king of Kalinga by the Khema Thera which was ultimately brought to Sri Lanka by Princess Hemamālā and Prince Danta in the 4th century A.C. and kept in the Tooth Relic Temple in Kandy at present.

[9] The first relic of the Buddha brought to Sri Lanka soon after the arrival of the Mahāmahinda Thera was the right collar bone (*dakkhina Akkha*) of the Buddha suppose to be enshrined in the Thupārāma. On the instruction of Maha Mahinda Thera, a novice named Sumana obtained it from Sakka in whose possession it was kept up to the time. But it is not possible to find out how Sakka got the relic. Similarly, there had been two collar bones. One in the Thupārāma is the right collar bone. The location of the left collar bone is not known. But some say that the *Givaṭṭhidhātu* which a Thera named Sarabhu a pupil of Ven. Sariputta supposed to have extracted from the funeral pyre of the Buddha and deposited in the Mahiyangana thupa refer to this left collar bone.

[10] This right canine tooth of the Buddha appear to be out side the four canine teeth referred to in the stanza already referred to. The cetiya concern where it is supposed to be enshrined possibly could be the cetiya identified as the Somawathie Cetiya at present off Polonnaruwa.

[11] According to *Kalingabodhi Jātaka* (J. 479) it is not possible to put up a cetiya with Buddha's bodily relics while the Buddha was living. But according to *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter I Verse 33 f) Mahiyangana cetiya has been first built enshrining the Buddha's hair relic which Buddha gave to god Sumana when the latter requested something to worship, when the Buddha visited Lanka for the third time.

RHYS DAVIDS, CAROLINE (nee Caroline Augusta Foley: 1858-1942), M.A; D. Litt; was a distinguished scholar of Pāli and Buddhism, whose penetrative approach in the interpretation of canonical texts opened up new vistas in Buddhist studies.

Born in 1858 and having graduated from the University College of London, she devoted the most part of her early period as a reader in Pāli at the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Later she became a lecturer in Indian Philosophy at the Manchester University .At the age of 36, she married

Prof. Rhys Davids and since then she came to be known as 'Mrs. Rhys Davids'. Though she assisted and collaborated in her husband's academic pursuits, she was a scholar of a different calibre. She was unorthodox, peremptory and daring in the interpretation of Buddha's words occurring in the Pāli texts. Her belief was that the monks who inherited the Buddha's teachings had presented it in a' defective and mutilated form'. However, in most Theravāda countries, her interpretations were not accepted and had given rise to controversies. Yet no one can deny the yeoman service she has rendered to the cause of Buddhism through her dedication to promote Pāli and Buddhist studies.

After the demise of her husband she crept into his role to continue his good work. She succeeded him as Secretary and President of the *PTS.* and filled the chair of professorship left vacant by her husband. Sir Denison Rose, the first Director of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, in his autobiography titled *Both Ends of the Candle* rates her as "one of the most versatile and gifted woman I have known".

It was her rare acumen and gifted erudity, that prompted her to edit with remarkable skill such abstruse Pāli texts as the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, the *Vibhaṅga Prakaraṇa*, the *Yamaka*, the *Visuddhimagga*, the Commentaries on *Duka Paṭṭhāna* and the *Puggala Paññatti.*

Also she ventured to translate several metaphysical works, which were considered to be difficult tasks by others. Thus, she translated the *Dhammasaṅgani* (Manual of Psychological Ethics) all by herself. She collaborated with Swee Zan Aung to translate *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha* (Compendium of Philosophy) and the *Kathāvatthu* (Points of Controversy). She was also the co-translator of *Visuddhimagga* (Path of Purification) and the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (Kindred Sayings). Her translation of the *Theragātha* and the *Therigāthā* under the titles the *Psalms of the Brethren* and the *Psalms of the Sisters* are regarded as masterpieces of lyrical poetry which bear ample testimony to her latent literary talents.

Mrs. Rhys Davids also has to her credit several original works such as *Gotama, the Man, Outlines of Buddhism* and *Sākya* or *Buddhist Origins*. Her articles on Buddhist themes have been published posthumously, in a collection titled *Wayfarers Words.*

By Prof. Rhys Davids, she had two daughters and a son. She died in 1942 when the Second World War was at its height.

C. S. Ranasinghe

RHYS DAVIDS, Thomas William (1843-1922) D. Sc.; D. Litt; LL. D., was a pre- eminent Buddhist scholar, who founded the Pāli text Society (PTS), London, which rendered a singular service for the advancement of Pāli and Buddhist studies. Born at Colchester, England on 12 May 1843, as the son of a congregational Minister, Rev. T. W. Davids, he received his early education in Brighton. Then he entered the University of Breslau in Germany, where he studied Sanskrit and secured his Ph. D. degree.

In 1864, at the age of 21, he joined the Ceylon Civil Service under the British Colonial government. His first appointment was as Private Secretary to the Governor. Afterwards he was transferred to Galle as District Judge. While discharging his duties as judge, a curious incident occurred, that kindled his interest to study Pāli and Buddhism. A case that came up before him in connection with a Buddhist temple involved ecclesiastical law mentioned in the code of Vinaya Rules *(vinaya piṭaka).* It was the turning point that spurred him to master that strange language, Pāli. He studied Pāli and Buddhism under the tutorship of an erudite scholar monk named Yātrāmulle thera of Bentota, to whom he pays a glowing tribute in his Hibbert Lectures.

In 1872, in consequence of a dispute with a superior officer, he resigned from the Ceylon Civil Service and returned to England. There he studied law and in 1877 became a barrister at the Middle Temple. However, his interest in the legal profession was short-lived. He persisted with his studies in Pāli and Buddhism. His contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* under the caption 'Inscriptions of Parakramabahu', 'Sigiri, the Lion Rock' and 'Two Old Sinhala Inscriptions' won him recognition amongst scholarly circles.

Though there were some European scholars already engaged in Pāli studies at that time, it was Rhys Davids, who paved the way to organize Pāli studies in the west, so that Buddhism would become a household word showing its value as part of special knowledge and its mutual or religious significance to mankind as a whole. "The missionary spirit of early Buddhism was, in fact, active in Rhys Davids. He saw in ancient teachings of the founder, a noble moral force and a direct intellectual reserve in powerful combination and he set himself with enthusiasm to inspire respect for its deep sincerity and love of truth" *(JPTS,* 1923, pp.9-10).

In 1877 appeared his first book titled, *the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon.* When his second book, *Manual of Buddhism* was released in the following year, it became so popular that by 1914, it had to be reprinted 23 times. It was in this treatise that he strived to dispel the misconception then prevailed in the West that Nibbāna was an annihilation. In refuting that view, he proclaimed that it is a moral and mental state attainable in one's present life itself.

It was about this time that he felt a great need to edit and publish Pāli texts in Roman script. With this motive, he established the Pāli Text Society, London in 1882. In a report he outlines its objectives as follows: "A Pāli Text Society has been started on the model of the Early English Texts Society in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various manuscripts scattered through the public and University libraries of Europe. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly all allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has influenced so promptly, and for long 'a time, so great a portion of the human race the system of religion which we now call Buddhism". *(ibid).*

The service rendered by the society pioneered by Rhys Davids to promote the study of Pāli Buddhism in the West was immense and far-reaching. Since its inception, the Society was an active and dedicated body, which is credited to have edited and published in Roman characters more than 175 Pāli texts. Integrity and influence of Rhys Davids is evinced from the fact that the society was able to secure the services of eminent and competent scholars to translate a large number of these texts into English.

His translation of the *Jātaka Nidānakathā* was published in 1880 under the title, *Buddhist Birth Stories* between 1881-85, he made several noteworthy contributions to the 'Sacred Books of the East' series edited by Professor Max Müller. His translation of *Buddhist Suttas* (Vol. XI) was followed by the three volumes of *Vinaya Texts (Pātimokka, Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga:* Vol. xiii, xvii and xx), which he has done in collaboration with Professor Oldenberg. Further, for the same series, he translated the *Milinda Pañho* (Vol. xxxv and xxxvi), which in Oldenberg's opinion was a masterpiece of Indian prose.

Rhys Davids' famous lecture series in 1881 under 'Hibbert Trust" proved to be a remarkable event, where his dedication for the cause of Buddhism is concerned. It was in the second lecture of this series that he announced the setting up of the Pāli Text Society .Its inaugural committee formed under his chairmanship, comprised such eminent scholars in the calibre of Fausboll, Oldenberg, Emile Senart and Richard Morris. At the outset, the onus of conducting the activities of the society fell entirely on his shoulders. However, he found in Caroline August Foley an able and persevering partner to share his burden and subsequently that association culminated in their marriage in 1894.

In 1882 he became the Professor of Pāli in the University College, London and he graced that position till 1904. Simultaneously he functioned as the Secretary and the Librarian of the RAS. He was also the founder of both the British Academy and the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

In 1884 he edited for the PTS the *Abhidhammtthasaṅganī.* Two years later, in collaboration with Professor J.E. Carpenter, he edited the first Volume of *Sumangala Vilāsinī.* Later, the same pair joined again to edit *Digha Nikāya* Vol. I and II in 1909 and 1911 respectively.

Also in 1909, together with his wife, he visited America to deliver a series of lectures at the Conell University. That series of lectures were published in

1896 titled, *Buddhism: Its History and Literature*. In 1899 he visited Buddhagayā and several other Buddhist sites. As its outcome he produced '*Buddhist India* (1903), a remarkable work depicting the social and political background prevailed in India at the time Buddhism arose.

In 1904, Rhys Davids became the first Professor of Comparative Religions in the Victoria University, Manchester. It was a newly introduced branch of study in England. He held that post until his retirement in 1915. He wan an exemplary teacher who inspired his students with his own ardour .

In 1910 he undertook to translate the *Dīgha Nikāya*, a gigantic task which he accomplished in collaboration with his wife in 1921. It was published in the 'Sacred Books of the Buddhists' series under the title, *Dialogues of the Buddha (SBB*, Vols. 11, III, IV).

However, Rhys Davids' monumental work is the compilation of a comprehensive Pāli -English Dictionary .He undertook this gigantic project at the age of 72, and laboured all by himself, until he found in later years a collaborator in his beloved student Dr. William Stede, a philologist.

As age caught him up and when it became tiresome to travel from Manchester to attend meetings of the PTS., he settled down in Chipstead, Surrey. The hallmark of this great scholar was his erudity combined with humanistic outlook. It is well exemplified as he volunteered to lecture on Buddhism to poor workers living in the vicinity of his home in Chipstead.

In appreciation of his estimable services, the newly formed 'India Society' (later, the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society) made him its President in 1910. He was also a fellow of the Royal Academy and a member of several learned societies. Moreover, he was instrumental in founding the London School of Oriental studies.

A glowing tribute paid to him by another distinguished orientalist, Prof. M. Winternitz of Prague University succinctly illustrates the scholarly and humanistic qualities inherit in him as follows: "No man living and scarcely one single man in the past, has contributed so much to the knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist literature as he. His name will always be remembered as that of a most enthusiastic and devoted scholar; but those who have had the good fortune to know him personally will always cherish his memory as that of a kind and lovable man, of a Buddhist in the real sense of the word."

He passed away on 27th December 1922, at the ripe age of 80 years. See **PLATE XXIV**

C. S. **Ranasinghe**

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS. In the context intended here, the term 'rights' refers to the fair claims of treatment to which a person is entitled as a social individual. These claims can include not only the rights of human beings but even those of animals as both categories are living beings inhabiting the planet earth.

As 'human rights' in themselves as a separate subject have been dealt in detail elsewhere in this Encyclopaedia the present discussion will be confined to 'rights' in relation to the relevant obligations, this latter term serving as a restraint to transgressing the due limitations of the former because the term 'rights' has very often a tendency to go out of gear and exceed its legitimate boundaries of fairness. Accordingly, the realization of fairness in the execution of rights and obligations inevitably assumes reciprocality, one unfailingly implying the other. Thus philosophically speaking, subtle theorization of one concept alone is of little relevance lacking any pragmatic value, unless such a discussion is undertaken under the controlling power of the moral obligations inherently involved in the twin concepts. Although these obligations can be "enforced" on in law, at times they become equally forceful morally, depending on each situation.

In Buddhist ethics there are clear-cut enumerations of these binary concepts of human behaviour so that a down-to-earth ethical pattern in their practical applications can be easily formulated. As a practical teacher regarding men and matters, the Buddha was quite particular that human society should proceed in its journey free from conflicts to the maximum degree possible in practice. Accordingly, he has laid down sufficient guidelines for the smooth functioning of man in society in his inter-personal dealings, within such a framework.

Beginning with the Five Precepts (*pañca-sīla*), the basic moral precepts in Buddhism, one can follow this line of thought through the *Maṅgala*, *Parābhava*, *Vasala* and *Vyagghapajja* discourses, culminating in the *Sigāla* (or *Siṅgāla*) discourse, which sums up all the core issues as per this problem in a nutshell in its advice to Sigāla, the householder.

When dealing with the Five Precepts it is seen how the first precept is a very clear instance highlighting the most basic right of every living being, human as well as otherwise, the right for ones' life, the right to live. None has the justification to take away that right to which everyone is entitled as a birthright. However, what needs emphasis here is that every individual has also certain obligations to comply with in ones' relations with the other members of society in general. Hence rights and obligations are reciprocably bound together as two sides of the same coin, as it were. This binding force is based on what is ethically considered as 'right and proper' in human bahaviour, wherein man has become by birth itself as "a social animal".

It is significantly notable that rights and obligations in Buddhism assume a more humanistic tone in contrast to the place afforded to them in the universal Declaration of Human Rights as adopted by the general Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. In the latter case these concepts assume more a *legalistic* tone whereas in Buddhism they are certainly invested with a greater depth and significance as per human dignity and values. The reason for this vital difference is not far to seek. It is to be seen in the final objectives for which they are meant in the two systems.

In the case of the United Nations these are meant to safeguard diverse democratic freedoms of the individual against exploitation and abuse by autocratic hands, thereby assuming the legalistic garb that is apparent in them. But in Buddhism they serve as part and parcel of man's spiritual journey towards the ultimate objective taught therein which is the permanent peace and freedom of Nirvāna. Thus in Buddhism they are naturally and implicitly invested with an ethical value supportive of its theme of the complete conquest of human suffering in its entirety. Hence they are of necessity more humanitarian and conduct-related as concepts. Also, more important in the Buddhist concept is the fact that rights of man are thus never ends in themselves and also they are reciprocal at all times. Accordingly one person's right turns to be an obligation of the other, whereby the latter person becomes bound to perform or forbear some act for the former.

The most prominent lesson taught by the Buddha in enumerating this theme is the celebrated discourse known as the *Si(ṅ)gālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (*D.* III, pp. 180 ff.), which synoptically contains the domestic and social obligations and rights of man in society in their entirety.

Si(ṅ)gāla was a young man in Rājagaha in the Buddha's day belonging to a family of which the parents were highly devoted Buddhists, frequently visiting the Buddha and listening to his discourses. However, Sigāla could not be convinced of the value of the Buddha and his teachings and he kept on refusing to pay him a visit and listen to him. Ultimately his father in his death-bed inquired of him whether he was prepared to listen to his final parting advice. As death-bed requests are regarded as solemn and powerful by convention and therefore should not be dishonoured, Sigāla promised to abide by whatever request his dying father would give him. The fathers' solemn request was that Sigāla should take a morning bath every day and worship the six quarters as the initial task of the day. By this the dying man was assuredly hopeful that the Buddha would one day come to notice Sigāla in the act and would convert him by preaching a suitable discourse. Sigāla was obliged to carry out the fathers' death-bed request, although he could not understand the significance of what he was doing.

It was against this backdrop that Sigāla was one day 'caught' in the Buddha's all-pervading net of compassion in surveying the world daily as to whom he should be of service on that particular day. Accordingly, the all compassionate Buddha went through Sigālas' neighour-hood for his alms-round on that day and met him while he was worshipping the quarters. This came to be the occasion on which the discourse which to this day has been respectfully regarded as the hand- book of the layman's ethics as a comprehensive guide to the mundane man showing how he should exercise his right and obligations in his social life.

This celebrated discourse widely popular and extremely instructive with its full quote of lessons on Buddhist ethics, known as the *Sigālovāda Sutta* (s.v), can in reality be called the 'Discourse on the Rights and Obligations of Man in Society'. The relevant theme is comprehensively covered here within this single discourse.

Thus it opens with the subject of four evils referring to them as "defilements of a person's actions" (*kamma-kilesa*). These are given as i. destruction of life ii. stealing iii. lying and iv. adultery. These four evil actions of necessity defile the character of their perpetrators making their kammic course soiled and darkened. From another angle these evil actions constitute four glaring instances of the violation of a person's rights.

The first evil action of killing violates the most basic right of every living being, inclusive of animals, 'the right to live'. This is an inviolable and inalienable right with the vital exception of a hard-core criminal condemned to death in a court of law in which case that person has deprived another of his right to live by his own in human behaviour, thereby becoming a serious threat to society.

Here a strange situation, really inconsistent with justice arises when such a criminal condemned to death by a court of law as a punishment for depriving an innocent person of his right to live, also resorts to human rights activity and attempts to save himself through the very same human rights. This, of course, is an instance for taking the concept of human rights to an unwarranted extreme. Yet, occasionally, it so happens that when this aspect of the rightist activity stands on the way obstructing the proper control of crime. As such, the rightist activists need to know the limitations to which they should conform to and be fair and legitimate in whatever demands they make on behalf of socially errant individuals. Human rightist activities should be justifiably there because occasionally at least legitimate cases of travesty of justice can occur, depriving a party of its due share of rightist claims. When a police officer fails to mete out punishment passed on a criminal due to rightist intervention the former can present a legitimate case to maintain that rightist activity encourages crime. Such unfair and unjust situations have to be avoided in the name of fair play in the administration of justice by drawing the line of demarcation at the proper point.

Even the several *kamma-kilesa* of stealing comprises the violation of a person's legitimate right to pocess property, acquired by legitimate means. A thief stealing it means that a basic right of the property-owner becomes violated. Similarly deceiving a person by uttering false-hood and thereby deceiving a person violates the latter's right to know the truth. The victim of deception may be a member of the evil society, an institution like a court of law or a state department but the deception is certainly a violation of the right to know the truth, the gravity of the offence varying, depending on each context.

In the case of the fourth *kammakilesa* of adultery too its perpetration, whether by man or woman, necessarily violates one's legal partner's right by him or her. The matrimonial oath being what it is as per its solemnity, the two partners involved in it are legally as well as morally bound to confine themselves to each other in their sexual relations as a vital mutual obligation.

The next set of evil actions committed by man as given here, comprising what are technically designated as the four wrong courses of action (*agati*) are greed (*lobha*), hate (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*) and cowardice (*bhaya*). Resorting to any of these amounts to a misdirection of one's dutiful path of action which invariably violates others' rights. Accordingly the avoidance of such wrongful courses of action is a moral obligation on the part of everyone as an individual in society. If a person does anything legally or morally wrong or wrong in both ways propelled by one's friendship towards another, such behaviour becomes a case of favouritism (*chanda* or *lobha*), or if one does so through anger or hate it becomes revengeful partiality if one does so through cowardice or fear of someone or through deluded understanding of the true situation, the perpetrator violates another's rights through *bhaya* and *moha* respectively. It is that person's obligation to society not to act through such wrongful ways.

The most conspicuous context wherein the theme of rights and obligations have been highlighted in the Sigāla Sutta is where the worship of the six quarters is allegorically explained as the fulfillment of the rights

and obligations of six categories of individuals that make up human society as its basic and main components. These comprise the parents as the east, teachers as the south, wife and children as the west, friends and associates as the north, servants and employees as the nadir and the clergy as the zenith.

By way of a brief explanation it may be said that in the case of children they are bound to fulfill certain obligations towards the parents for whom these obligations of children turn out to be their rights, which fact shows the clear interconnectedness of these concepts. Here, the obligations the children are required to fulfill are careing for them in their old age because they supported them in their childhood, maintaining the family traditions, qualifying themselves by decent behaviour for the family inheritance and performing the necessary religious rights when they are dead and gone.

In like manner the parents also have their obligations towards the children for whom these obligations become their rights. These are given as bringing them up well by restraining them from evil and encouraging them to do good, training them for a profession as a means of livelihood, arranging for them suitable marriages and handing over the family inheritance when the proper time comes for it.

In the case of teachers and pupils the former have their obligations towards the latter as training them in the best discipline, seeing to it that the lessons are properly put across and grasped, instructing them in arts and crafts as also introducing them to their friends and associates.

When the teacher fulfils these obligations of theirs as the rights of students they too are bound to reciprocate in five ways as rising from the seat in salutation, attending on them, doing their studies well, performing even personal service when it become necessary and paying respectful attention when being taught.

The conjugal relationship between husband and wife is beautifully summed-up when it is said that the husband should be courteous to her never despising her, should remain ever faithful to her and handover the household authority to her and show his love to her by presenting to her jewellery and ornaments. The wife should in return fulfill her obligations by performing her duties well and truly, by being hospitable to the family relatives, by remaining ever faithful to him and also by being wary in spending his earnings.

If a family of parents and children can live harmoniously by fulfilling the respective duties and obligations towards one another as shown above, what a peaceful society can be the result. Fulfilling one another's duties and obligations means that every person's rights are also satisfied. If and when the family fails that will affect the society as a whole.

In like manner friend and associates also should remain faithful to each other through liberality, cautious speech, helpfulness, impartiality and sincerity, never deserting when one is in adverse circumstances. Similarly employers and employees, who constitute a major segment of any society, have there duties and obligations towards each other such as the employers assigning work to the employees according to the latters' abilities and capacities, supplying them with food and adequate wages, sharing their delicacies with them, granting them leave when they need it etc. The employees too should fulfill their obligations towards their employers by being punctual at work, by taking only what is legitimately given, by performing the allotted work to the best of their ability, by upholding the employers' name and fame etc.

The rights and obligations between the clergy and the laity are not forgotten here owing to their importance in society. The clergy should supply moral guidance and such other spiritual needs of the laity by restraining them from evil ways and showing them the ethically blameless ways of living.

The synopsis of the Buddha's body of instructions as per the rights and obligations of man in society as so far shown is applicable to any society in any time or clime. It is a comprehensive guideline. It is only when rights and obligations between all the important segments of society are well complied with that human beings can continue living as civilized and cultured men and women in society. The Buddha's code of

ethics as per the problem under discussion is quite comprehensive as given even in this single Sigāla discourse.

If every single individual fulfils his or her obligations well as briefly shown above no problem of rights would trouble any society.

A.G.S. Kariawasam

RITES AND CEREMONIES. What pertains to a rite is generally taken as a ritual. A rite is defined as a formal procedure or act in a religious or other solemn observation[1]. Along with the word rite is also often coupled the word ceremony which is described as the performance of some solemn act according to prescribed form. Therefore what is remarkable in a rite or ceremony is its formality or the performance of an act in a certain prescribed form. If we take a performance pertaining to religious acts one can define the term, in a general sense, as formal acts performed in some prescribed form according to rules set down by custom or tradition or as laid down in religious texts and codes of rules.

Does this however mean that a ritual *per se* could include all forms of religious activities without exception, or only certain forms of religious activities confined to a certain limited area? Perhaps a discussion by J. Goody[2] on the definitional problem of religion and ritual may throw some light on this. In the first place Goody, who advances his own definition of the term ritual, calls it "a category of standardized behaviour (custom) in which the relationship between means and the end is not intrinsic". However he is inclined to use the term ritual, unlike some other scholars, to cover all conventional acts addressed to some mystical power. Goody arrives at this conclusion after examining Monica Wilson's discussion on the subject. According to this scholar a ritual is "primarily a religious action........ directed to secure the blessings of some mystical power. Symbols and concepts are employed in rituals but are subordinated to practical ends." But a ceremonial is "an elaborate conventional form for the expression of feeling, not confined to religious occasions". Thus for Wilson ceremonial is a category embracing ritual.

Max Gluckman who does not disagree with Goody thinks that religious ritual should cover actions and beliefs addressed to spiritual beings or some ultimate view of destiny as in Buddhism. Thus for him, it seems, all Buddhist activities like meditation leading to Nibbānic emancipation, also should come under religious ritual. But with regard to the use of terms he is more inclined to follow Wilson rather than Goody. He prefers to use the term ceremony to cover any complex organization of human activity that is not specifically technical or recreational, and which involved the use of modes of behaviour which are expressive of social relationships. All such modes of behaviour, conventional and stylized are ceremonial. Within this he distinguishes two different categories which shade into one another. One he calls 'ceremonious' and the other 'ritual'. In the definition of the latter he follows Evens Pritchard's view on magic. "Ritual" according to him, "is distinguished by the fact that it is referred to 'mystical notions' which are patterns of thought that attribute to phenomena supra-sensible qualities which, or part of which, are not derived by observation or cannot be logically inferred from it and which they do not possess." If these notions are present in a certain ceremonial act then it is invariably a ritual, but if not, then it is merely 'ceremonious'. If he accepts these notions it is difficult to understand Gluckman's earlier attempt to include all Buddhist religious activities under the term religious ritual. However there are many religious activities coming under Buddhism which can definitely be included under this definition.

Above attempts to resolve the definitional problems regarding religion and ritual show that most scholars agree that a ritual, or religious ritual as some would like to call them, is admittedly a religious act with a mystical, non-rational content, directed to some mystical power or a spiritual being, to secure some blessing there from. However at least one scholar has tried to give a broader view, by specifically naming Buddhism and claiming activities directed at "some ultimate view of destiny" also should be included under religious ritual. But since, as we shall see later, early Buddhism, with Nibbāna as its ultimate goal, had not given an important place for ritual or any form of mystical activities or appeals to super powers, one cannot agree that all Buddhist activities can be included under this category.

The Purpose and the Function of Rituals: Man is endowed by nature with certain mental and physical capabilities which are used by him in the realization of his needs and goals. However he is often hampered in his efforts by numerous obstacles beyond his control. For instance he finds that he has no power over the natural elements, which very often bring down at the most unexpected moment all his efforts to lead a" comfortable life. He is not always capable of countering by human power the physical or mental ailments which assailed him, ether cutting down his span of life, or, hampering the enjoyment of the comforts of life he desires. Natural disasters come at the most unexpected moment destroying all one's efforts at material development. The field of spiritual development and destiny beyond death is very often a dark chapter for most of them. They are goals thought to be attainable by personal human effort alone.

Man began to see unknown and unseen powers or a single power behind all natural activities including those of man and beast. He thought that there are unseen evil forces in the universe, which were inimical to man and were always bent on hampering him. Yet there are also, he thought, beneficial forces, which are helpful to man. He, especially the more intelligent and imaginative amongst them, started to think of various ways and means of understanding these forces and controlling them so that man could live in peace and comfort. Some of them claimed to have understood them or even had communications with them. They devised magical incantations and ritual to propitiate the evil forces and make them either harmless or make man immune to their evil intentions. On the other hand other incantations and rituals were devised to ensure the blessings of the beneficial forces either by appealing to the evil forces or by strengthening man's capability to receive the blessings of such good forces. Such rituals were devised not only for accomplishing mundane goals but also the reaching of spiritual goals, either in this life itself or at a future date after death. Communion with high spiritual powers in this life or joining them in a future life were thought to be accomplishable via the medium of such ritual. Since no one can understand how those unseen powers can be moved to action or inaction through the means of these rituals to achieve certain goals which, according to their thinking cannot be accomplished by powers given to them by nature, such ritual can be generally described as mystical or non-rational in content.

Since all primitive belief systems and, later, the major religions, considered it their duty to ensure the material and spiritual well being of their followers and the world in general they all came to possess a series of rituals devised according to their doctrinal conceptions. Those who devised these rituals and prescribed them to their followers claimed to know all aspects of them as well as the behaviour of the mystical forces which are controlled by them. They became the custodians and experts of the rituals and therefore, soon, became an indispensable group for the welfare of society. Soon they themselves came to be invested with a mystical aura. Rituals were handed down to their successors chosen and initiated by them. Their service became an essential feature of religion for without their help rituals could not be performed. The intricacies of the rituals as well as the mysterious powers controlled by them are known only to them. Such powers would listen only to their pleadings and only their petitions would be granted by them. They became the priestly intermediaries between man and the personal or impersonal powers that be.

A ritual is also generally linked to an origin myth which narrates the story of the origin of that particular ritual in a bygone era, perhaps, in the presence of or by primordial supernatural beings. The re-enactment of the ritual brings one back into that sacred times and into the presence of the supernatural beings. Thus Mircea Eliade formulates the principle, "A rite cannot be performed unless the origin is known, that is, the myth that tells how it was performed for the first time"[3] speaking of the structure of a myth Eliade adds, " that by knowing a myth one knows the "origin" of things and hence can control and manipulate them at will. This is not an "external" "abstract" knowledge but a knowledge one "experiences" ritually, either by ceremonially recounting the myth or by performing the ritual for which it is the justification".[4]

Considering all these facts one could draw up a list of factors that could be used in the definition of a ritual as it is understood and practised in contemporary. religious contexts.

1. A religious ritual is performed for the realization of certain ends which are thought to be unachievable through normal natural means man is endowed with.

2. It is addressed to a mystical power, personal or impersonal, whose intervention is invoked for either the amelioration of some personal or social woe or the gaining of some benefit for the performer or the society in general.

3. Normally a ritual is performed by a priest who has an expert knowledge of the ritual, and, or, is empowered to act in that capacity by a higher power, and who acts as an intermediary between the performer and the mystical or spiritual power .

4. There is a mystical, non-rational, element in a ritual. How and why a particular ritual could bring about the desired result is never clarified. Thus in the words of Goody in a ritual the relationship between the means and the end is not "intrinsic".

5. Symbol and concept are used in rituals.

6. Often a ritual is linked to an origin myth which sets the pattern for the performance of the ritual and the results that could be expected from it.

Ritual and Early Buddhism: Early Buddhism is principally a Path of Emancipation, from *samsāric dukkha,* with the personal effort of the intelligent practitioner *(paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi).* The Buddha who discovered the path by his own effort, realized his own emancipation, and proclaimed it to the world to be utilized by others who are courageous enough to take the plunge, for in his own words, the path he tread was an arduous one and the Dhamma he realized was the most profound. He compares the path to a swim upstream *(paṭisotāgāmi).* Tathāgatas, says the Buddha, are only "proclaimers of the path" *(akkhātāro tathāgatā),* for the task of following the path and the task of final realization have to be accomplished by ourselves alone *(tumhehi kiccaṃ ātappaṃ).* He never posed as a saviour but a teacher and his followers honoured him with the epithet, "Teacher of gods and men" *(satthā devamanussānaṃ).* He, in fact, instructs his disciples *to* regard oneself and the Dhamma as an island unto themselves and as a refuge unto themselves. They should never seek for a refuge outside *(attadipā bhikkhave viharatha attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā Dhammadipā Dhammasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā* D. III. 58). In such a context one cannot possibly find a basis for ritual in Early Buddhism. For as seen above rituals are utilized to seek the intervention of outside mystical powers and beings to help one in achieving one's goals. Early Buddhism never expected its followers to seek the support of such outside powers to help them. Hence rituals, the instrument, of such intervention-cannot be found a place in a teaching like Buddhism.

The Buddha's Attitude to Rituals: There are a few very interesting episodes from the life of the Buddha, recorded in canonical and post-canonical literature, which brings to light the Buddha's attitude to ritualistic practices. One such incident is recorded in the Cullavagga of the Vinaya Pitaka (II. 140). Once the Buddha happened to sneeze as he was preaching to a large gathering including monks. The monks present immediately started to exclaim, "May the Lord live (long)! May the Lord live (long)" ! disturbing the sermon itself. It is generally known that in traditional societies there is a belief that the soul of a person could escape with sneezing leading even to the person's death. The words of the monks *jivatu bhante* quite aptly exemplifies this belief. But what was the Buddha's attitude to this exclamation? He queried whether a sneezer could live or die with the mere utterance or not of this phrase, "may you live". Definitely not" was the prompt answer which illustrated the emptiness of the practice. The Buddha immediately laid down a rule for his disciples restraining them form uttering this phrase when some one sneezed. But he had to soon amend this rule due to protests from the laity who expected Buddhist monks to respond when they are blessed in this way by lay devotees. "Householders, 0! Monks, are lovers of ritual" *(gihi bhikkhave maṅgalikā),* said he, and laid down the rule that if a lay devotee utters this phrase at the sneezing of a monk, the latter should respond with the words "live long" *(ciraṃ jivāhi).* This simply illustrates the Buddha' s attitude to mystical notions related to rituals. The Buddha was a pragmatist. He found that these practices have no practical value. But on the other hand he was liberal minded enough to accommodate the wishes and desires of the ordinary householders who found it difficult to wean themselves away from their age old practices.

A similar instance found in the same text *(ibid.* 127) and also in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (II 93) refers to

a rule laid down by the Buddha restricting his disciples from treading on cloths spread on the ground for them to walk on. The Buddha and the Sangha were once invited by a prince named Bodhi to a forenoon meal at his newly built mansion named Kokanada. At the entrance to the mansion the prince had spread a cloth on the ground and requested the Buddha to walk on it for his welfare and happiness. But the Buddha did not step on it and entered the house only after they were removed on Ven. Ananda's instructions. He said, "The Lord will not tread the cloth; the Tathāgatha has compassion for the future people." " As in the earlier occasion, here too, the Buddha laid down the rule referred to above. But once again the Buddha amended it for the sake of the ritual-loving householders. Monks were allowed to walk on cloth with washed feet. The Buddha's rationale is clear. This ritualistic practice has no other practical value than spoiling the good cloths of the people. So if they are adamant then do it with washed feet to avoid spoiling the cloths.

The commentarial view *(MA. III 322)* espoused by the translator [5]that the Buddha did this because he knew that the prince's wish for a child will not be fulfilled, seems to be completely off the mark. If that were so there was no reason for the Buddha to have laid down a rule restraining his disciples from following the practice. Certainly not all the householders who wished for children would have been unlucky as Prince Bodhi.

The *Jātaka* commentary *(J.1.373f.)* presents us with another interesting instance. The Buddha rejects the superstitious belief of a brahaman who ordered his son to throw away a costly pair of robes, belonging to him, in the charnel grounds because they were gnawed by mice. He feared dire consequences for him, his family or anyone else coming into contact with them. But the Buddha, in spite of the protests of the brahamin' s son picked them up and removed them to the monastery .In the past story it is asserted that Buddhas, Pacceka Buddhas, and Bodhisattas do not approve mystical rituals and hence no wise man should be a believer in such practices *(kotūhala mañgalam nāma na Buddha-Paccekabuddha-Bodhisattehi vaṇṇitaṃ. Tasmā paṇḍitena kotūhalamañgalikena na bhavitabbaṃ).* Although there is no reference to any elaborate ritual here the rejection of a mystical belief and practice is itself a rejection of ritualistic practices grounded on mystical magical beliefs.

There are some other references in canonical texts where the Buddha has rejected the Brahmanical ritualistic practices. It is said that the brahmans of the western regions, who are "purifiers by water, fire-worshippers" perform rituals to send a dead person to heaven. The Buddha is asked whether he, who is an Arahant, a Perfectly Enlightened One, cannot send all the dead to heaven. The Buddha explains that one who perpetrates the ten evils cannot be sent to heaven even with the prayer of a multitude of people, nor can one who abstains from the ten evils be sent to hell by a similar prayer. Thus it is not the ritual but the evil actions that take one to hell and the abstaining from them to heaven *(S.IV. 312ff).*

The conception of purification said to have been held by the same Brahmans of the western region has also been rejected by the Buddha as not agreeing with the Ariyan discipline. They had instructed their followers to either, immediately after waking up in the morning, touch the earth, or wet cow dung, or green grass, or worship fire, or adore the sun with clasped hands or plunge in the water thrice. But the Buddha's conception of purification was the abstention from the ten unwholesome actions, *(A.V.263ft).* To a brahamin who bathed in the evening to wash away the sins done during day and bathed in the morning to wash away sins done in the previous night the Buddha showed the way to cross to the other shore with dry body "The Dhamma is a lake, virtue a bathing ford Clear, undefiled, praised by the good Where the 'Knowers' come to bathe Dry in body, to the beyond they cross" *(S.I. 182ff)*

The Buddha also sometime pointed out that even Brahmans, disregarding the importance of ritual, give the foremost place to moral discipline above rituals. Being questioned by the Buddha the brahamin Assalāyana admits that brahamins would prefer to feed in their sacrificial ceremonies even an uninitiated (*anupanīta*) brahaman, not versed in the sacred texts *(anajjhāyako)* if he is morally disciplined *(sīlavā)* and of good behaviour *(kalyānadhammo).* This made the Buddha to remark that by this statement Assalāyana admitted the purity of all the four castes as these qualities can be acquired by anyone irrespective of one's birth *(M.II.154).*

Place of Ritual in a Householder's Life: As seen above householders are lovers of rituals. This is

natural, as it is the home-dweller leading a familied life who has to face the numerous problems affecting the smooth running of one's home and family life. The Buddha has pointed out on many occasions to the monks that they should be very considerate to the householders who earn their living with great difficulty. He points out that he left home life because it is full of impediments and is comparable to a bowl of dust, but the going-forth *(pabbajjā)* is free like the open sky (*Sn.*40f). A recluse who has left home life and has cut off all his links with home and devote his whole life for spiritual development may not be so much affected by such problems as he or she is trained to face with equanimity any shortcomings that come one's way without being disturbed by them. Emperor Asoka[6] says in one of his edicts that people perform many rites on numerous occasions as illness, weddings of sons and daughters, birth of children, and setting out on journeys. Women are especially attached to them. But, following the Buddha, Asoka also says that these are of little value, but the rite of the Dhamma *(dhamma-maṅgala)* is of much greater value. Thus one can understand the Buddha's attitude to rituals. He points out the futility of performing them but made no attempt to cut off the householder, who loves rituals, completely from them. He let them gradually wean themselves away from them as they advanced intellectually and spiritually.

One of the important discourses relating to this subject is the *Maṅgala Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* (p.46 f.). According to the commentarial tradition the Buddha, in this discourse, counters the then popular view on *maṅgala* and enunciates his own view on the topic. The criterion popularly used at the time in deciding the auspicious and the inauspicious, or the lucky and the unlucky, was based on sense impressions, viz. the seen, the heard and the sensed *(diṭṭha, suta, muta)*. All objects perceivable by the five senses were divided as auspicious and inauspicious *(maṅgala* and *avamaṅgala)*. The Buddha rejects this view and, in the sutta, gives a series of wholesome activities that could benefit anyone to enrich one's life, materially and spiritually, ultimately ending up with total emancipation. The series opens with an act that could decide the overall picture of one's life, i.e. the non-association with fools and the association with the wise and honouring those deserving to be honoured. With this overall picture one is taken to the education and training in a craft at the early childhood. Thus one by one duties of homelife and the life of a home-leaver are enumerated until one reaches the four Noble Truths and Nibbānic Emancipation. Here the Buddha replaces the mystical ritualistic notions with a series of pragmatic life-enriching actions beneficial both materially and spiritually.

The Buddha, while adopting a more liberal attitude to the ritualistic practices of the householder, seems to have shown them the upward path which he wished them to follow. In one discourse he divides lay followers into two categories as 'outcastes' and 'white lotuses'. The former is a performer of mystical rites *(kotūhalamaṅgalika)*, and one who falls back upon rites but not on actions *(maṅgalaṃ pacceti no kammaṃ)* while the latter has diametrically opposite qualities (*A.*III.206). The view expressed in the *Jātaka* Commentary is borne out by this discourse.

Aspiration *(patthanā)* and prayer *(āyācanā)* play an important role in cotemporary Buddhist rituals. A solemn wish or aspiration invariably follow upon any important religious activity of Buddhists. Praying to gods, or the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in case of Mahāyāna Buddhists, for the accomplishment of their desires are well known facts. Yet the Buddha's attitude on this seems to have been different. He tells Anāthapiṇḍika that there are five things which people desire most but hard to acquire, viz long life *(āyu)*, complexion *(vaṇṇa)*, happiness *(sukha)* fame *(yasa)* and heaven *(sagga)*. But he says that a disciple of the Noble One *(āriyasāvaka)* should not aspire or pray in order to obtain them. For if they can achieve these by such means then no one in the world would be lacking in any thing. So what they should do is to follow a course of action conducive for their achievement (*A.*III.47 ff). The commentary (*AA.*III.252) naturally takes the 'suitable course of actions' as liberality and moral discipline. It may suit the last of the five desirable objects. But since the discourse is silent on it one may interpret it more loosely in the other cases which are more this worldly.

For instance the Buddha has emphasized again and again the importance of effort *(uṭṭhāna)* for acquisition of wealth (*ibid.*45 f. *Sn.* 187). Righteously gained wealth is described as that got with the strength of one's arms *(bāhubalaparicita)* and the sweat of one's brow

(sedāvakkhitta). Suitable form of worldly activities based on moral discipline should be the answer in this case.

In the *Nakkhatta Jātaka* (*J.* I.258) there is a clear message to the lay followers who place their reliance on the movement of the planets and other heavenly phenomena. A person who awaited the arrival of a lucky day to consummate his marital contract found that the bride's parents had given her in marriage to another person. So the Buddha says:

The fool may watch the lucky days
But luck shall always miss
The luck *(attho)* itself is luck's own star
What can mere stars achieve?

So what is needed for success is not a lucky star but to work in earnest without delay.

Rituals in Relation to Monks and Nuns: The Buddha's attitude towards the practice of ritual by his ordained disciples did not take the same liberal turn seen in the case of the laity. This is quite understandable when one considers the fact that they are a group who have voluntarily sacrificed all their mundane aspirations with the aim of attaining complete emancipation. While rituals meant for worldly purposes can be completely dispersed with by them all ritualistic devices meant for spiritual purposes have been fully dispensed with by Buddhism itself. The Buddha found no ritual that could take anyone on the Noble Eightfold Path.

The Buddha starts off the *Sammā Paribbajaniya Sutta* rejecting the ritualistic approach'

"Who hath uprooted faith in luck (maṅgala)
And faith in omen, dreams and signs,
He rid of all the bane of luck
Rightly he in the world would fare".

It is significant that rites *(maṅala)* are here designated a 'bane' *(dosa)* which a true monk has to be rid of. The *Maṅgala Jātaka* (*J.*I. 373f.) also gives the same stanza with a few variations. In the last line it is said that a person who has abandoned such rites, having triumphed over paired depravities *(yugayogādhigato)* could not come back to be reborn in a mother's womb. The importance of the eradication of the belief in rites for emancipation is clear .

In the list of moral precepts *(sīla)* found in the *Sīlakkhandhavagga* of the *Digha Nikāya,* various ritualistic practices followed by the Buddha's contemporary brahamans and recluses are said to have been abandoned by the Sons of the Sakyan, i.e. the disciples of the Buddha. People refer to this quality appreciatively of the Buddha too in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D.* I. 3 ff). Included among such practices abandoned by Buddhist monks and nuns are palmistry, divining by means of omens and signs, sacrifices to gods, laying demons in a cemetery , snake charming, giving charms to ward off arrows, practising astrology, arranging lucky days for marriages etc., oracular practices, worship of the sun, invoking Siri, the Goddess of luck etc. etc. (*ibid.* p. 9ff).

This view is further illustrated by a statement of the Buddha in the *Mahātaṇhāsankhaya Sutta.* Here, having first refuted, with a long discussion on dependent origination, the erroneous view of the monk named Sāti, that the consciousness transmigrates without changing, the Buddha puts a very pertinent question to his disciples who claim to have fully understood the Master's views. "Would you, O monks, knowing thus, seeing thus, fall back on the rites and mystical rituals of the many recluses and brahamins"? "Certainly not so, sir" was their prompt answer (*M.* I. 265). It is then certain that anyone who has realized the full spirit of the Buddha's teachings cannot any more fall back upon ritualistic practices. So the Buddha says that it is impossible for one who is endowed with right views to rely on mystical rites for the achievement of purity (*abhabbo diṭṭisampanna puggalo kotūhalamaṅgalena suddhiṃ paccāgantum A.* III. 439). It seals the fate of rituals as far as spiritual purification is concerned.

Are Sanghakammas Rituals? Some scholars have tried to label the ecclesiastical communal acts of the Buddhist Saṅgha *(saṅgha kamma)* as rituals. One scholar has, in his work named, "Buddhism, 'A Mystery Religion'[4] made a vain attempt to make out the ceremony of higher ordination (*upasampadā* in the Theravāda tradition, a mystical ritual complete with an origin myth and all. It is a fact that in Theravā da Buddhist countries the act of higher ordination is conducted ceremonially according to the rules laid down in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (*Vin.* 1.56 ff). It is an administrative act of the community of monks

performed to admit a candidate as a full member of the order. The full community of monks is here represented by a chapter of ten or more demarcated by a legally established boundary *(sīmā)*.. The ceremony is open to be observed by even the laity from outside the boundary .There are no mysteries involved and no mystical allusions in the ceremony. No appeal is made to any mystic power, even to the Buddha, to admit the new candidate on behalf of the Saṅgha. No doubt it is a religious ceremony but definitely not a mystical rite. The myth referred to has been taken from the *Vinaya Cullavagga* account of the First Buddhist Council and has no relevance whatsoever to this ceremony.

All other *Saṅgha Kammas* also have the purpose of the smooth functioning of the administration of the Saṅgha which is carried out as a collective act of the whole community. One of the most important among them is the *uposatha*. Twice each lunar month all monks have to assemble within a boundary *(sīma)* to confess their transgressions, if any, in the presence of the Saṅgha present. The purpose is to ensure the purity of conduct and the integrity of each monk, and to give them an opportunity to clear their conscience by unburdening their guilt. This would enable them to pursue their religious vocation with a light heart (*Vin.* I.102 ff.). Once again there is no mystery or appeal to any higher unseen power to absolve them of their "sins".

Ethical Interpretation of Brahmanic Rituals: In examining the attitude of Early Buddhism towards religious ritual an important aspect that can be observed in early texts is the attempt at ethical interpretation of Brahmanic rituals. One of the most important examples of this could be seen in the *Sigālovāda Sutta (D.* III. 180 ff)(s. v. *Sigālovāda* Sutta for a full discussion). The main ritual is called the "closing of the six quarters (*chaddisā-paticchādana*) i.e. ensuring the safety and security of the individual at the centre by closing, as it were, the six gates on the six sides. Sigāla tried to do it by worshipping the guardian deities of the six quarters. But the Buddha replaces them by six of the most important social groups intimately related to the individual, viz. the parents as the east, the teachers as the south, wife and children as the west, the friends and companions as the north, the workers and servants as the nadir and the religieux as the zenith. Instead of worshipping the guardian deities as in Sigāla's ritual, here the individual performs one's duties by each group. They reciprocate by bestowing compassion on him by performing their own duties by him. Thus each quarter is made safe and secure for the individual at the centre.

There are also several preliminaries that have to be observed by a performer of a ritual and also by the participating priests. The first is the purificatory acts to be observed by them. In the case of Sigāla he accomplished this by bathing. According to the *As'valāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*[9] one should bathe before a recital of the Vedas.

Before the commencement of the *As'vayuji* ceremony one should adorn the house, bathe and put on clean garments[10]. But the Buddha replaces this external purification by a spiritual purification. Sigāla is instructed to first abandon the four defiling actions *(cattāro kammakkilesā)* and refrain from evil actions from the four motives *(cutuhi ṭhānehi pāpakammaṃ na karoti)*. In Brahmanic ritual there are also many taboos to be followed by the performers which included the person to be avoided or be associated in it. According to As'valāyana [11] the sacrificer should choose priests, for officiating at the sacrifice, with neither deficient nor superfluous limbs. The officiating priest should not eat flesh nor have intercourse with a wife until the completion of the sacrifice. Aggikabhāradhvāja Brahamin did not wish the Buddha to come to his house where he was performing a sacrifice. He called the Buddha a 'mean shaveling' 'a mean outcaste' *(muṇḍaka, vasalaka Sn.* p. 21). This shows that brahamins regarded recluses with shaven heads as undesirable persons at their rituals. But the Buddha replaces these taboos with the avoidance of the six doors for the dissipation of wealth *(cha bhogānaṃ apāyamukhāni)*. This includes non-association of evil friends and the association of beneficial friends. All these emphasize not the external ritualistic factors but factors for moral purification and the integrity of an individual and factors helpful in stabilizing the economic and social basis of a person. It is from this basis that one is expected to start fulfilling one's duties to the six groups enumerated.

Some one has called the sacrifice *(yañña)* the soul of the Vedic religion. It occupies an unassailable position in it. But the Buddha was not ready to give an unqualified assent to it. In one discourse he says

that he neither praises sacrifices nor does he not praise all sacrifices *(A.* II 42, 43). In the *As'valāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* is a reference to five oblations *(pañca bali)*[12] enjoined on the devotees, viz. oblations to gods, beings, Fathers, Brahmans and men. These five are explained, as sacrifices over fire, bali offerings, piṇḍa offerings, study of Vedas and gifts to men respectively. Buddha also has recommended five oblations to be made to relatives, visitors, the departed, kings and deities *(A.*II. 68). It is certain Buddhists are here following Vedic traditions but with some variations. Of these only oblations to the departed and gods would involve any form of ritual. The other three are simply mundane matters which any dutiful person should perform. In any case here we see a Vedic concept has been given a slightly different interpretation in Buddhism.

The Buddha has in many places condemned the major sacrificial rites of the Brahamins which involved the slaughter of animals. Possibly these were the so-called *s'rauta karmas* based on early Vedic texts and the Brahmana texts. With regard to them the Buddha states that great seers *(mahesino)* do not go to these sacrificial rituals (*S.*I 76, *A.* II. 42f.). By the word *mahesi* the Buddha probably meant here Arahants, for he says in another discourse that arahants do not go to such sacrificial rituals, *(A.* II. 48). He also says that a person who lights the sacrificial fire and sets up the sacrificial post accumulates much demerit even before the sacrifice (*ibid.* IV. 42f.).

In the *Kūṭadanta Sutta,* having first rejected the Brahaman Kūṭadanta's idea of an elaborate sacrifice involving the slaughter of many animals, the Buddha instructed him, by citing an ancient story , how a sacrifice free from the obnoxious features of animal slaughter, cutting down trees and grass, and the harassment of workers and slaves, could be performed. One could, says the Buddha, be reborn in heaven after death by performing such a sacrifice. Yet neither Arahants nor those on the path to Arahanthood come to these ritual grounds because they are not treated with respect and courtesy at such places.

There are however other sacrifices *(yañña)* less difficult and less troublesome *(appaṭṭhatara appasamārambhatara)* but of greater benefit and greater advantage. At the lowest scale of these is "perpetual gifts kept up in a family where they are given specifically to virtuous recluses". Arahants and those on the path to Arahanthood go to such houses for alms as no disrespect or discourtesy is shown to them there. From that point onwards the word *yañña* is used in the discourse to each step on the path to the realization of Nibbāna which is called the highest *yañña* without any other *yañña* superior to it *(D.* I. 12ff.).

Speaking of the Brahmanical sacrifice, it is quite interesting to see how Buddhists have adapted the three sacred fires in Brahmanism, re-interpreting them to suit their views. In one discourse the Buddha says that there are three fires, viz. *āhuneyyaggi, gahapataggi* and *dakkhineyyaggi,* which without any doubt are adaptations of the Brahmanic *āhavaniya, gārhapatya* and *dakṣiṇa* fires. The Buddha says that these three fires should be "esteemed, revered, venerated, respected and well looked after". But he gives a different interpretation to the three terms. *Āhuneyyaggi* is interpreted to mean the parents; *gahapalaggi* is taken to be wives and children, slaves, messengers and workers. The third, *dakkhineyyaggi,* is interpreted to mean recluses and brahmans. Thus, once again, a socio-ethical interpretation akin to the one in the *Sigālovāda Sutta* is seen here too

According to the *As'valāyana Gṛhya sūtra* there are three *pāka yagñas* (cooked, or, simply, domestic sacrifices), viz. *huta,* 'offered over the fire', *prahutas,* offered over something not fire' and feeding of Brahamans, those offered in the Brahaman[13]. Significantly these three sacrifices seem to be connected to three of the four virtues attributed to the disciples of the Buddha who have reached the four stages, Sotāpanna etc, on the path to Nibbāna, namely *āhuneyya, pāhuneyya* and *dakkhiṇeyya. Āhuti* in Brahmanic terminology is a burnt offering made to gods. Buddhists have adopted this term with their interpretations. The Buddha is sometimes said to be a "receiver of *āhuti*" *(Thag.*566 *āhutinampaṭiggaho).* An arahant is worthy of accepting *āhuti* according to Sahampati Brahma himself (*S.* I. 141). Buddhaghosa, while giving the Buddhist interpretation of the term *āhuneyya,* indicates his awareness of the relation of this term to Brahmanic usages. He says that Brahmans have their fire named *āhavaniya* and, what is sacrificed to it was thought to bring great fruits. But he goes on to say that if something is to be sacrificed for the great fruits it brings then it should be sacrificed to the Saṅgha. Anyway it is clear that a Brahmanic ritualistic concept has been adapted by Buddhists. Buddhaghosa also quotes from the *Dhammapada* to show that a moment's homage to an arahant is more fruitful than

serving the fire for a hundred years. He also draws attention to the fact that in other Buddhist schools *(Nikāyantare) āhavanīya* is used and that it has the same meaning as *āhuneyya (Vism.* 219).

Monier Williams[14] who takes *prahuti* to mean an oblation, sacrifice, has interpreted *prahuta* as sacrificial food offered to all created beings. But Buddhists derive the word *pāhuneyya* from *pāhuna (Skt. prāhuṇa)* 'guest' and interprets it to mean a 'guest meal' prepared with care for guests who have come from afar. Since there is no other guest comparable to the Saṅgha, they deserve to be honoured with it *(Vism.* 220). In the Brahmanic tradition, a Brahman is the guest par-excellence. Neglecting to honour and providing a meal to a Brahman who visits one's house would bring dire consequences. So the *Katha Upanishad* says : Hope and expectation, intercourse and pleasantness, sacrifice and meritorious deeds, sons and cattle, all this he snatches away from the man of little understanding in whose home a Brahman remains without eating[15]

Therefore we see that Buddhists have transferred to their own religieux the honours given to the Brahaman priests in the Brahmanic tradition.

The third domestic sacrifice given in the *As'valāyana Gṛhya sūtra* is the feeding of Brahmans, which undoubtedly refers to the *dakṣiṇā* offered to the Brahman priests. Buddhists have made their own monks the most deserving of such religious gifts made to the religieux. Hence they are called 'the gift-worthy' or *dakkhiṇeyya*.

These three forms of sacrifice based on ritualistic grounds in Brahamanism have been given an ethical basis when adapted by Buddhism. According to one discourse one who is endowed with the ten qualities of right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right mindfulness, right concentration, right knowledge, and right freedom of an Arahant *(asekha)* becomes worthy of receiving this threefold gift and also the veneration of the devotees *(añjalikaraṇīya) (M.*I.446 f). Another discourse says that a monk possessed of moral discipline *(sīla)*, concentration *(samādhi)*, wisdom *(paññā)*, emancipation *(vimutti)* and the knowledge and vision of emancipation *(vimutti-ñāṇa-dassana)* is worthy of receiving these honours *(A.*III.*134)*. There are many other discourses which emphasize the ethical significance given to these qualities in Buddhism. Thus once again we observe the ethical re-interpretation of Brahmanic ritualistic concepts in Buddhism.

Purificatory ritual of bathing was given a significant place in the life of a Brahman. Some of them plunged in the cold water of rivers several times a day to wash away one's sins. Questioned by Ven. Ananda one of them said that he bathes in the evening to wash away the sins committed during day and once again in the morning to wash away sins committed at night. But the Buddha had his own interpretation of this ritual. In the *Vatthūpama Sutta (M.* I. 39), when asked whether he bathes in the Bahukā, the Buddha answers that for one who is morally pure the purpose of bathing (to wash away dirt on the body) can be accomplished by bathing even from a well. One need not go to Gayā, or any such bathing place held in high, esteem by Brahamins, for that purpose.

In a religious sense the Buddha never advocated such ritual bathing. Instead he advocated a spiritual bath for inner cleansing. In the Brahmanic tradition, one who has completed the primary *brahmacarya ās'rama* concludes it with a ritual bath. Henceforth he is called a *snātaka*, "one who has bathed", and becomes eligible for. the *gṛhasta ās'rama*. Buddhists have taken over this epithet of the person who has completed the *brahmacāri* stage, but uses it to designate an arahant or a Buddha. He also has accomplished the purpose of his 'noble life' *(brahmacariya)*. Although, unlike the Brahman student, he does not give up the *brabmacāri* life, yet he is also called a *nahātaka* because 'he has bathed with an inner bath' *(sināto antarena sinānena)*. Thus we see how Buddhists have given ethical interpretations to not only to Brahmanic rituals but also to their ritualistic phrases as well.

Any person, including Brahmans, is a *śūdra* at birth. If he does not receive the *upanayana* initiation he remains so throughout his life. An Aryan boy starts receiving his instructions in the Vedas only after the *upanayana* ritual. An uninitiated person cannot even listen to a Vedic recital. In Buddhism a person who receives full ordination as a monk or nun is said to have received *upasampadā*. The two terms *upanayana* and *upasampadā* are semantically related. It is quite possible that Buddhists have adapted a Brahmanic concept here too.

At the earliest stages of the Order of monks one is said to have received *upasampadā* at the very admission to the Order as a monk. So Ven. Suneeta (*Thag.* 625) says, "Come 0' bhikkhu', (the Buddha) called me; that was my *upasampadā*". The idea of a separate *pabbajjā (going* forth) as a novice has come up later with the ordination of very young ones. However the most important Buddhist innovation is the importance given to the four prohibitions *(akaraṇīyāni)* in the case of monks (*Vin.* I. 96f) and eight prohibitions in the case of nuns (*Vin.* II. 278). They are the gravest of all the rules for Buddhist monks and nuns by the transgression of which one can lose one's membership in the Order *(pārājikā)*. In addition to this the fortnightly confession of one's transgressions at the *uposatha* ceremony also stresses the importance of moral purity which forms the basis of the higher life, of a Buddhist monk or nun, the aim of which is the ultimate realization of emancipation from *samsāra* and not paving the way for a successful home life as in the case of the Brahmanical ritual.

Uposatha is another ceremonial adaptation of Buddhists from a Brahmanic ritual, viz. *upavasatha* held on the eve of the *Soma* sacrifice as a preparation for it[16]. The most significant ingredients of this ritual are fasting through the night and tending the sacred fire. It was believed that gods descend to the chamber where the Brahaman keeps the sacred fire during this ceremony. Since the Brahaman stays here close to the gods the whole ritual is called *upavasatha* 'abiding close to'.

However since pre-Buddhist non-Brāhmanic religions also had adapted this day to be utilized for the recital of religious texts (*Vin.* I. 101 ff) the Buddha also, accordingly, instructed his disciples to assemble on that day and recite the dhamma. However, he later changed this and instructed them to use this occasion to confess their transgressions to the community of monks (Saṅgha) and receive the penances they have to undergo for purification. Thus a ritual based on the worship of fire has been given an ethical interpretation by the Buddha.

Some non-Brahmanic Śramaṇa traditions had developed an *uposatha* ceremony for the laity too. For the Jaina householder, for instance, the *posadha vrata* is an important religious duty. Devout laymen observe it four times a month while those who intend eventually to become *sādhus* observe it at least six times a month. For twenty four hours they abstain from food, water, fruits, sex, adorning their bodies with ornaments, garlands of flowers, anointing the body with unguents etc, and using weapons of destruction[17]. Pāli discourses also refer critically to what they call the *Nigaṇṭha uposatha (A.I.205)*. Here the Buddha has made a long description on what he calls the *Ariya Uposatha*, the Buddhist version of the *uposatha* ceremony for the lay followers.

Accordingly a disciple of the Buddha observes eight precepts in emulation of the Arahants who observe these precepts for their whole life. They abstain from harming life, taking what is not given (stealing), sexual intercourse, lying, taking intoxicants, taking meals out of time, enjoying shows and music, adorning one's body with garlands, perfumes etc. and using high and comfortable beds and seats. In addition to the observance of these eight abstinences the Buddha also instructs his lay followers on how to spend the day and night of the ceremony in contemplation on the virtues of the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, one's own virtues and the gods, comparing the confidence *(saddhā)* moral virtue *(sīla)*, learning *(suta)*, generosity *(cāga)* and wisdom *(paññā)* of the gods which paved the way for rebirth in heavens with the same qualities in oneself. The aim of all this contemplation is the purification of the mind from various defilements.

One important point with regard to contemplation of gods should be made here. One who contemplates on the virtues of the Buddha is said to observe the *Brahma-uposatha*, "he dwells with Brahma; it is owing to Brahma that his mind is calmed, that delight arises," etc. Undoubtedly Brahma here refers to the Buddha as the Buddha is sometimes called "brahma-become" (*brahma-bhūta*) where *brahma* is taken in the sense of the highest or the noblest. Perhaps this also may be an attempt to draw a parallel with the Brahmanic *upavasattha* where a devotee is said to live with the gods. In contemplating on the Dhamma, the Saṅgha and *sīla* one is said to dwell respectively with the Dhamma, the Saṅgha and the *sīla*. In the contemplation on gods the devotee is said to "observe the *deva-uposatha*; he dwells with devas; it is owing to devas that his mind is calmed, that delight arises, that the defilements of the mind are removed". The phrase "he dwells with devas" *(devatāhi saddhim samvasati)* quite

significantly brings us to an interesting parallelism. The Buddhists were perhaps quite keen to show that their *uposatha* was superior to both the Jaina and Brahmanic *uposatha* ceremonies in its ethical and religious value. The discourse has pointed out a number of defects in the *uposatha* of the Jains. While Brahmins are said to dwell only with gods during the ritual, the Buddhist *uposatha* bring them to dwell not only with gods but also with Brahma, the Dhamma, the Saṅgha and *sīla* as well. Furthermore it is used to purify one's mind from defilements *(A.*I. 205 ff).

Rituals find a Place in Buddhism: Buddhism was nurtured in a society with a centuries old ritualistic tradition. Already we have seen the Buddha's statement about the householders' love for rituals. Although the Buddha accepted the futility of rituals he never attempted to prohibit the laity from performing them if they did not infringe the moral precepts. Brahamin priesthood were the custodians of these mystical rituals. But even a Brahamin has to give up all connections to ritualistic activities after entering the *sanyāsin* stage of life. He does not tend the sacred fire nor does he wear the sacred thread *(yajñopavīta)* any more. All recluses were generally expected to bid good bye to rituals. But as already seen many recluses were seen to engage in various mystical rituals and probably the laity also expected them to assist them with their rituals. Probably they expected these ascetics leading a restrained life to cut off from mundane activities to possess certain mystical powers which could enhance the efficacy of the rituals they perform and that they, with those powers, could bless or curse them if they wished. Some of the incidents referred to above *vis-a-vis* householders and the Buddha or Buddhist monks show that they expected such blessings from Buddhist monks as well. The Buddha's liberal attitude may have provided an opening for more ritualistic practices to develop within the Buddhist fold.

Buddhist monks and nuns also were drawn from the same ritualistic background. Earliest recruits to the Order of monks were well-trained individuals of a high intellectual caliber and probably they also were well educated. Many of them had led a life as monks in some other religious order. Most of them had left home life being disillusioned with the transitory nature of mundane pleasure. But once the flood gates of the Order were thrown open many were the individuals of very poor caliber who sought admission to it. Possibly not very many of them could completely give up the religious beliefs and notions in which they had grown up. The Buddha speaks on many occasions of the poor specimens among his disciples he had to deal with in later life. The Buddha, in fact, on a number of occasions, draws attention to the deterioration of discipline in the Saṅgha. In the *Kakacūpama Sutta* he refers to better times in the past when the members of the Order were better disciplined and ready to accept his instructions at a mere suggestion *(M.* I. 124). Increase in the number of members of the Order was one of the reasons for decline in discipline according to the *Bhaddhāli Sutta* (*ibid.* 445) and the *Vinaya Suttavibhaṅga (Vin.* III.9f.). Naturally then with the increase in numbers lots of persons who would prefer more of external religious rituals than inner discipline expected by the Buddha could have joined the Order. They are of the type who would take the bark of a tree for the pith they should seek. Among the earliest rituals to have found a place in Buddhism are the *paritta*, and the dedication of *dakkhiṇās* for the benefit of the dead. The function of a *paritta* and its alternative designation *rakkhā* is protection. Therefore its role can be described as the warding away of calamities and the promotion of welfare. There are a few discourses in the *Nikāyas* and the *Vinaya* texts which fall into this category, eg. the *Khandha-paritta, Ratana Sutta, Dhajagga Sutta, Āṭānāṭiya Sutta* and some of the *Bhojjaṅga Suttas* could fall into this category. There is also a number of *parittas* among those used presently taken from the *Jātakas*.

It is significant that all these, except the *Ratana Sutta*, found in the early *Nikāyas* and the *Vinaya* have been delivered for the benefit of monks and not laymen or laywomen. This confirm the above statement that, although they had given up the practice of rituals when joining the Order yet they could not wean themselves away from the causes which had given rise to them. When, for instance, a monk was fatally bitten by a cobra his colleagues were agitated and rushed to the Buddha with the news *(Vin.*I.*109).* Cobra worship was popular in ancient India as it is still among certain classes. Probably these monks were agitated that the Cobra gods have been angered by their failure to propitiate them after ordination as Buddhist monks.

The *Atharva Veda* gives incantations and charms to drastically suppress harmful snakes[18]. The *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* gives the *Sarvana* ceremony where sacrifices are made to keep away serpents. It refers to three classes of snakes belonging to Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya[19]. The Buddha pacifies the monks telling them that had they permeated the four classes of royal snakes *(cattāri ahirājakulāni)* with loving kindness *(mettā)* this monk would not have died from a snake bite. He thus admonishes them to do so for their own protection and security *(attarakkhāya attaparittāya*). The permeation of loving-kindness is thence extended to all classes of beings. Here there is the inception of a ritual with a Buddhist veneer. The *Karaṇīyamattha Sutta*, popularly known as the *Metta Sutta*, describes how one should permeate all living beings with loving kindness and the effects of doing so. The commentator has given it a legend of origin, according to which the Buddha preached it to a group of monks harassed by tree sprites in a forest where the monks were meditating. By permeating them with thoughts of loving kindness the monks could tame the sprites[20]. Today the discourse is extensively used as a *paritta*. However the commentarial story shows another side of the problems faced by monks. Anyway here we see a Buddhist attempt to solve some of their psychological problems in a Buddhist way. The *Mettānisaṃsa Sutta*, also used as a *paritta*, gives eleven benefits of permeating thoughts of love.

Above we saw how one could cleanse one's mind of impurities by contemplating on the virtues of the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. Now we see how the same virtues come to be used as an external protection, a *paritta*. Appealing to various Vedic deities like Indra and Varuna to relieve oneself from fear, terror and horrification is substituted in the *Dhajagga Sutta* with recalling the virtues of the Buddha etc. (S̱.I. 218ff). Worship of yakkhas, probably spirits of ancestors, was very popular in ancient India. Perhaps its history extended into pre- Aryan times. In the *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta (D.* III. 194ff.), Vessavana the *yakkha* chief, states that most of the *yakkhas* are antagonistic towards the Buddha and the Buddhist monks because they preach about abstaining from killing, theft etc, whereas these *yakkhas* themselves indulge in those evils. Since Buddhist monks go for meditation in deep forests haunted by powerful *yakkhas*, they could be harassed by them. Therefore to guard against such an eventuality Vessavana wanted to give the Buddha a protective *(rakkhā)* to be taught to his disciples for their security. It is a description of the four Great Kings *(cattāro mahārājāno)* affirming that they along with their many sons, pay homage to the Buddha with many words of praise.

It is possible that a cultural conflict between Buddhism, which emphasized a basis of high moral principles and a primitive belief system which had not yet developed such moral principles is indicated by this story . But what is more important was how the prevalent beliefs in *yakkhas* at the time has infiltrated into Buddhism necessitating the use of ritualistic methods to guard the disciples of the Buddha practising meditation in deep forests against their antics. This place given to ritualistic restraining of *yakkhas* and *nāgas* by means of *paritta* seems to have developed further in later stages as indicated by the *Vinaya* commentary (*VinA* .IV. 937). When the *bhikkunīs* are prohibited by Vinaya rules *(Vin.* III. 305) from indulging in the so-called 'low-sciences' *(tiracchāna-vijjā)*, a rule significantly absent from the rules for monks, *paritta* has been excluded from the list of such ritualistic practices *(anāpatti... guttatthāya parittaṃ pariyāpuṇāti)*. The commentator however states that by *paritta*, in this instance, all categories of *paritta* such as *yakkhaparitta* and *nāgamaṇḍala* are permissible. It is possible that by the commentarial period some Buddhists had developed even extra canonical rituals to protect themselves from *yakkhas* and *nāgas*.

Ṛta was regarded in Indo- Iranian religion as a powerful moral element. In the Avestan religion *Aśa*, 'Truth', is one of the seven personified aspects of Ahura Mazda the creator deity. Its Vedic etymological equivalent *ṛta* is the basis on which the world order is maintained. Its negation *anṛta* means untruth? The world is said to rest on truth and immortality depends on it. Truth makes the earth bear all beings. It makes the sunrise, winds blow by truth, and waters flow by it. Truth can make an innocent person immune to fire such is the mystical power of truth. In Sanskrit epic literature there are several stories indicating the power of the asseveration of truth[21]. There are many instances in the *Jātaka* stories illustrating the power of the asseveration of truth[22]. These instances show the prevalence of, in pre-Buddhists India, the belief in the mystical power of truth and that it had been accepted

in Buddhism. In the early *Nikāyas* we find only rare references to this practice in Buddhism. The *Aṅgulimāla Sutta* records how the Buddha instructed Arahant Aṅgulimāla to use the truth of his not having intentionally deprived any being of its life, after conversion, to relieve an expectant mother of her labour pains. He is said to have successfully carried out this instruction and the woman, relieved of her misery, delivered the child safely. But one cannot vouch for the antiquity of this episode coming towards the end of the *Sutta*. *(M.* II. 97).

Yet the whole of the *Ratana Sutta* is composed as an asseveration of truth. The virtues of the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha are used here as the basis of the asseveration to shower blessings on the listeners. But what is significant is that the contemporary *paritta* ceremony in Sri Lanka is on the whole an asseveration of truth. At the end of the recital of each *sutta* the listeners are blessed by the power of truth forming the contents of that *sutta*. Since Buddhists hold the Buddha's teachings to be the truth par excellence, it is the noblest of all truths basing on which the asseveration is made.

There are also a few *parittas* which seem to reflect the influence of various pre- Buddhist and contemporary beliefs and practices. For instance the belief and the worship of the sun and the moon are reflected in the *Suriya* and *Canda parittas* taken from the *Samyutta Nikāya* (I. 50f) and the *Mora paritta* taken from the *Jātaka* Book (*J.* II. 33ff). The belief in god of fire, Agni, called *Jātaveda* in it, is another addition from the *Jatakas (J.* 1.212p), and the belief in the rain god Pajjuṇṇa *(Skt.* Parjanya) could be seen in what is called *Väsi pirita* in Sinhala. It is also a contribution from the *Jātaka* Book *(ibid.* 1.331).

There is a possibility of certain foreign contributions in the development of the Buddhist *parittas*. One of the texts included in the presently used collection of *parittas* in Sri Lanka is a string of stanzas named the *Mittānisaṃsa Sutta* or the Discourse on the Benefits of Friendship. These verses, taken from the *Jātaka* Collection *(J.* VI. 14), in fact extol the benefit of 'not betraying one's friends'. At the end of each verse is the phrase " he who betrays not (his) friends" *(yo mittānaṃ na dūbhati)*. This particular phrase in the Pāli verses seems to find a parallel in the Zoroastrian Mihir Yašt, the Late Avestan Hymn to Mithra. The word mira in Avestan means a contract. God (Ahura) Mira was regarded as the guardian of contracts. He rewards those who honour contracts and deals severely with those who betray them. In the hymn dedicated to him these qualities of him are eulogized. In one of the verses the phrase "to those who are not false to the contract" *(yoi mirem noit aiwi druzinti)* occurs thrice and the verse describes the rewards in store for them[23].

The presence of Zoroastrianism in North West India, at least by the time of the Kushana Kings, is attested. Some scholars have suggested that this religion has contributed to the development of certain concepts in Buddhism. There are references to the Yona Kamboja regions in the Pāli discourses. The form *ayira* for *ariya* found in Pāli may have been formed under Iranian influence. Some scholars think that the conception of the Buddha *Dīpankara*, "The Maker of Light which was very popular in N. W. India and Central Asia, and the elaboration of the concept of hell in Buddhist literature, may have happened under Zoroastrian influence. Under such circumstances it is quite possible that the verses on the benefits of not betraying friends in the *Mūgapakkha Jātaka* may have had Zoroastrian influence.

Dedication of Dakkhiṇā to the Dead: The dead were thought to depend for their sustenance on what is given by the living. Since they do not have any form of economic activity in their world they depend on what is given from here for their maintenance says the *Tirokuḍḍha Peta* story *(Pvu.*I. 5,6). But since this transaction cannot be done directly, one has to resort to a ritualistic means to carry it out.

Naturally every where in the world, in all human societies, various rituals have been devised to keep the dead supplied with their needs. Since Buddhists could not completely ignore this aspect of their social life they also started to devise a means for it by following the contemporary Brahmanical traditions with regard to the supplying of the needs of the dead. In Brahamanism the needs of the dead were either given directly to them or transferred through the medium of fire or Brahamin priests. Buddhists changed this to suit their own religious views. They rejected the idea of a direct transference and changed the medium to the Buddhist Saṅgha portrayed as "the foremost field of merit". Later, as the ideas developed,

it was averred that the merit generated by what is donated to the Saṅgha could be transferred to the dead. Presently Buddhists who are strongly attached to this notion perform the ritual of the transference of merit after making material gifts to the Saṅgha for the benefit of the dead. (s.v.Pattidāna).

The Triratna or the Triple Gem as the Basis of Buddhist Rituals: There are many places in the early discourses where the virtues of the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha are eulogized. Those pleased with the teachings of the Buddha are represented as accepting the teachings and taking refuge in him, his teachings and the Saṅgha and requesting the Buddha to accept them thenceforth as lay devotees for the whole life (e.g. *M.* I. 413). This is not a ritual in the true sense of the term as discussed above and, apart from this, there is hardly any reference to the Triple Gem being used ritually until we come to the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* where the Buddha's demise, the funeral and the building of stūpas to enshrine his ashes are referred to *(D.* II. 141 ff).

The Buddha was the strongest bond that kept together the loose organization of his community of disciples. It is natural that his closet disciples like Ven. Ananda had many misgivings regarding the future of their religion after the demise of the Buddha. The Buddha tried in many ways to console them and answer Ananda's many queries. Once Ananda, referring to the practice of disciples visiting the Master at the conclusion of the rains retreat, said that this pratice enabled them to meet spiritually advanced disciples and associating them. After the Buddha's demise this practice would cease and the ordinary disciples will lose the opportunity of meeting their great colleagues. The solution to this problem advanced by the Buddha was to remind them of the existence of four sacred places related to his life, viz. places of his birth, enlightenment, delivering the first sermon and the place of his final demise. These four places, says the Buddha, should be seen with reverence by a faithful disciple *(D.*II. 140). This probably was the beginning of the Buddhist practice of pilgrimage, which was followed even by the emperor Asoka. Naturally such visits to sacred places provided the opportunity for monks to meet with their fellow religieux and exchange notes with them on the sprit of the teachings of the Buddha.

Of these four places the place of the Buddha's demise at Kusinara was probably at first the most important. There was a stūpa enshrining the relics of the Buddha at this place and it became the first symbolic representation of the demised Buddha. The *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* states that those who decorate a stūpa of a Tathāgata, erected at the junction of four roads, with garlands of flowers, anoints it with perfumes and paint it, pay obeisance to it and become peaceful at heart in its presence, would reap the benefits of one's actions for a long time *(ibid.* 142). In this we could clearly see the simple beginning of the ritual of stūpa worship in Buddhism. It was probably popularized by Emperor Asoka who is credited with the erection of numerous stūpas throughout his empire enshrining the relics of the Buddha. During the same period this practice was introduced to Sri Lanka and, later, the *stūpa* or *cetiya (Skt., caitya)* or the pagoda came to be regarded as an important symbol representing the Buddha.

In Sri Lanka was also developed a new concept, the final out come of which was that the relics of the Buddha came to be regarded as a symbol of the living Buddha. According to this concept " when the relics exist the Buddhas in reality exist" *(dhātusu ṭhittāsu Buddhā ṭhitāva honti VbhA.* p. 431). The Buddha along with his dispensation will come to an end with the *dhātu-parinibbāna*, 'demise of the relics', at Buddhagayā, on a future date. *(ibid.* 433). Today Buddhists offer food, drinks etc. at Buddhist shrines requesting the Buddha to accept the offerings out of compassion *(anukampaṃ upādāya paṭiganhātu uttama)*. They seem to believe that the Buddha still exists. At the end of rituals they beg his pardon for any transgressions committed out of heedlessness *(accayaṃ khama me bhante)*. They also believe that the Buddha's relics can move from place to place at will and also radiate light. The relics undoubtedly represent a living reality for them.

The second object of Buddhist veneration symbolizing the Buddha is called the *pāribhogika cetiya* comprising all sorts of articles used by him and also the places where he lived or had come into contact with his body. According to the records left by the two Chinese pilgrim monks, Fa-hsien, 5th century A.C., and Hsüen tsang, 7th century A.C., who came to India, many such articles were being kept for veneration during that period at Buddhist monasteries

in India. Sri Lankan Buddhists claim that the alms bowl of the Buddha and a branch of the Bodhi tree under which he gained enlightenment were brought to Sri Lanka. However of all these only the Bodhi tree in Sri Lanka, believed to be a direct descendent of the original tree at Buddha Gaya, and the places where the Buddha trod, survive to be venerated by Buddhists. All else have disappeared from the scene.

There is no canonical evidence to prove that any form of worship of such articles or even the Bodhi tree was practised in the lifetime of the Buddha. A later legend claims that what came to be called the Ananda Bodhi was planted by Ven. Ananda, as a symbolic representation of the Buddha, to be venerated when the Buddha was out of the Jetavana monastery (*J.* IV. 228). The Buddha is said to have sat in meditation at the foot of it for one whole night. But it was Emperor Asoka who popularized the practice of Bodhi worship. His edicts testify to the fact that he visited the Bodhi tree and that he greatly esteemed it.[24] Worship of the Bodhi tree was also introduced to Sri Lanka during this period and it has become almost a compulsory adjunct in Buddhist rituals in Sri Lanka.

Buddhists of Sri Lanka have devised many rituals for the veneration of the Bodhi tree. They believe that by such rituals they can accomplish many of their desires among which the desire for children takes a prominent place. In this fact they make special offerings to the Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura in expectation of progeny. Veneration of the Bodhi tree has today become one of the popular rituals of Sri Lankan Buddhists to accomplish their mundane goals.

The third object of veneration symbolizing the Buddha is called *uddesika,* a material object portraying the human likeness of the Buddha. Statues and paintings depicting the Buddha fall into this category. This, however, was historically the last to gain the attention of Buddhists. There is no historical evidence, canonical or archaeological that the likeness of the Buddha was ever depicted in sculpture or painting during his life time or even within six or seven centuries after his demise. Even in the commentarial period it was not given equal status with the other two shrines. According to the Jātaka commentary (*J.* IV. 228), the Buddha himself states that an *uddesika* 'is without a material basis, it is only a matter of imagination" (*uddesikaṃ avatthukaṃ manmattakena hoti*). A shrine of bodily relics is directly connected with the living Buddha's body while an article used by him (*pāribhogika*) has come in direct contact with his body. But an image or a painting does not have any of these qualifications. It is based on the imagination of the artist and the worshipper. What is more important is that Buddhists, even when they desired to see the physical likeness of the Buddha, were faced with a great draw back in fashioning an image as they could not find a person among human beings who had seen the Buddha in person. According to the *Mahāvamsa* Emperor Asoka had to seek the assistance of the Nāga king Mahakāla, who had seen all the four Buddha's of this world-cycle, to see the likeness of the Buddha Gotama (*Mhv.* 5. 87-94). Arahant Upagupta and a Buddhist monk named Phussadeva of Sri Lanka sought the assistance of Māra to see the likeness of the Buddha.[25] Buddhists had to wait till the arrival of Greeks, who had no such inhibitions, but had a long tradition of fashioning statues of their gods, to fashion the first sculptures of the Buddha. Once they broke the tabu Indian artists followed suit much more successfully. Buddhist devotees embraced it with both hands. However in Sri Lanka it still occupies the third place as a symbol of the Buddha. But naturally a Buddhist devotee who makes offerings to the Buddha feel closer to the living Buddha while one is in the presence of a Buddha statue than near a stūpa or a bodhi tree. Any way these three shrines symbolizing the Buddha are profusely being used today for the performance of Buddhist rituals.

A Buddhist ritual performed in the worship of the Buddha represented by these sacred objects may take a very simple form or be conducted in a more elaborate form as demanded by a particular occasion. One can seek the assistance of a Buddhist monk to conduct these rituals but it is not compulsory. Many Buddhist householders keep a statue of or a picture of the Buddha on a dais at their homes and conduct simple rituals daily in its presence. These rituals are conducted, in Sri Lanka for instance, for the offering of food, drinks, lamps, flowers and incense to the Buddha with the chanting of certain formulae and stanzas in the Pāli language. These formulae are selections from the Pāli canonical scriptures and most of the stanzas used are much later compositions for the purpose. Buddhists of other Theravāda countries also use the Pāli language while Mahayānists use Chinese, Tibetan, Korean and so forth.

All Buddhist rituals in Sri Lanka, and other Theravāda countries begin with the formula of homage to the Buddha, "I salute the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Perfectly Enlightened One," repeated thrice, and is followed by the formula of taking refuge in the Buddha the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, also repeated thrice. The lay participants repeat the five precepts *(pañca sīla)* at this point renewing their undertaking to observe them. However, one observing the eight or the ten precepts would, at this stage, repeat these precepts in place of the five. Buddhist monks who have to observe a very large number of rules of conduct never repeat them at such rituals. The offering of food, drinks etc. to the Buddha takes place at this point. There is a Pāli stanza for the offering of each of these items.

After the offering comes the chanting of the virtues of the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha. All these are taken verbatim from canonical texts. Paying homage to the three shrines mentioned above, sometimes with special stanzas, to which is added the worship of certain special shrines like the Bodhi tree, the tooth relics, the sixteen holy shrines of ancient Sri Lanka etc., comes at this stage.

This ends the main ritual. But it has to be followed by the sharing of the merit gained with *devas* and other non-human demi-gods etc. and the dead kinsmen who are awaiting to share the merit generated by their erstwhile living relatives.

After 'the transference of merit' comes the request from the Buddha to pardon one's transgressions committed out of heedlessness. Some add here a request for pardon from the Dhamma and the Saṅgha as well. The ritual ends with a solemn wish to be always in the company of the good, and not to have the company of fools, throughout one's saṃsaric life ending in Nibbāna.

There is no specific time for these rituals. But if performed at home, evening is the ideal time selected for it. But the more devout may do it in the morning and noon as well. If a monk is requested to assist he will first ask the participants to repeat the formula of homage. Then they will be asked to repeat all the rest after him. But sometimes all the formulae and the stanzas form the virtues of the Buddha etc. onwards would be recited by the devotees along with the officiating monk. This is the general pattern the daily ritual would take in its simplest form.. On special occasions, especially at temples, the same ritual would take a more elaborate form. There would be no change in the formulae and the stanzas used. But the offerings made would be richer and more multifarious. Although there is no hard and fast rule the participation of a monk to officiate becomes almost compulsory when a ritual is done in a temple. Most devotees believe that to be led by a monk in these rituals could bring them enhanced blessings. It is quite possible that at the back of their minds is the age old belief that a ritual should be officiated by a priest. A Buddhist monk is not a priest. But he assumes the role of a priest in the ritual. The priest in a ritual is the intermediary between the supernatural power and man. Here the sacred objects representing the Buddha take the place of the super powers. In their hearts of hearts the Buddhist devotees may be thinking that the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha could bless them and come to their assistance as a result of such rituals. Or else they may imagine that certain mystical powers generated by them could bless them.

This ritual, in the same pattern, sometimes in a curtailed form selecting only certain elements from it, can be found in most of the important ceremonial occasions. For instance the ceremony of enshrining of relics in a stūpa and the crowning of a stūpa, planting of a Bodhi seedling, the marking of the eyes of a newly sculptured Buddha statue, paritta ceremony, and a ceremony of alms giving to the Saṅgha could have these rituals included in them. Thus among Theravāda Buddhists, although rituals arte popular, it is this simple ceremony that is seen repeated ad infinitum.

Performance of various rituals like the chanting of *paritta,* veneration of the Bodhi tree *(bodhipūja),* ceremonial sermons of the Dhamma, ceremonial offering of alms to the Saṅgha, annual festival of holy shrines like the Temple of the Tooth Relic, annual offering of *kaṭhina* robes to the Saṅgha at the end of the rains retreat *(vassāna),* funeral ceremonies etc. occupy an important place in the life of both the members of the Saṅgha and the laity in Sri Lanka. In other Theravāda Buddhist countries too some of the aforesaid rituals and other locally devised rituals peculiar to each country play an important role in popular Buddhist practice. However even with this popularity of rituals in contemporary Theravāda

Buddhist lands they cannot in any manner equal the popularity of rituals in Mahayāna and Vajrayāna societies.

Worship of numerous Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with offerings of drinks, music, lights etc. occupies an important place in the life of most Mahayāna Buddhists. Repetition of the names of these Buddhas and Boddhisattvas and the chanting of *dhāraṇis* sacred to them is a popular element in these traditions. Rituals with *maṇḍalas* (diagrams), *mantras* and *mudras* have a special place in Vajrayāna Buddhism. Ancient Mahayāna works like the *Sikṣāsamuccaya* have separate chapters set apart for dealing with the making of offerings to the Buddha represented symbolically by stūpas etc. It is quite possible that some of the Theravāda rituals have been devised under the influence of Mahayāna forms of worship.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1] *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. rite, ritual, ceremony

[2] Goody, J. "Religion and Ritual: the Definitional Problem" in the British Journal of Sociology, June 1961, p. 142 ff

[3] Elaide, Mircea, *Myth and Reality*, World Perspective Series, London, 1964, p. 17

[4] ibid. p. 18 f.

[5] S.B.B. Vol. XX, *Book of the Discipline* V.p. 178, n.1

[6] Guruge, Ananda W.P. *Asoka*,Colombo, 1993, p. 565 and p. 595

[7] S.B.B. Vol. XV, *Woven Cadences of Early Buddhists*, v. 360

[8] Levy, Paul, *Shoken Books*, New York, 1968, pp. 1-38

[9] *ibid.* SBE XXIX p. 217

[10] *ibid.* 203

[11] *ibid.* 193

[12] *ibid.* 217

[13] *ibid.* 159

[14] Williams, Monier, *Sanskrit -English Dictionary*, s.v. prahu

[15] Tr. Hume, Ernest Rober, *Thirteen Principal Upanishads*, Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 242.

[16] Williams, Monier, *ibid.* s.v. upavasatha, PED s.v. uposatha

[17] Stevenson, Sinclare, *The Heart of Jainism*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 217f.

[18] de Silva, Lily, *Paritta*, Department of Government Printing, Sri Lanka, 1981 p. 23 ff

[19] SBE XXIX p. 327 ff., p.357.

[20] *KhpA.* 232 ff.

[21] de Silva, Lily, *ibid.* p. 13.

[22] *ibid.*

[23] Gershervitch, Ilya, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge University Press, 1959, pp. 74-75.

[24] Guruge , *ibid.* p. 595.

[25] Vitanachchi ,C. *Upagupta and Indagupta* in Malalasekera Commemoration Volume, Colombo, 1976, p. 359.

RUMINDEI See LUMBINI

RŪPA, the visible object, and the objective field of the sense organ of eye (*cakṣurindriyagocarórthaḥ*: *Abhsy*. p. 3), a secondary matter derived from the four great elements (*catvāri-mahābhūtānyupādāya*: *ibid*). It is one of the six external bases or spheres of perception (*āyatana*) called *rūpāyatana* and one of the eighteen elements of perception (*dhātu*) named *rūpadhātu*. It is also called *rūpārammana*, the sense-object that is *rūpa*.

In the early Pali *Nikāyas*, *rūpa* is described in general as being impermanent (*anicca*) and so on. The *suttas* were not concerned about the constituents of *rūpa*; it is taken for granted. The most predominant features to be noticed in its description in the *suttas* is their ethical approach to the subject in which no metaphysics is involved. Emphasis is always on ethics.

The treatment of the subject in the Post-nikāyan works, both Pāli and Sanskrit, is highly metaphysical. Although the ethical approach prevails, the emphasis is not as pronounced as in the *Nikāyas*. The Pāli *Abhidhamma piṭaka* is very laconic in its treatment of *rūpa*; but the Pāli commentaries and the Buddhist Sanskrit texts undertake a detailed study of the subject.

This study has given rise to controversies as to what in fact constitutes *rūpa*.

In the *Dhammasaṅgani*, the first book of the Theravāda *Abhidamma Piṭaka*, under *rūpāyatana* are enumerated, first, some examples of colour (*vaṇṇa*): blue, yellow, red, white and then some examples of figures (*saṇṭāna*): Circular, oval, square, hexagonal etc. (*Dhs.* p. 139).

The Vaibhāṣikas, too, mention that *rūpāyatana* consists of colour (*varṇa*) as well as figure (*saṃsthāna*). The visible can be colour, they say, without being figure (*saṃsthāna - nirapekṣam*), e.g. blue, yellow, white, shade, sun-light (*ātapa*), light (*āloka*) and darkness (*tamas*). It can also be figure without being colour (*varṇa-nirapekṣam*), e.g.; that part of long, short etc. which constitute the bodily expression (*kāya – vijñapti*). Or else, it can be, at one and the same time, both colour and figure, i.e. , all other varieties of the visible (*L' Abhidharmakoṣa de Vasubandhu*, tr. L. de La Vallee poussin, Societe Belge d' Etedes Orientales, Paris, 1923-1931, ch. I. p. 16; *Abhk Vy.* p. 25-26).

As far as the *Kāyavijñapti* is concerned, there was some difference of opinion among the schools. The Sammitīyas and the Vātsīputrīyas considered *Kāyavijñapti* to be the movement of body and included it in *rūpāyatana*, the sphere of the visible; it is apprehended by the organ of sight (*Karmasidd hiprakaraṇa*, Melanges chinois et bouddhiques, Institut helge des hantes etudes chinoises, Bruxelles, IV, p. 214, n. 22).

The Vaibhaṣikas object to this interpretation on the ground that there is no movement in an ultimate sense, since all elements of existence are momentary (*Kṣaṇika*; see *Khaṇa*). To identify *Kāyavijñapti* with bodily movement is to deprive it of its position as a real element (*dharma*). Hence it is that, according to the Vaibhāṣikas, *Kāyavijñapti* is not the movement of the body, but is such and such figure or disposition (*saṃsthāna*) of the body which is something that is visible (L' *Abhidharmakoṣa*, ch. IV, pp. 207-209). It can be apprehended independently of the colour of the body (*Kāyavijñapti- grahaṇam tu varṇanirapekṣan*: *Abh Kvy.* p. 179).

Thus, although the Vātsiputrīya - Sammitīyas and the Vibhāṣikas differ in their interpretation of *Kāyavijñapti*, both agree on the point that *Kāyavijñapti* comes under *rūpāyatana*; it can be apprehended by the organ of sight.

The Sautrāntikas, in whose system one could detect the burden of emphasis shifting from the outer to the inner, declare that colour alone was real, that it alone constituted the visible and that figure was only a mental construction with no corresponding objective reality (*prajñapti-sat*: L' *Abhidharmakoṣa*, ch. I, pp. 16-17; ch. IV, pp. 8 ff; *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, MCB. IV, pp. 209 ff; *Abhk Vy.* p. 26).

Their theses is sought to be established by three main arguments:

One can obtain the notion of long, short etc. by seeing or by touching an object. If the figure was a real entity then one should admit that it could be perceived by two sense –organs, i.e. , the eye, the organ of sight and the body, the organ of touch- a view which goes against the canonical definition of *rūpāyatana* according to which it is the objective field corresponding only to one sense-organ, namely, the organ of sight.

The Vaibhāṣikas contend that when we obtain the notion of long, for instance, after having touched something, it is not that we actually perceived it by the organ of touch, but that we are reminded of the figure (long) because it is associated with the tangible. It is just as when we see the colour (visible) of fire we are reminded of its heat (tangible): or when we smell the odour of a flower we are reminded of its colour.

The Sautrāntikes point out that this analogy is not of universal validity. Concerning the two examples cited: (1) colour reminds us of the tangible and (2) Odour reminds us of the colour because there is an invariable association between the two things given in each example. But every tangible is not associated with the particular figure. Hence it is not correct to say that the perception of a given instance of tangible should necessarily and always remind us of its figure. If it were otherwise, runs the argument, then every time we touched something we should also know the colour associated with it.

Secondly, if figure is a real *rūpa* then it has to be conceded that there should be a plurality of *rūpas* in one and the same locus. In a variegated carpet, for instance, there are a large number of figures. If figure is a real entity, then a figure that is a part of a long line cannot at the same time be a part of a short line.

Thirdly, colour is a constituent element of the smallest unit of matter. But the same cannot be predicated of figure.

The Vabhāṣikas retort that, if figure is nothing but a certain disposition of colour, then the figure can never change if the colour is the same. The Sautrāntikas meet this by saying that one calls something long etc. when a number of real elements (*dharmas*) are placed in a certain manner or disposition (L' *Abhidharmakoṣa*, ch. IV, pp. 8-12; *Abhk vy* . pp. 348 ff; *Karmasidd hiprakaraṇa*, MCB., IV, pp. 209 ff).

The strong opposition on the part of the Vibhāṣikas to interpreting figure as a mental construction with no corresponding objective reality is, in all probability, motivated by their desire to establish the reality of *Kāyavijñapti*. They are of the view that it is a certain figure of the body of a living being known as an object of sensual consciousness. Unlike the Sautrāntika they could not deprive *Kāyavijñapti* of its reality because, along with *Vāgvijñapti*, it is closely associated with *avijñapti-rūpa*.

The foregoing Sautrāntika arguments against the conception of figure as a real entity cannot be overlooked if we are to understand in a broad perspective how the Pali commentators interpreted the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*-account of *rūpāyatana* which, as has been noted, consists of some examples of figure, too. But in the commentary they are interpreted in such a way that it presents a close parallelism to the Sautrāntika theory.

Commenting on the example of figure cited in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, Buddhaghosa says: ".... The terms, 'long' etc. are accomplished by mutual reference (*aññamaññam upanidhāya*); the terms 'circular' etc. are accomplished by juxtaposition (*sannivesana*). Among them with reference to what is short 'long' is so called as being higher (*uccatara*) than that; 'short' is so called as being lower (*nicatara*) than 'long' with reference to what is big, a thing smaller than that is 'little' with reference to which a greater thing is 'big' (*DhsA*. p. 317).

"Among these expressions", Buddhaghosa continues, "because it is possible, to know 'long' etc. also by touch, but not blue green etc. Therefore, in reality, 'long' is not directly a visible object, neither is 'short' or similar terms (*ibid. loc. cit.*).

That long is not directly a visible object " clearly shows that, strictly speaking, figure is not a part of *rūpāyatana*. Explaining why in the earlier account some examples of figure are enumerated under *rupāyatana* Buddhaghosa remarks that this has been done as a concession to popular usage (*ibid. loc. cit.*). No such implication could be drawn from the original account.

The Sautrāntikas had a strong tendency to interpret as nominal (*prajñapti*) some of the *Dharmas* which in the Theravāda and the Sarvāstivāda (*Vaibhāṣika*) were postulated as real (*dravya, Paramattha*). Their advocacy of the theory of representative perception (*bāhyānuweyavāda*) and their non-recognition of any of the material elements included in the mind-object category (*dharmāyatana - rūpa*), such as the *avijñaptirūpa*, are indicative of their subjectivist tendencies (T. R. V. Murti, *Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, London, 1955, pp. 81 ff). It is very likely, therefore that among Buddhists it was the Sautrāntikas who advocated the theory in question before it found expression in Theravāda scholasticism.

Whether it is an introduction from an outside source or one of their own creations, the Theravādins could easily accommodate it with their system. For, unlike the Vaibhāṣikas, they did not interpret *Kāyaviññatti* as a figure of the body nor did they recognize *avijñapti-rūpa*. Hence they could conveniently relegate figure to the domain of *paññatti* without thereby undermining the basis of any other established doctrines. And, it is as a result of this new interpretation that in the *Abhihammamūlaṭīkā* of Ānanda the older term *rūpāyatana* is sometimes substituted by the more specific term *vaṇṇāyatana*, i.e., sphere of colour (*op. cit. passim*).

The Yogācāra School, too, admit both colour and figure as the visible (*Abhsy*. 3-4).

All schools agree with the *suttas* in describing *rūpa* as impermanent (*anicca*) and as being devoid of abiding essence (*asāra*), but as nourishing and prolonging saṃsāric existence; because it constitutes one of the five strands of sensual pleasure (*pañca-kāma guṇa*), the strands that bind living beings to sense-pleasures. But, attachment to something impermanent cannot be made the basis of true happiness. Hence it is that *rūpa*, together with other objective fields, is sought to be described in such a way as to bring home the perils that result from attachment to it, and thereby to emphasise the need to eschew all kinds of craving for it (*D.* I. 233; *M.* I. 503; III, 143, 233; *S.* I. 144; III, 107, 139).

Upali Karunaratne

RŪPA-BHAVA, plane of fine matter, the sphere or realm where existence is characterized by consciousness of fine matter (*rūpa-saññā*), of resistance (*paṭighasaññā*) and of diversity (*nānatta-saññā*); it indicates both the spiritual nature of consciousness and the plane where that consciousness obtains. Spiritually, it represents one of the three qualitatively different types of mundane consciousness the other two being the consciousness of sense-pleasures (*kāma-saññā*) and the consciousness of immateriality (*arūpa-saññā*). Spacewise, it represents the middle of the three planes of temporal existence in the division of the cosmos, the other two being the plane of sense pleasures (*kāma-bhava*) and the immaterial plane (*arūpa-bhava*, D. III, 215, 275; *S.* II, 3; IV, 258; *A* III, 444). It is therefore possible to look upon this threefold division as indicating the gradation of the mental development in the Buddhist process of religious uplift.

The second member of the compound, i.e., *bhava*, meaning 'becoming', is sometimes replaced with '*dhātu*', 'element', *bhūmi*, 'sphere' or *loka*, 'world', without making much difference in content. Thus we find terms like *rūpa-dhātu* (*D.* III, 215), *rūpa-bhūmi* (*Ps.* I, 83) and *rūpa-loka* (*Saddhammopāyana*, *JPTS.* 1887, vv. 233, 261) in place of *rūpa-bhava*, also we find a third word, *avacara*, meaning 'moving in', being introduced in between the two members of the compound with the result that we get terms like *rūpāvacarabhūmi Ps.* I, 83f).

Rūpa-bhava refers to that plane of existence where the mind is characterized by consciousness of matter, and therefore derivatively of resistance and of diversity, by virtue of its being free from the consciousness of sense-pleasures (*kāma-saññā*); in fact, it is a state of consciousness that comes into being on transcending the consciousness of sense-pleasures. Mental states that characterize *kāma-bhava*, namely, the five mental hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*) and the five mental fetters (*saṃyojana*) that bind sentient beings to the lower part of the cosmos, which is none other than the *kāmabhava* itself, are, therefore, absent in this plane. This consciousness of matter is described as subtle (*sukhuma*, *D.* I, 173) probably because beings, earthly or heavenly (i.e. *manussa* or *deva*) in this state, are conscious only of the mere existence of matter and its characteristics, namely, resistance and diversity; they are not conscious of the role matter plays as objects of sense pleasures. While consciousness of sense-pleasures is the normal mental state of the average saṃsāric being consciousness of matter-which is identical with *jhānic* consciousness is a state that has to be brought into existence by *jhānic* practices (see *jhāna*).

The origin and development of this consciousness is possible only in the world of human beings which belongs to the *kāma-bhava*. But, in keeping with cosmology admitted into Buddhism, definite places of rebirth are assigned to those in possession of this *jhānic* consciousness in its four successive stages of development, namely, the first *jhāna*, the second *jhāna*, the third *jhāna* and the fourth *jhāna*.

Thus, those human beings who have attained to the first *jhāna* are reborn in one of the three *deva*-worlds named Brahmapārisajja, Brahmapurohita and Mahābrahma, collectively called Brahmakāyika deva world (*D.* II, 69; *DA.* II, 510). Rebirth as a Brahmakāyika deva in one of these three heavens is referred to as a *viññāṇaṭṭhiti*, a station of consciousness, one of such seven stations (*D.* II, 68-69). It is also one of the nine dwellings of beings (*sattāvāsa*, *D.* III, 263). Beings in this state of existence are described as having diverse bodies (*nānatta-kāyā*) and uniform consciousness (*ekatta-saññā*, *D.* II, 693; *DA.* II, 510). It again constitutes the first of the eight kinds of release (*vimokkha*) and beings in this state are spoken of as having material forms and seeing material forms (*rūpī rūpāni passati D.* II, 70-7).

Those who have attained to the second and the third *jhāna* are reborn in one of the three deva-worlds known as *Ābhassara*, *Parittābha* and *Appamāṇābha* (*D*. II, 69; *DA*. II, 510). These three deva-worlds constitute two of the seven stations of consciousness (*D*. II, 69) and one of the nine dwellings of beings (*D*.III, 263). Beings in this state are described as having uniform bodies and diverse consciousness (*ibid*). It is also the second of the eight kinds of release and beings in this state are characterized as being conscious inwardly of immateriality (*ajjhattaṃ arūpasaññī*) but seeing external forms *bahiddhā rūpāni passati* D. II, 70).

Three *deva* worlds are assigned to those who have attained to the fourth *jhāna*, namely, Parittasubha, Appamāṇasubha and Subhakiṇṇa (*D*. II, 69; *DA*. II, 510). These three deva worlds constitute the seven stations of consciousness (*ibid*), and one of the nine dwellings of beings (*D*. III, 263). Beings in this state are referred to as having uniform bodies and uniform consciousness (*D*. II, 69, III, 263). This is also the third of the eight kinds of release and those in this state become intent with the thought 'lovely', (*subhantveva adhimutto* D. II, 71).

A different distribution of the brahma-worlds as places of rebirth among those who have attained to these four *jhānas* is found in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II, 126-128) according to which those who have attained to the first *jhāna* are reborn among the *brahma-kāyika devas*; those who have attained to the second *jhāna* are reborn among *ābhassara devas*; those who have attained to the third *jhāna* are reborn among the *subhakiṇṇa* devas and those who have attained to the fourth *jhāna* are reborn in the world of the *Vehapphala* devas. The last category of *brahmās* is not mentioned in the *Dīgha Nikāya* account (*D*. I, 28).

Another form of existence assigned to those who have attained to the fourth *jhāna* is the unconscious gods (*asaññasatta deva, D*. I, 28; *DA*. I, 118). This represents the fifth of the nine dwellings of beings and those in this state are described as being without perception and feelings (*D*. III, 263).

Five more heavens are assigned as places of rebirth to those who have attained to the fourth *jhāna* as well as the fruition of the non-returner (*anāgāmi-phala*). The heavens are known as *aviha, atappa, sudassa, sudassi* and *akaniṭṭha*; they are collectively called the pure-abodes (*suddhāvāsa*). Those who are born there will not come back, but attain arahantship and *parinibbāna* in those heavens themselves. The Buddha says that he knows no place where he has not been born except the *suddhāvāsas* (*D*. II, 50, 52; III, 237; *DA*. III, 1029); the reason for this is obvious.

Beings in this plane of fine matter are popularly known as brahmas and they are described as divine, having form, mode of mind with all major and minor limbs complete and not deficient in any organs (*D*. I, 17, 34). They are material but their matter is subtle for they feed on joy and are luminous of whom Mahābrahmā is the popular type and representative *par excellence* to such an extent that the plane of fine matter is called the world of Brahmā.

Upali Karunaratne

RŪPĀVACARĀ See RŪPABHAVA

RUSSIA. Russian Buddhists are found mainly amongst the Buryats and the Kalmyks.

Though Buddhism was first introduced to Russia as far back as 1223 A.C during the time of Genghis Khan, it seems to have made a tardy progress and its impact was rather trivial. "Russia under the Tsar was the first western power to take a keen interest in Buddhism in the monastic institutions of the Buddhists in Tibet, Mongolia and elsewhere in the region close to the Russian empire, for many Buddhists lived in the Russian empire" (Ven. Nyānasatta Maha Thero as quoted by W. Pieris, in *The Western Contribution to Buddhism*, Delhi, 1979, p. 235).

Few and far between are the references indicating the existence of Buddhism in Russia. It is recorded that in 1913 a monastery for the Lāmās was set up at Nova Derevaya, a suburb of St. Petersburg. The first university for Buddhists in Europe was established in Moscow in 1925. A Buddhist temple was founded in Warsaw, Poland during the last stages of the Russian empire to serve the spiritual needs of the Buryat and Kalmyak Buddhists serving in the Russian army. To strengthen the cultural relations with Russia, in 1962, Sri Lanka sent a delegation of Buddhist monks to

attend some Buddhist religious celebrations in the U.S.S.R. It was followed by another delegation of Sri Lankan Buddhists in 1969, sent at the invitation of the Ven. J.D. Gambov Bandida, Humbo Lāmā of the Religious Board of Buddhists to attend a religious function.

During the twentieth Century, Buddhist studies in Russia was promoted by several Russian scholars in the calibre of Vasilieff, Minayeff and Stcherbatsky. However, "with the death of Stcherbatsky, Buddhist studies declined in Russia and only in recent years does one observe an interest in Buddhism..." (J. W. de Jong, *A Brief History of Buddhism in Europe and America*, Varanasi, (1976, p. 54).

No certain figures about the number of Buddhists in Russia today are avialable. Though Buddhism still exists in the Mahāyāna form and the Buddhist practices are continued, specially among the Buryot and Kalmyk Buddhists, the general impact of Buddhism in Russia is rather insignificant.

C.S. Ranasinghe.

SABBAÑÑU See OMNISCIENCE

SABBĀSAVA SUTTA :The *Sabbāsava Sutta* is included in the Pali canon as the second discourse of the *Majjhimanikāya*.[1] The teaching in the *Sutta* is specially aimed at the Bhikkhus. But it could be interpreted in a way that it applies even to the daily life of the lay person. It teaches about the way in which all psychological cankers can be eliminated. What is described as psychological cankers *(āsava)* in the *Sutta* are the unwholesome emotions that produce suffering. It introduces several practical ways in which a person could attempt to manage one's emotional life. Hence, it contains material that enhances the significance of the teaching of the Buddha as a practical and applied psychology .

The word *āsava* is formed out of the prefix *ā* and the root *sru* meaning 'to flow'. The term is used to signify the unwholesome thoughts that flow into our minds in a mechanical manner in sense perception. It is also used to signify the festering passions that accumulate in our minds. Evil thoughts begin to flow through the sense doors, eye, ear, etc. It is when the sense doors are not restrained that the human mind becomes exposed to unwholesome emotions. The *Suttas* usually speak of three kinds of *āsava*, as cankers of sense desire *(kāmāsavā)*, cankers of becoming *(bhavāsavā)*, and cankers of ignorance *(avijjāsavā)*. In some contexts cankers of dogmatic belief *(diṭṭhāsavā) are* also added.[2] When mindfulness is not established these cankers are said to flow unhindered into our minds. They are nothing but evil thoughts tainted by unwholesome emotions. The Buddha's teaching about removing the cankers does not propose that we should shut our eyes and plug our ears in order to escape the flow of unwholesome emotions. The method proposed in the *Sabbāsava Sutta* for dealing with the problem is to respond to our sensory environment with mindfulness and insight.

The ultimate goal of Buddhism is the extinction of cankers of the mind *(āsavakkhaya)*. The happiness of a person depends on the degree to which he or she has reduced the strength of the *āsava*. Even if one is a layperson, if he were to act intelligently and adopt certain methods proposed by the Buddha he should be able to reduce the strength of the *āsava* in his mental life. Reduction of the strength of *āsava* reduces one's suffering. *Nibbāna* signifies the attainment of a person whose *āsava* are eradicated.

At the very beginning of the *Sabbāsava Sutta*, the Buddha says that the eradication of *āsava*, the cankers of mind or unwholesome thoughts is possible for the person who knows and sees.[3] The knowing and seeing involved here signifies knowledge and insight into the distinction between proper reflection *(yonisomanasikāra)* and improper reflection *(ayonisomanasikāra)*. The Buddha points out that if one engages in improper reflection cankers that have not yet arisen will arise and cankers that have already arisen will increase. The opposite happens when one engages in proper reflection.[4] The *Sutta* attempts to show clearly the difference between proper reflection and improper reflection.

The Buddha does not propound in the *Sutta* any magical or mystical means of solving our psychological problems. The key to the solution of the suffering

that we produce for ourselves is the development of wise reflection. The Buddha proposes in this Sutta seven practical ways in which the effect of the *āsava* on our minds can be checked. The proposed ways give insight into the diverse sources of unwholesome emotions and specific methods that could be adopted to deal with them. At the outset the Buddha categorizes all *āsava* in terms of the practical ways that could be adopted to remove them. Accordingly, there are *āsava* to be removed by seeing *(dassanā)*, by restraint *(saṃvarā)*, by proper methods of use or consumption *(patisevanā)*, by endurance *(adhivāsanā)*, by avoidance *(parivajjanā)*, by release *(vinodanā)* and by cultivation *(bhāvanā)*.

According to the *Sabbāsava Sutta*, the first way of eliminating *āsava* is by having the right kind of philosophical outlook on life. If we have a mistaken world view, we are likely to engender *āsava*. One of the most potent sources of *āsava* is the egocentric thinking pattern which usually affects us. The Buddha says that if we have sufficient insight regarding what we should think about and what we should not think about it is possible to eliminate the cankers of the mind. The kinds of thinking pattern that produce unwholesome emotions are also to be discovered by means of one's own experience. In the context of the *Sabbāsava Sutta* three kinds of *āsava* called *kāmāsavā*, *bhavāsavā* and *avijjāsavā* are mentioned. If any pattern of thinking produces anew unwholesome emotions that belong to the three above menntioned categories or strengthens those of them that have already affected one's mind, such a thinking pattern is to be experientially discovered and avoided. According to the observations made by the Buddha himself, he identifies certain patterns of thinking that lead to such a consequence. He points out that most of our familiar patterns of philosophical reflection reinforce the *āsava* instead of reducing or eliminating them. The dogmatic extremes to which people are liable to fall due to unsystematic and imprudent thinking or reflection are identified as the most striking among them. All thoughts pertaining to the past present or the future that have an egocentric focus such as "Did I exist in the past, did I not exist in the past, what was I in the past, how was I in the past, having been what, what did I (subsequently) become in the past, will I be in the future, will I not be in the future, what will I be in the future, how will I be in the future, having been what, what will I (subsequently) be in the future, do I exist in the present, do I not exist in the present, what am I in the present, how am I in the present, whence did this being come and where indeed will he go?" are such modes of thinking. All such thinking patterns involve the superimposition of a static ego on the transient processes connected with our existence. The Buddha notes that this manner of egocentric thinking inevitably leads to one of six dogmatic views. The six possible dogmas, one or other to which one is likely to cling with strong conviction are outlined as (I) I have a self *(attā)*, (2) I have no self, (3) I recognize my self through myself, (4) I recognize the no-self through the self, (5) I recognize the self through the no-self, (6) this self which is the speaker, and the experiencer (the subject of all activity and experience) is my self which is permanent, immutable, and eternal and stays the same to eternity .This is another instance in the Buddha's discourses where attention is drawn to the two extreme views about reality one or the other to which most people are usually prone to cling.[5] The Buddha points out that anyone who entertains such dogmatic views due to mistaken ways of thinking is likely to produce *āsava*. The first way of eliminating the *āsava is* therefore by developing proper seeing (*dassana*).

The second method proposed by the Buddha for checking *āsava* is restraint *(saṃvara)*. The world in which we live is such that we cannot let ourselves freely express all our emotions. Some sense stimuli are attractive to us, while others are repulsive. We have a natural tendency to be attached to those which are attractive and to resist those which are repulsive. Unless self-restraint is exercised we will end up creating deep psychological stress and tension as well as social conflict due to this natural tendency to get attached to pleasant things and resist unpleasant things. Social life will not be possible if everyone decides to freely express one's emotions of attraction and repulsion. Therefore one has to cultivate the ability to restrain oneself. Self-restraint is one of the essential skills that intelligent humans are required to cultivate. Lack of self restraint will produce more and more suffering both to the unrestrained person and to the society with which such a person interacts. Mindfulness is the key to such restraint. It is not possible for us to block all our sense doors all the time to prevent the excitation of unwholesome emotions. Things of the outside world are so numerous that we cannot control all of them to prevent unwholesome reactions on our part. We have to deal with our inner nature to some

extent. Therefore with regard to the stimuli that enter through each sense faculty it is required to exercise restraint in such a way that one's mind does not become exposed to the mechanical influx of unwholesome thoughts and emotions. The Buddhist position is that dealing with the inner nature is eventually the only way to remove suffering altogether.

Thirdly the Buddha speaks of *āsava* that can be eliminated by means of attending wisely to one's needs. There are certain basic things that one needs to sustain healthy and comfortable living. These should not be pursued as ends in themselves. One should not totally deprive oneself of those things either. Total deprivation will cause both physical and psychological harm leading to the unnecessary states of ill-will and mental depression. Therefore one must have the wisdom to attend to one's basic material needs in the proper manner. Here the Buddha speaks of the basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter. If one becomes obsessed with those basic needs without treating them as means to a higher end they too can lead to *āsava*. One is required to take food in order to sustain life, but not live in order to eat food. There are many higher goals to be pursued in life for the purpose of which the basic needs have to be satisfied.

Fourthly the Buddha speaks of elimination of *āsava* by means of endurance *(adhivāsanā)*. Here the important point made is that there are certain situations in which one has to endure certain influences of one's social or physical environment without trying to create unnecessary psychological resistance against such influences. The tendency to react to the conditions of one's sensory environment is common among mankind. An insightful person cultivates the ability to endure such conditions. One cannot control everything outside oneself in the way one wants due to the innumerability and unlimited nature of such factors. Therefore one has to develop the ability to endure. Heat and cold, thirst and hunger, as well as other unpleasant effects of the environment which may sometimes be beyond one's control need to be endured without giving occasion for undue distress.

The fifth way of eliminating cankers proposed by the Buddha is avoidance *(parivajjanā)* of getting into unnecessary situations that can engender unwholesome thoughts and emotions. One could easily avoid unhealthy associates, or situations that are likely to provoke one's evil tendencies. Exposing oneself consciously to such situations is not at all a wise thing to do. It is possible to avoid exposing oneself to unnecessary danger such as moving into an environment where one could be harmed by wild, untamed animals or venomous serpents. It is also possible to choose an environment in which conditions that are likely to cause accidental harm or injury by, for example, falling into a pit or a precipice do not exist. If one does unreflectively expose oneself to such situations one will eventually strengthen the cankers. So while the fourth method proposes that one should cultivate the ability to endure certain conditions that are unavoidable the fifth method proposes that whenever unnecessary trouble is avoidable it is wise to avoid it. This is a clear indication of the pragmatic standpoint that the Buddha proposes to adopt in dealing effectively with conditions that are likely to produce mental distress.

Sixthly, the Buddha speaks of cankers that have to be eliminated by releasing them or dropping them (*vinodanā*) from one's mind consciously. The mind can be affected by thoughts of sensuous desire, thoughts of ill will and thoughts of injury. An unreflective person who is exposed to the mechanical flow of unwholesome thoughts becomes constantly subject to evil and unskilled thoughts and emotions. Those should be effectively identified and released from one's mind.

Finally the Buddha speaks of eliminating cankers by means of self development or cultivation (*bhāvanā*). This involves the cultivation of positive cognitive and emotive qualities of the mind. A typical example is the cultivation of the seven factors of enlightenment enumerated as (1) *sati* (mindfulness), (2) *dhammavicaya* (examination of phenomena), (3) *viriya* (effort), (4) *pīti* (joy), (5) *passaddhi* (calmness), (6) *samādhi* (mental composure) and (7) *upekkhā* (equanimity). This can be considered as the culmination of the process of freeing the mind from unwholesome emotions and filling it with wholesome and positive qualities.

The Buddha ends the discourse by reassuring his *bhikkhu* audience that the practice of the proposed methods will effectively help a person to live having guarded oneself from all unwholesome influxes eventually resulting in the cutting off of all craving

and overcoming of the psychological fetters that bind a person to suffering. They have the characteristic of being very practical psychological methods of dealing with a person's emotional life in order to attain relief from mental distress and achieve mental health.

P. D. Premasiri

References

[1] *Majjhimanikāya* (Pali Text Society:London) Vol. I, pp 6-112
[2] *Dīghanikāya* (PTS) Vol. II, p. 81
[3] *Jānato ahaṃ bhikkhave passato āsavānaṃ khayaṃ vadāmi no ajānato no apassato Ibid.* p. 7
[4] *Ayoniso bhikkhave manasikaroto anuppannā ceva āsavā uppajjanti uppannā ca āsavā pavaḍḍhanti.*
Yoniso ca bhikknave manasikaroto anuppannā ceva āsavā na uppajjanti uppannā ca āsavā pahīyanti. Majjhimanikāya Ibid.
[5] In the *Kaccāyanagotta Sutta* the Buddha mentions these two extreme positions and shows that his own view of reality involves a middle position that rejects both eternal existence and absolute non-existence. *Saṃyuttanikāya* (PTS) Vol. II, p. 17.

SABBATTHIVĀDA. Sabbathivāda (*SHB*, Vol. XXXVIII, 110) or Sabbatthavāda (*Dpv.* 5-47; *Mhv.* 5-8), Sarvāstivāda in Sanskṛit, was one of the eighteen schools into which the original Buddhist community of monks and nuns was divided prior to the rise of Mahāyāna. In the Mahāyāna terminology all these schools were classified as Hinayāna or Śrāvakayāna. According to Sri Lankan Pāli chronicles of the Theravāda tradition, after the first schism of the Theravāda Saṅgha which produced the Mahāsāṅghika (or Mahāsaṅgiti) school, several other schools also were separated from the Theravāda faction. The first to separate from them were the Mahiṃsāsakas and the Vajjiputtakas. It was from the Mahiṃsāsakas that the Sabbatthavādins and the Dhammaguttikas originated. From the Sabbatthavādins separated the Kassapiyas (or Kassapikas) and Saṅkantivādins and from the latter the Suttavādins (*Mhv.* 5, 8-91).

This Theravāda tradition of the growth of the eighteen schools of Buddhism, especially the twelve schools of the Theravāda (*Skt.* Sthaviravāda) faction, is not fully confirmed by the sources of the other Buddhist traditions. The Tibetan historian Tāranātha has presented us with the views of the four principal schools of Buddhism which were the four main divisions of Buddhism recognized by the 7th century A.C. as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim monk I-tsing[1]. However, Taranatha's list of schools attributed to the Sthaviravādins does not tally with the Pāli list. Unfortunately he does not give the source of his information. In Taranatha's record Mahīśāsakas (Pāli Mahiṃsāsakas) appear after the Sarvāstivādins. According to the Mahāsāṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins and Vātsiyaputriyas were the first to separate from the Sthavira faction. Mahāsāṅghikas are classified as a sub-sect of the Vibhajyavādins. In the Sammitiya tradition, as provided by Taranatha, the original Saṅgha was divided into four schools, viz. Mahāsāṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins, Vātsiputriyas and Haimavatas. Both Mahīśāsakas and Vibhajyavādins are classed as sub-sects of Sarvāstivādins. Curiously the name Sthaviravāda does not occur in this list. Apparently it is a list of late origin when the Sthavira designation had gone out of fashion in India. According to the *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* Mahīśāsakas and Vibhadyavādins were both sub-sects of the Sarvāstivādins. Interestingly this tradition has confined the Sthaviravādins to Sri Lanka. Jetavanīya, Abhayagirivāsins and Mahāviharavāsins are its three sub- sects[2]. I-tsing[3] also speaks of three sub-sects of the Sthaviravādins. It is worthy to note Taranātha's admission of discrepancies in the enumeration of the names, but most of them, according to him, are cases of the same schools being mentioned under different names. Taranatha is said to have written this work in 1608. Bu-ston, another Tibetan historian who lived prior to Taranatha, also gives the views of Vinīthadeva who belonged to the Sarvāstivāda tradition. Bu-ston makes a daring declaration that Sarvāstivādins, as they use Sanskṛit, the language of the higher classes, represent the foundation for the traditions of other sects. "For this reason they are called the Mūlasarvāstivādins". He adds that this school regards Rāhulabhadra of the Ksatriya caste as their teacher. Bu-ston's comments naturally reflect a tradition highly inclined towards the Sarvāstivāda tradition, which had influenced Tibetan Buddhism in many ways[4].

Besides the above records of Taranatha and Bu-ston there are a number of other sources on the break

up of the Buddhist Saṅgha into eighteen schools, as for instance the writings of Bhavya, which give us a sample of the confused state of the history, even the list of names, of the eighteen schools. Many modern scholars who have tried to unravel the confused history of the schools have only left more confusion. Therefore to unentangle the tangled ball of thread of the eighteen schools to find out the older of the two Schools, Mahīśāsakas and Sarvāstivādins, would always remain a moot point until one discovers some clear evidence from an independent source to solve it. However we know that there was a group of schools which upheld the basic tenet "everything exists" *(sarvaṃ asti* or *sarvāstitva)* albeit with different interpretations. "Inspite of various doctrinal disagreements, some of considerable importance, the various sub groups within the Sarvāstivāda School were united in their central tenet of Sarvāstivāda[5].

Origin and Development of the School

It is not clear as to when this school had originated. We have epigraphical evidence of its existence only from the 1st or 2nd century A. C[6]. However neither this school nor any other school mentioned frequently in later inscriptions are found mentioned in the earliest Buddhist lithic records of Bharut and Sanchi. Yet Nalinaksha Dutt[7] thinks that the original Sarvāstivāda School had its birth before Asoka's council. Of course what he refers to here is the reference to the theory "everything exists" (*sabbaṃ atthīti*) debated in the *Kathāvatthu,* claimed to have been presented to this council by Arahant Moggaliputta Tissa. These facts may then indicate the consolidation of the holders of this view into a separate sect after the Asokan period. Probably different groups of monks espousing various controversial views were still living in the same monasteries. This was probably the reason why Arahant Moggaliputta Tissa left Pātaliputta and took refuge in a forest hermitage at Ahogaṅga (was it the same as Urumuṇda in Mathura?) because he did not wish to participate in the *uposatha* with those holding unorthodox views (*Mhv.* 5-539-544).

But Hsüen-tsang says[8] that a rift in the Saṅgha took place in the time of Emperor Asoka between a group of five hundred arahants and 500 schismatic monks who accepted certain wrong views put up by a monk named Mahadeva. The arahants, to escape the possible harsh treatment of the king who sided with Mahadeva, flew away to Kashmir and hid themselves amidst mountains and valleys. Asoka, later realized his fault, repented and built five hundred monasteries for them and gave the whole of Kashmir to them. Watters[9] states that according to the *Mahāvibhāshā Śāstra* the Sthavira sect was propagated by these Arahants in Kashmir. Kashmir was an important centre of the Sarvāstivādins who for long claimed to be Sthaviravādins, for they had actually broken away from the Sthaviras. Ven. Dhammajoti states that both the Sarvāstivādins and their opponents, Vibhajyavādins, continued for quite some time to assume the status of the orthodox Sthaviravādins[10].

According to Vasumitra, Sthviravādins remained united for some time. But after the beginning of the 3rd century there arose some disputes which split them into two schools, i.e. Sarvāstivāda, also called Hetuvāda and the original Sthaviravāda, which (then) changed its mane to Haimavata[11]. The 3rd century referred to is of the Buddhist era. According to Przyluski's hypothesis the groups of monks in the three centres at Kauśambi, Avanti and Mathura, who joined Yaśa in the Second Council, probably gave rise subsequently to the three schools of Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka and Sarvastivāda. These centres turned out to be the centres of these three schools respectively. Przyluski associates Kauśambi rather than Avanti with the Pāli school. Mathura soon became the seat of Sarvāstivāda and it was thence that it spread particularly to Kashmir. During the time of Asoka, Arahant Upagupta was probably the chief monk at Mathura. Madhyantika is credited with the propagation of Buddhism in Kashmir[12]. According to Edkins, Sambhūta Sānavāsika is also credited with the conversion of Kashmir and Kandahar[13]. Probably he was senior to both Madhyantika and Upagupta in the region of Mathura. But it is significant that the name Madhyantika (Pāli Majjhantika) is given a very important place in both the Buddhist Sanskṛit and Pāli traditions in the conversion of Kashmir Gandhāra region. (*Mhv.* 12.3, 10ff.; Taranatha *ibid.* p. 29ff.)

The Asokan period, when, according to the Sri Lankan sources, Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhara region, and the period in which Upagupta lived, according to the Buddhist Sanskṛit sources, is taken to be in the 3rd century B.C. The Sarvāstivāda tradition has fixed the date of Asoka's ascendance around 116 years after the Buddha while the Pāli sources place it 218 years after the Buddha. The date

of the establishment of the Sarvāstivāda, according to the *Samayabhed- oparacanacakra* would be on the Sarvāstivāda calculations, around the first half of the 2nd century B.C. The date of the traditional founder of the school, Katyāyanīputra, is said to be around 150 B.C.[14] and this date tallies with it. Paramartha's life of Vasubandu, however, dates the compilation of the *Jñ ānaprasthāna Śastra* or the *Astagrantha*, to a time five hundred years after the Buddha. Dhammajoti thinks that Paramartha is confounding the compilation of the *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāśā śāstra* with that of the *Jñānaprasthāna*[15]. Dhammajoti also claims, on the authority of Xuan Zang (Hsüen tsang), that the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma text *Vijñānakāya Śāstra* was composed one hundred years after the Buddha. He also states that the Vibhajyavādin Maudgalyāyana, against whom this text tries to establish the Sarvāstitva standpoint, was possibly the same as Moggalīputta Tissa, the author of the Theravāda Kathāvatthu. Some of the phrases used in the two texts while debating this point appear to be the same. However Dhammajoti's claim that this was the first controversial point debated in the *Kathāvatthu* is not so. It is rather the sixth debating point taken up by the author of the *Kathāvatthu*. Ven. Yin Shun rejects Xuan Zang's date of the *Vijñānakāya Śāstra* and prefers to place it in the early 1st century A.C. La Vallee Poussin places it after the *Kathāvatthu*[16].

If these arguments of Dhammajoti are accepted then we could place the origin of the Sarvāstivāda conception against the older Vibhajyavāda conception around the time of Asoka, may be even a little anterior to it, and its consolidation as a separate school of Buddhist thought in the second century B.C. We know that the Pāli chronicles of Sri Lanka claimed Vibhajyavāda to be the true and only acceptable interpretation of the Buddha's teachings (*Mhv.* V. 632-633). Naturally polemics against the new Sarvāstivāda conception must have gone on for some time before the school of thought got stabilized. It is quite interesting to see that it was in the above mentioned *Vijñānakāya Śāstra* attributed to one Devaśarman, Devaksema, that the sarvāstitva standpoint is explicitly insisted upon[17]. Already we saw that the sect is never mentioned in the Bharut and Sanchi lithic records.

According to Buddhist Sanskṛit sources, the Buddha, once, while on a tour of the Sūrasena country, forecasted that, one hundred years after his demise a great monastery will be established on the Mt. Urumuṇḍa by two brothers named Naṭa and Bhaṭa. Named after the two of them, it would be a place greatly conducive for meditation. A great teacher monk named Upagupta, pupil of one Madhyandina, ordained by Ven. Ananda, will live in this monastery[18]. If this Madhyandina was the same as Madhyantika mentioned above, then we could see how Buddhism, possibly of the Sarvāstivāda school, expanded to Kashmir from Mathura and how later Kashmir became its chief centre.

As mentioned above, there is inscriptional evidence from the beginning of the Christian era for the prevalence of the sect in North India. The Mathura Lion Capital Inscription testifies for the existence of the sect in that area during the Śaka period. The chief queen of the Maha Kshatrapa Rājula established a stūpa enshrining a relic of the Buddha and a monastery for the acceptance of the monks of the four quarters of the Sarvāstivāda sect[19]. But it is in the Kushāna period that the sect is seen in full glory .The great stūpa built by Kanishka was dedicated to the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda teachers[20]. The fact that this stūpa and the monastery were dedicated to them shows the high esteem with which Sarvāstivādins were held by Emperor Kanishka. Many inscriptions of the Kushāna Era like the Set Mahet Image Inscription (El. VIII p. 180ff.) and the Kushāna Casket Inscription etc. show quite clearly the popularity of the school in the Kushāna period.

The importance of the Kushāna period is probably demonstrated by the account of the 3rd Buddhist Council, according to the Northern tradition, left by the Chinese monk Hsüen-tsang. Tibetan-historians Taranatha and Bu-ston also have left some rather confusing accounts of the same. Hsüen-tsang states[21] that king Kanishka was dismayed by the conflicting interpretations of the *Dharma* given by different monks. When this was put to Arahant Parśva by the king he explained the historical reasons and the king called for a council of Arahants to resolve the problem and arrange the three *Piṭakas* of the Buddha according to the different schools. Significantly it is stated that only 499 Arahants were selected at first and the 500th place was filled by one non-Arahant, Vasumitra, who claimed to be a Bodhisattva.

The story of Vasumitra has been added to this account undoubtedly to bring it in line with the first

Buddhist Council. In it Ven. Ananda was first excluded from the Council because he was not an Arahant. Later he was chosen as the 500th participant in view of his erudition and knowledge of the Dhamma. However he realized arahantship before the Council. Vasumitra also claims that he has investigated the meaning of words, studied in earnestness the obscure literature of the three *piṭakas* and the recondite meaning of the five *vidyās* and have succeeded in penetrating their teachings. Thus claiming to be an erudite monk he also claims his ability to become an Arahant in a few moments, before a ball he was carrying could, when thrown up, come down. He, however, claims to be a Bodhisattva not interested in the insignificant fruit of arahantship. This story shows the amount of Mahāyāna influence that had affected even the Sarvāstivāda tradition by the 7th century A.C. Downgrading of the arahant ideal is quite obvious. But Thomas Watters[22] has found that this Vasumitra episode is a wholesale borrowing from a Mahāyāna work. The story is about a monk named Vasumitra supposed to be a contemporary of the Buddha. The Buddha is said to have made a forecast that he will succeed Maitreya as Simhacandra Tathāgata. According to Hsüen-tsang the Vasumitra of the 3rd Council was also predicted by gods to take the place of Maitreya in the Tushita heaven. Arahants of the council, convinced of Vasumitra's importance, are said to have admitted him to the council and made him its president. In the First Council Ananda was asked to rehearse the Dhamma.

These facts could make modern students of history to doubt the details of this account. According to Hsüen-tsang, the Council composed commentaries to all the three *pitakas* viz. *Upadeśa Śāstra* for the *Sūtra Piṭaka*, *Vinaya Vibhā shā Śāstra* for the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Abhidharma Vibhāhṣā Śāstra* for the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, each comprising ten myriad verses. At the conclusion Kanishka got the commentaries engraved on red copper sheets, enclosed them in a stone box and deposited them in a stūpa so that no one can remove them out of Kashmir where the Council was held. Samuel Beal is of the view that *Abhidharma Vibhāṣā* referred to was the commentary to the *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyāyaniputra.[23]

Tārānātha[24] has given a rather confusing account by trying to compare the different traditions. The Council was called by King Kanishka at the Karṇikavana monastery in Kashmir or the Kuvana monastery at Jalandhara. According to the Tibetan account 500 Arahants, 500 Bodhisattvas and 500 common *paṇḍits* participated. But Tārānātha says, according to the Śrāvaka tradition, which is more reliable as this relates to the Law of the Śrāvakas, 500 Arahants and 500 *maliā bhaṭṭārakas* well versed in the *tripiṭaka* participated. However, he says, since there were very few Arahants at the time the number could have been smaller. The figure 500 must have included Śrotapannas etc. All belonging to the 18 sects jointly purified the law and codified the *vinaya*. Those portions of the *Sūtra* and *Abhidharma* not codified before were codified and those already codified were revised.

Bu-ston[25] also gives a confusing account of the Third Council. One of the accounts given by him is that 300 years after the demise of the Buddha the third Buddhist Council was held during the time Kanishka at the Kuvana monastery in Kashmir with 500 Arahants led by Purnika, 500 Bodhisattvas like Vasumitra and 250 or 10,000 ordinary *paṇḍits* participating. Texts recited by all eighteen sects were acknowledged to be the word of the Buddha. It does not speak about the compilation of the commentaries.

Significantly none of these sources take the third Council to be a Sarvāstivāda party affair. All of them seem to admit that all eighteen sects were represented in it and that the views of all of them were taken into account. It is the view that the Sarvāstivāda *Mahā Vibhāshā Śāstra* was compiled at this council which has made scholars to come to this conclusion. But if Paramartha's view of the compilation of the *Abhidharma Aṣṭagrantha* was in fact, as claimed by Dhammajoti (infra), a reference to the compilation of the *Mahā Vibhāshā Śāstra*, then the view that it was the work of Kanishka's council will have to be rejected.

It is also important to note here a certain reference from the Tibetan *Blue Annals* quoted by Taranatha. "At the *vihāra* of Karnikavana in Kashmir 500 Arahants headed by ārya Parśva, 400 venerables (*bhaṭṭāraka*) headed by Vasumitra and 500 Bodhisattvas recited the Abidharma"[26] Tārānātha goes on to say that Vasumitra referred here should not be identified with the great Vaibhāshika ācārya Vasumitra[27]. If this assertion is granted then the Sarvāstivādin label given to the 3rd Council becomes even more doubtful. But Nalinaksha Dutt[28] views that

Vasumitra who took part in the Council was the author of the two Abidharma texts *Prakaraṇapāda* and *Dhātukāyapāda*. He further says that a majority of the participants were Sarvāstivādins with Vasumitra of the same sect as the president. Since the decisions on disputed points rested with the president the accepted versions in most cases should naturally be that of the Sarvāstivādins. But we know that in the First Council, Mahā Kāśyapa never tried to impose his will on the Council. All decisions were unanimous. V .A. Simth[29] also opines that this was a Sarvāstivāda Council and the Mahā Vibhāshā written at the time belonged to it. But Takakusu[30] holds the Vibhashā was written after the Council to explain the *Jñanaprasthāna Śāstra* of Katyāyanīputra. But if the *Jñānaprathāna Śastra* as opined by Dhammajoti is datable in the 2nd century B.C. then only the *Mahā Vibhāshā* can be attributed to the period of Kanishka.

However as noted above Sarvaśtivādin teachers were held in great esteem by Emperor Kanishka and other Kushāna kings. Therefore one can be certain that the school enjoyed great popularity during the period. It must have greatly helped them to expand their bounds of influence at the time. Dhammajoti dates the most important *Abhidharma* text of the school in 150 B.C. and the compilation of the *Mahā Vihāshā Śārtra* in the 5th century after the Buddha, in the 2nd century A.C.[31] Paramārtha's views are different as we have seen before. However the *Mahā Vibhāsha Śāstra* soon became a sort of bible of the Sarvāstivādins, especially of Kashmir, who came to be designated Vaibhāshikas after it.

The *Abhidharma Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins consisting of seven works and their commentaries, especially the *Mahā Vibhāshā Śāstra* on the *Jñānaprasthāna*, were the principal works of the school in which their main tenets were developed. Of the seven *Abhidharma* texts the *Jñanaprasthāna*, according to Yaśomitra[32], was considered to be the main body while the other six works were taken to be the feet. However the Mahā Vibhāśā does not refer to this designation and only five of the other six treatises are quoted in it. This does not, however, necessarily mean that the *Jñānaprasthāna* was either the first work or, the last work consummating the whole *Abhidharma*. It is not easy to fix a chronology of the seven works. As already referred to Dhammajoti dates the *Jñānaprasthāna* in the 2nd century B.C. (He, however, in an earlier work[33] says that the *Abhidharma* doctrines of the Sarvāstivādins were given a definite form in the *Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra* around the middle of the 2nd century A.C. The compilation of the *Mahā Vibhāśā Śāstra* followed). This was the post Asokan Period, and hence after the Theravāda *Abhidhamma* work, the *Kathāvatthu*, which debates the "everything exists" theory. This shows that although the conception was already there no separate sect had yet come into being, and the holders of the view had not yet designated themselves as Sarvāstivādins. At the beginning, both the Sarvāstivādins and their opponents Vibhajyavādins assumed themselves to be orthodox Sthaviravādins. It is in the Vijñānakāyā Śāstra, one of the seven Abhiharma texts, assumed to have been composed after the Kathāvatthu, that the *sarvāstitva* thesis is for the first time upheld against the Vibhajyavādins[34]. This work tries to reject the views of its Vibhajyavādin opponent named Maudgalyāyana, identified as Moggaliputta Tissa, author of the Kathāvatthu. Even in this work they style themselves as Yuktivādins as against the Vibhajyavādins. Although the designation Sarvāstivāda is already there in the 1st century A.C. lithic records, the designation as Yuktivāda was still in vogue even at the time of the *Mahā Vibhāsa śāstra*[35]. The existence of the *dharmas* in the three periods of time is explicitly asserted in the *Vijnānakāya Śāstra*. Yet we have to await the appearance of the *Jñānaprasthāna* to see the fully developed theory of the ever lasting existence of the *svabhāva* of *dharmas*. It was this work that established the Sarvāstivāda dogma in a definite form and, therefore, its author Kātyāyanīputra was traditionally regarded as the founder of the Sarvāstivāda School.

While the "everything exists" theory was generally accepted by all Sarvāstivādins, it was yet not accepted as an uncontroversial theory by all holders of the view. Within the school, from the very beginning, were different interpretations given to the conception. The four great Ābhidharmikas of the school, Dharmatrāta, Buddhadeva, Vasumitra and Ghoshaka had given different interpretations on how the everlasting *dravya* in the three periods of time should be accounted for. Ghoshaka also did not go along with all orthodox Ābhidharmikas that the whole *Abhidharma* was the words of the Buddha. For him all *Abhidharma* was the explanation of *Sūtras*. Therefore whatever is not found in *Sūtras* should be removed. Buddhadeva and

Dharmatrāta denied the reality of *caitasika* apart from *citta*. Dharmatrāta held all *caitta* is subsumable under *cetanā*. Dharmatrāta held *ākāśa* is unreal while others held all *asaṃskṛtas* to be real. Darshṭāntikas held all three as unreal. These examples show the open controversies that raged within the school itself.

With the compilation of the *Jñānaprasthāna*, Śarvāstivādins of Kashmir came to regard it as the word of the Buddha and upheld its supreme authority so much so that they repudiated all views that did not come within its orthodoxy. Eventually they compiled the encyclopaedic *Mahā Vibhāsā Śāstra* to consolidate their position as the Sarvāstivāda orthodoxy. Besides their own views it also critically includes the views of other Sarvāstivāda schools. Among those cited are the Darshṭāntikas, the Western Masters (*paścātya*, also called the Venarables of the West, and the Western Śramanas), the foreign masters (*bahirdeśaka*, also called 'the masters outside Kashmir') and the 'Gandhāran Masters'. Even the so-called 'old Kashmirian masters' were criticized.

After the compilation of the *Mahā Vibhāśā Śāstra* the orthodox Kashmirians, who based their views on it, came to be styled Vaibhāshikas and their philosophy, Vaibhāshika philosophy, one of the four Buddhist philosophies recognized in India. However the views accepted by them had developed gradually. They were not just innovations of the compilers of the *Vibhāshā*. The designation Vaibhāshika eventually came to be applied to the orthodox Sarvāstivādins based in Kashmir. 'Vaibhāshika teachers' was regarded as synonymous with 'Kashmir teachers', yet there was no perfect unanimity even within this group. They often expressed differing views on various topics.

Vaibhāshika dogmatism ultimately led to splits within the school. On the one hand was the split between the Kashmirian eastern school and the western school representing the Gandhārans. On the other hand Sūtra-centred Dārshṭāntikas co-operated with the holders of heterodox views including the Mahāyāna Śūnyatāvādins around the 1st and 2nd century A.C. They ultimately converted to the 'present only-exist' view. In the process a section of radicals among them, the Dārshṭāntika, evolved into the Sautrāntikas.

The appellations Gandhāran masters, 'western masters' and, 'foreign masters' do in fact refer to Sarvastivādin masters outside Kashmir in general but not to any such groups outside Kashmir. They were centred round Gandhāra and Parthia with Gandhāra as the main centre. In the *Abhidhrmakośabhāsya* Vasubandhu speaks of Kashmirian and 'Western masters' where the *Mahā Vibhāshā Śāstra* has 'masters of this country' and 'foreign masters' respectively. The *Mahā Vibhāshā Śāstra* would sometimes attribute a certain view, in one place, to one such group and in another place to another group. But at least in one instance we have a view attributed to 'foreign masters' in one place with a slightly different view attributed to 'Western masters'. For instance the Vaibhāshikas refer to sixteen *rūpa* heavens while the 'western masters', on the other hand, who refer to nine distinct heavens in the Rūpa- dhātu, have eighteen *rūpa* heavens altogether.

The western masters did not reject the *Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra* altogether but studied it more critically than the Kashmirians. The compilers of the *Mahā Vibhāshā Śāstra* held them with great respect and their views on the Kashmirians were not sectarian. They themselves were in fact Abhidharma masters of the Sarvāstivāda school. Ven. Yin Shun observes that "the doctrines of the western school" were mostly orthodox views of The *Mahā Vibhāshā Śāstra* and were absorbed in this work. The views of the western masters, foreign masters and Gandhāran masters specifically pointed out in the *MVS*, are but a small number of heterodox views.

The work which deeply influenced the 'western masters' was the *Prajñapti Śāstra* whose importance to the Sarvāstivādins was next only to the *Jñānaprasthāna*. The new trend in development in Sarvāstivāda was in fact "inherited from the tradition of the *Pajñapti Śāstra*—tendency towards organization, the essential, conciseness and definition. It is for this reasons that many views found in *Prajñapti Sūtras*, such as four *avyākṛtamūla*, 'four meanings of *anuśaya*' etc. were often attributed by the Vaibhāsikas to the western or foreign masters"[16].

Sarvāstivāda Literature

With its long history extending over several centuries and a long line of great scholars, philosophers and literary figures of repute, the Sarvāstivāda school undoubtedly could boast of a very rich literature with a complete set of the *Tripiṭaka*. Of these the four or

five *āgamas* of the *Sūtra Piṭaka*, being collections of the discourses of the Buddha, more or less, could have been common to all the schools of Buddhism in India at the time. Whether the *Sūtra Piṭaka*, in its Sanskrit recension had four or five *āgamas*, vis-á-vis the five *nikāyas* of the Pāli *Sutta Piṭaka*, has been for long a controversial subject. While Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* names only four *āgamas*, the Tibetan *Mahāvyutpatti* refers to a fifth *āgama* as the *Kṣudraka Āgama*[37]. But this reference to a *Kṣudraka Āgama* is not confirmed by all sources. In this respect Oliver Abeynayaka's[38] view that there were only four and not five *āgamas* is of considerable value. He points out that even the Pāli commentators, whenever they use the term *āgama* speak of only four and not five. This possibly shows that the conception of the four *āgamas* must have been the universally accepted view. However, most schools, including the Theravādins, seem to have known a series of texts, outside the four main *Nikāyas* or *āgamas*, called the 'minor texts' (*Khuddaka-gantha, Kṣudraka Āgama*, or *Kṣudraka Piṭaka* or the 'Miscellaneous Collection'). These texts were probably consolidated into a fifth *nikāya* by the Pāli tradition but, apparently, the same did not take place in the Sanskrit tradition. According to Bu-ston Sarvāstivādins used Sanskrit in their work[39]. According to Nalinaksha Dutt[40] Sarvāstivādins must have first used a Prakrit in their works but later this must have been changed to Sanskrit. He surmises that the Kanishkan Council must have influenced this change. Wassiljew, on Tibetan authority, also makes the statement that their literature was in Sankrit.

If the *Sutta Piṭaka* was common to all schools, the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidharma Piṭakas* did not show the same homogeneity. *Vinaya* being a reflection of the living traditions of the different communities of monks and nuns must have naturally developed their own individuality in each sect. The *Prātimokṣa* rules of most of the sects were almost the same with a few variations. But the rest of the rules applicable to day-to-day life of the monk soon developed, often on regional lines. According to Dutt[41] Sarvāstivādins had a complete *Vinaya* in all its divisions, viz, (1). *Vinaya Vastu*, (2). *Prātimokṣa Sūtra*, (3). *Vinaya Vibhāga*, (4). *Vinaya Kṣūdraka Vastu*, (5). *Vinaya Uttara-grantha*. It is the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivādins that was translated into Tibetan. An analysis of it is provided by Cosma Körös, and, according to Wassilje, it is the Sarvāstivāda recension of the *Vinaya*, translated into Tibetan by a Kashmirian of the Vaibhāshika School. The manuscript found has a picture of the Buddha with Śāriputra and Rāhula on either side. Chinese authorities mention Rāhula as the founder of the Sarvāstivāda school.

The *Abidharma Piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda School was the most important in the establishment of the basic tenets of the School. Like in the Theravāda School the *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma Piṭaka* consists of seven texts. But unlike in the case of the former where only one text is attributed to an individual author, Sarvāstivādins attribute all the seven texts to individual authors. But for some reason there seem to have been different traditions regarding their authorship. The seven texts of the *Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma Piṭaka* are (1). *Dharmaskandha*, (2). *Saṅgītiparyāya* (3). *Prajñapti Śāstra* (4). *Vijñānakāya* (5). *Prakaraṇapāda*, (6). *Dhātukāya*, and (7). *Jñānaprasthāna*. The Chinese tradition attributes these to the authorship of Maudgalyāyana, Śāriputra, Mahā Kātyāyana (attribution by Pe Guang), Devaśarman, Vasumitra, and Kātyāyanīputra respectively. The Tibetan and Sanskrit traditions attribute the first three of these to Śāriputra, Mahākauṣthila, Maha Maudgalyāyana, respectively. The authorship of *Vijñānakāya*, the *Prakaraṇapāda* and the *Jñānaprasthāna* are attributed to the same persons as in the Chinese tradition. But in the case of the *Dhātukāya* there is a difference once again. Both Tibetan and Sanskrit traditions attribute it to Pūrṇa[42].

According to the Abhidharmikas for whom *Abhidharma* is the final authority, "Without the exposition in the *Abhidharma* a pupil is unable to discern the *dharma*". This was the Vaibhāshika standpoint as expressed by the *Abhidharma kośabhāṣya* of Vasubandhu. *Abhidharma* contains the words of the Buddha par-excellence[43]. But in examination of the development of the *Abh idharma Piṭaka* modern scholars have not been able to fix a chronology acceptable to all. Speaking of the relative importance of the seven texts Pu Guang says : "The earlier six treatises have less doctrinal topics; it is the *Jñāna prasthāna Śāstra* that contains the most extensive doctrinal perspectives. Accordingly the *Abhidharma* masters of later times spoke of the six as the feet and *JPS* as the body"[44].

While modern scholars have tried to arrange the seven texts in some chronological order, no unanimity has been reached on the subject up to now. The greatest setback in arriving at a decision is that even texts compiled earlier could have been later revised with more comprehensive and important texts like the *Jñānaprasthāna* appearing later.

Most scholars have tried to divide the seven texts into three periods but under different criteria. For example Eric Frauwalner has classed the *Abhidharma Prakaraṇa Śāstra* and the *Jñānaprasthāna* as the most recent. After considering all the pros and cons regarding the whole problem Dhammajoti divides the seven texts into two broad groups. (1). The three treatises *Dharmaskandha, Saṅgītiparyāya* and *Prajñapti Śāstra*, considered as the oldest by most scholars have been classified as the oldest by him too. The other four which show a more developed nature are classified under the later group, i.e. *Vijñānakāya*, the *Jñānaprasthāna*, *Prakaraṇapāda* and the *Dhātukāya*[45].

Geographical Expansion of the School

As already stated above lithic records testify to the existence of Sarvāstivāda as a separate school by the beginning of the 1st century A.C. It gained a very strong position within the Kushāna Empire with the patronage of Emperor Kanishka and his successors. Kushānas had taken under their sway a considerable portion of the sub-continent of India and extended their power to Central Asia. Naturally Sarvāstivāda monks, who had consolidated their position in Mathura, Kashmir and Gandhāra, had a golden opportunity of carrying their missions to the four corners of the Kushāna empire and even beyond into China.

Records of Chinese monks Fa-hien, Hsüen-tsang etc. give us a good picture of the prevalent conditions of Buddhism in the Central Asian states. Fa-hien, for instance, found Buddhism in a prosperous condition in Kashgar at the western end of the Tarim Basin. More than two thousand monks of the Hinayāna, probably of the Sarvāstivāda School lived here. Hsüen-tsang who came in the 7th century A.C. found several hundreds of monasteries with nearly a thousand monks of the Sarvāstivāda School. Many of them could recite the Buddhist texts and even the *Tripiṭaka* and the *Vibhāshas*. Sanskrit was the language of Buddhist scholarship[46].

Hsüen-tsang's records show that Sarvāstivāda was popular in Karashar (Agni), Turfan and Kucha[47] on the northern route across the Tarim Basin. Sarvāstivāda was also well established from Niya eastwards on the southern route[48]. Hsüen-tsang also saw three monasteries in Persia with Sarvāstivādin monks[49]. Yarkand and Khotan were the only states where Mahāyāna dominate. But an important monastery was established in Santir, Khotan, by an elder brother of King Vijayadhanna, for Sarvāstivāda monks. He was helped by a monk named Pandit Arya Samantasiddhi, probably from Kashmir, who acted as the *kalyaṇamitra* of the royal prince[50].

Among various Indian languages introduced into Eastern Turkestan, according to Bagchi[51], Sanskrit held the most important place. Buddhism that was introduced first was the Sarvāstivāda School from Kashmir and North West of India. The sacred texts of this School written in classical Sanskrit were studied by Buddhist Scholars of Eastern Turkestan.

According to Bagchi[52], from the dates of the translation into Chinese of the Sanskrit *Āgamas*, it appears that the collection had been completed in Kashmir before the 4th century A.C. They were widely studied there and were carried to Central Asia and China along with Sarvāstivāda Buddhism. The writing of the Central Asian manuscripts also belong to the same period. Fragments of the *Dīrgha, Madhyama* and *Samyukta Āgamas* have been discovered. A number of versions of the *Dharmapada* and the *Udānavarga* also have been found in Central Asia. Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya Piṭaka* is well represented by fragments discovered in the northern parts of Eastern Turkistan. From Kucha has been discovered a complete text of the Sarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣa Sūtra*. This agrees with the Chinese translation by Kumarajiva, himself from Kucha, in 404 A.C. Fragments of the *Bhikṣuṇi Prātimokṣa* of the school also have been found from the region. Manuscripts discovered in Gilgit also belong mainly to the Mūla Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. The *Abhidharma Piṭaka* also was studied here. A fragment of the *Saṅgītiparyāya* has been found from Bamiyan in Afghanistan.

I-tsing who visited India in the latter half of he 7th century A.C. speaks of the four main Buddhist Schools and some of their sub-schools then prevalent in India and outside. According to him in the five divisions of

India and in the islands of the Southern Sea they speak of the four *Nikāyas* but the number of votaries in each school is unequal in different places. In Magadha (Central India) the doctrines of the four *Nikāyas* are generally in practice. Yet the Sarvāstivāda Nikāya flourishes the most. In the northern region (North India) all belong to the Sarvāstivāda Nikāya though we sometimes meet the followers of the Mahāsaṅghika Nikāya. In the South also there are a few belonging to the other Nikāyas though the Sthavira Nikāya dominates. In the eastern frontier countries (East India) the four Nikāyas are found side by side.

He further adds that in the islands of the Southern Sea-consisting of more than ten countries-Mūla Sarvāstivāda Nikāya has been almost universally adopted. There are a few Sarvāstivādins in Champa (Lin-I). In China too Sarvāstivāda is prevalent in Kwang-tung and Kwang-si[53].

Sarvāstivāda in Sri Lanka

Two Sri Lankan scholars have expressed certain conflicting views about this subject. R.A.L.H. Gunawardhana, commenting on a reference in a 9th century A.C. Sanskrit inscription of the Abhayagiri Vihāra in Sri Lanka, has argued that a group of Sarvāstivāda monks, at least temporarily, lived there, and that, hence, the School was known in ancient Sri Lanka[54]. The reference cited by Gnawardhana relates to some sort of experiment carried out in the Abhayagiri monastery by making one hundred monks, twenty five each from the four great *nikāyas* (*cātur-mahā-nikāya*) to live together, taking guidance without any consideration of the *nikāya* (*nikāyabhedātvinā gṛhita niśrayaḥ*). Forty other monks of the four *nikāyas*, adept in the *Śāstras*, probably the commentaries, were also to join them. Guided by I-tsing Gunawardhana takes these four great *nikāyas* to be Sarvastivādins, Sthaviravādins, Mahāsāṅghikas and the Sammitīyas. D.J. Kalupahana in a subsequent article joins issue with Gunawardhana on this identification[55].

In the first place Kalupahana argues that the name given by I -tisng is Mūlasarvastivāda and not Sarvāstivāda. He thought the former to be a sub-sect of Sarvāstivāda. This however is a minor point and there seems to be no clear distinction between the two names. In fact Bu-ston[56] says Mūlasarvāstivādins claimed to be the only sect until the second rehearsal. He further says, Sarvāstivādins spoke Sanskṛit, language of the higher class and therefore, represents the foundation for other sects. For this reason they are called Mula-Sarvāstivādins. But what Kalupahana tries to prove is that Buddhaghosa, in his Pāli commentaries, has introduced elements from non-Theravāda philosophies. He thinks Buddhaghosa was influenced by Sarvāstivāda philosophical ideas as to the theories of atoms (*paramāṇu*) moments (*khaṇa*), distinction of 'cause' (*hetu*) and 'condition' (*paccaya*), 'own nature' (*svabhāva*) etc. But he does not call him a full fledged Sarvāstivādin. He was also influenced by Mādhyamaka and Yogācāra views as well. So, for Kalupahana, commentators Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla presented a syncretic Sthaviravāda. Yet the influence of Sarvāstivāda is clearly seen.

Kalupahana goes on to argue that pre-Budhaghosan Buddhadatta, Anuruddha of early twelfth century, Sāriputta and his pupil Sumangala who lived in the second half of the twelfth century were followers of Sarvāstivāda realism. They, Kalupahana, however, points out, vehemently maintained, and defended the Sarvāstivādin realist ideas introduced by Buddhaghosa. Since Sāriputta and Sumaṅgala lived in the Jetavana monastery of Polonnaru put up by Parakramabāhu I, it is possible that they continued the traditions of the Jetavana vihāra of Anuradhapura. Kalupahana finds added reason for this theory in the name Sāgaliya given to the Jetavana fraternity of Anuradhapura. It is claimed that they were named thus after a monk named Sāgala whose views were adopted by the Jetavana monks. Kalupahana thinks that the name Sāgala brings to mind the area in which Sarvāstivāda dominated in North-Western India and the city by that name, i.e. modern Sialkot. Therefore he thinks that the Jetavana monastery had accepted Sarvāstivāda philosophy and this was continued by the monks of the Jetavana monastery in Polonnaru too. Whether we can accept Kalupahana's views on Jetavana and Sarvāstivāda on mere circumstantial evidence presented by him is a moot point. Kalupahana further states that when Buddhaghosa, in the Dhammasaṅgani Commentary (*DhsA.* p. 421), reveals that some (*keci*) say that the thought existing in the momentary present (*Khaṇapaccuppannaṃ*) becomes the object of telepathic insight (*cetopariya-ñāṇa*), he was actually referring to a view held by the Jetavana monks. For, according to him, Ananda, author of the *Abhidhamma* Sub-commentary, has attributed to the Abhayagiri monks a view which completely rejects the concept

of a static moment (*ṭhiti-kkhaṇa*). Thus, according to him, Abhayagirivāsins had accepted Sautrantika views. Yet Kalupahana's views about the philosophical affiliations of Abhayagiri and Jetavana monks seem to be controverted by certain statements made by Gunawardhana in a subsequent publication. He states that the above statement about 'momentary present' made by Buddhaghosa has been attributed to Abhayagiri monks in some later works[57]. But he admits that the *Abhidhamma* Sub-commentary (*Mūlaṭikā*) and the *Visuddhimagga* Sub-commentary have shown that the Abhiyagiri monks did not accept the concept of a static moment (*sthitik-kṣaṇa*). Abhayagiri monks had argued that this concept of a static moment is not found in canonical texts according to the *Abhidharmārthasanya*. These Pāli works have pointed out the conflict between this view and the above views on the 'momentary present' also attributed to Abhayagiri monks. Gunawardhana, while admitting that the above view on the rejecting of a static moment is similar to Sautrāntika views, does not agree that one school was necessarily influenced by the other[58]. But when we consider the close relations between Indian and Sri Lankan Buddhist scholarship, also shown by Gunawardhana[59], we cannot accept his views that Sri Lankan Schools of Buddhism were not influenced by Buddhist philosophical views of other Indian schools. But the mere acceptance of a philosophical view of a school does not warrant us to identify the borrower with the other school. The three great monastic institutions of Anurādhapura had been recognized as Theravāda sub-schools by foreign Buddhist schools. Therefore, inspite of their coming under the influence of foreign philosophical schools, the three Sri Lankan Schools must have remained Theravādin to the last.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1] I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, tr. By J. Takakusu, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1966, p. 7 f.

[2] Taranatha's *History of Buddhism in India*, tr. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadyaya, Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1990, p. 339 ff

[3]. *ibid*

[4]Bu-ston , *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet, tr.* E. Obermiller, Sri Satguru Publication, Delhi, India, 1999, (Bibliothica Indo- Buddhica) no. 26) p. 98 ff.

[5] Dhammajoti, Bhikkhu Kuala Lampur, *Sarvastivāda Abhidharma*, Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka, 2002, p. 38

[6] *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IX. p. 135 ff. Vol. VII, p. III, p. 18 ff. p. 182 ff.

[7] Dutt, Nalinaksha, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, Luzac and Co-London, (Calcutta Oriental Series no. 14 E 8) p. 27 ff.

[8] Beal, Samuel, *Chinese Accounts of India*, Sisil Gupta (India) Private Limited, Calcutta, Vol. II p. 190

[9] Watters, Thomas, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1904, Vol. I., p. 269

[10] Dhammajoti, Bhikkhu Kuala Lumpur, *Entrance into the Supernal Doctrine*, Postgraduate Institute of Pāli and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka 1998, p. 31.

[11]. Dhammajoti, 2002, p.36.

[12].Dube, S.N., *Cross Currents in Early Buddhism*, Manohar, 1980,p.69

[13]. Dutt, Naliṅaksha, *ibid.* p 30

[14]. Dhammajoti, 2002, p. p. 36.

[15]. *ibid.* p. 64.

[16]. *ibid.* p. 36

[17]. *ibid.*

[18]. Gilgit.

[19]. Epigraphia Iṅdica Vol. IX p.135

[20]. Eliot, Charles, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, India (Bibliotheca Indo- Buddhica No. 34), 1988, Vol. II, p. 77.

[21]. Beal, Samuel, 1958, p. 190ff.

[22]. Watters, Thomas, *ibid.* Vol. I, 270ff.

[23]. Beal, Samuel, *ibid.* 194, p. 113.

[24]. Taranatha, *ibid.*92ff

[25]. Bu-Ston, *ibid*, p.97.

[26]. Taranatha, ibid p. 93 n. 19.

[27]. *ibid* 93f.

[28]. Dutt, Nalinaksha, *ibid.* p. 269.

[29]. *Ibid.* n. 270, p. 1

[30]. *ibid.* n. 2.

[31]. Dhammajoti, 2002, p. 64.

[32]. *ibid.* 35.

[33]. Dhammajoti, 1998, p. 24f.

[34]. *ibid.* 2002, p. 61.

[35]. *ibid.* 1998,p.32ff.

[36]. *ibid.* p. 35

[37]. Dutt, Nalinaksha, *ibid.*p.277f.

[38]. Abeynayake, Oliver, *A Textual and Historical Analysis of the Khuddhaka Nikāya*, 1984, p. 54f.

[39]. *ibid.* 99.
[40]. *ibid*, 274ff.
[41]. *ibid.* p. 282-283.
[42]. Dhammajoti, 2002 , 56ff.
[43]. *ibid.* p. 13.
[44]. *ibid.* p.56.
[45]. *ibid.* p. 56ff.
[46]. Bagchi, Prabodha Chandra, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 46.
[47]. *ibid.* 67ff, 87f.,88f.
[48]. *ibid.* 42ff.
[49]. *ibid.* 466.
[50]. Tr. Thomas, F.W., Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan (Oriental Translations Series Vol. XXXII) London, 1935, I. p. 11ff.
[51]. Bagchi, 1955, p. 93f.
[52]. *ibid.* 95ff.
[53]. I- tsing, 1966, p. 8ff.
[54]. Gunawardhana, R.A.L.H., *Buddhist Nikāyas in Mediaeval Ceylon*, in Journal of Historical and Social Studies, Vol. IX pp. 55-66.
[55]. Kalupahana, D.J., *Schools of Buddhism in Ceylon*, in the Journal of the Humanities, Vol. one, July 1970, Number 2 pp. 159-190.
[56]. *ibid.* 99f. Also cp. Taranatha, *ibid*. p. 340.
[57]. Gunawardhana, Ranaweera, *Siura hā Nangula* (Sinhala tr. of *Robe and Plough*, Arizona University Press, 1979) Samāja Vidyāgñayange Sangamaya, 1993, p. 27f.
[58]. *ibid.* p. 29.
[59]. *ibid.* p. 247ff.

SABBRAHMACĀRI. Formed from the noun *brahmacārī* prefixed with *sa*, *sabrahmacārī* is rendered into English by Miss J.B. Horner as 'fellow in the Brahma-faring'. It could, however, be rendered also as 'fellow in the noble or higher religious life' or in a very broad sense as 'co-religionist'. However, the interpretation or the English rendering should finally depend on the sense in which one takes the word *brahmacariya* (*Skt. brahmacarya*). Monier Williams, for instance, who takes the word *brahmacarya* to mean the study of the *Veda*, the state of an unmarried religious student, a state of continence and, chastity, renders *sabrahmacārin* 'a fellow student' or one who studies the same *śākha* of the *Veda*. In the Buddhist context any member of the Saṅgha who is a follower of the noble religious life, *brahmacariya*, is a *sabrahmacāri* of the other members, both male and female, of the Order.

When the Buddha sent out his first group of missionary monks, what he exhorted them to do was to proclaim to the world the "*brahmacariya*, complete in every aspect and pure" (*kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha*, *Vin.* I.21). Any candidate for discipleship was admitted to the order by the Buddha with the words "well proclaimed is the Dhamma", lead the noble religious life for the complete ending of *dukkha* (e.g. *ibid.* p. 12). Like in Brahaminism, celibacy and renunciation of all carnal pleasures form an important factor in the *brahmacariya* life in Buddhism. Yet its final aim is the ending of all attachments (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). The noble Eightfold Pāth leading to this goal is also termed *brahmacariya* (*S.V.* pp.8, 16, 26). Thus the noble religious life in Buddhism is to train oneself in the Noble Eightfold Path with the ultimate aim of attaining Nibbānic Emancipation through the eradication of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*. The declaration of a person attaining this goal has the words, "the *brahmacariya* life has been led" (*vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ*), showing that by realizing this goal he or she has achieved the final aim of the noble religious life. In fact one has nothing else to be achieved through that religious life. But, unlike in Brahmanism, a person who has achieved this goal continues to lead the *brahmacāri* life which has, so to say, naturalized in him. Thus *brahmacariya* being the very life and practice of a member of the Buddhist Saṅgha. Naturally, any member of the Saṅgha is a 'fellow in the noble religious life' (here in after 'fellow in the noble life) to other members of the Order. This usage is seen, for instance in the following *Vinaya* passage (*Vin.* I. 173). A monk, it is said, who accuses another of a transgression without a valid reason does not, by that action, please the minds of intelligent fellows in the noble life (*na viññūnaṃ sabrahmacārīnaṃ cittaṃ ārādheti*). On the other hand, if the accusation is on valid grounds, he does please the minds of the intelligent fellows in the noble life.

The word *brahmacariya* has been used in Buddhist canonical texts to designate not only the Buddhist religious life but also the religious life of other religionists as well. For instance when the recluse Siddhatta, who was in quest for the ideal religious life

which could lead him to Emancipation, went first to Alāra Kālāma and then to Uddaka Rāmaputta, he sought their permission to lead the *brahmacariya* under them (*M.* 1. 163). The religious life led by the ascetics Uruvela Kassapa and his disciples is also called *brahmacariya*. When the ascetic Uruvela Kassapa and his followers had become disciples of the Buddha the common people wondered whether the Recluse Gotama has taken up *brahmacariya* under Kassapa or vice versa (*Vin.* 1. 36). Sāriputta and Moggallāna also practiced *brahmacariya* under Sanjaya before their conversion by the Buddha (*ibid.*39). There is also an instance where Ven. Ananda states that the Buddha refuses to recognize certain religious practises as *brahmacariya*. Going on their religious concepts, there is no difference between the practitioners of these religions and the laity who lead a married life indulging in the pleasures of the senses. Their ascetic lives are in fact senseless as such a life would not make any difference to their spiritual progress or life after death. Therefore it is said, the Buddha has declared their religious lives to be *abrahmacariyavāsa*. In the same discourse Ven. Ananda also mentions four religious practises described as 'comfortless religious lives' (*anassāsikā brahmacariyavāsa M.* I. 513ff). What is important is that those who led these religious lives also must have described their lives as *brahmacariyavāsa*.

Like Buddhist monks and nuns these religionists also must have called one another *sabrahmacāri* or 'fellows in the noble life'. Thus the Buddha describes his relationship with Uddaka Rāmaputta as that of two fellows in the noble life in the dispensation of a common teacher. He says that Uddaka Rāmaputta, being his fellow in the noble religious life (*sabrahmacārī samāno*), was ready to regard him as his teacher (*M.* 1. 166). The Buddha, once on a visit to Kapilavatthu, had to spend the night in the hermitage of a recluse named Bharaṇḍuka Kālāma who was his former fellow in the noble life (*A.* 1. 277). The Commentator explains that in the time of Ālāra Kālāma he was also living in that hermitage (*AA.* II. 375). Thus both Bharanduka and the Bodhisatta were *sabrahmacāris* as pupils of the same teacher, Ālāra Kālāma.

Is the Term *Sabrahmacāri* Applicable to Home-dwellers?

From the discussions in the *Sandhaka Sutta*, as shown above, Buddhists were not agreeable to designate, certain types of religious lives *brahmacariya* if the destiny upheld by them was not different from that of home-dwellers. We also saw above that *brahmacāri* life should have a necessary component of celibacy and renunciation of carnal pleasures. But the Buddha has identified the Noble Eightfold Path with *brahmacāriya*. In the *Cattārīsaka Sutta* (*M.* III. 71ff) two aspects of the Noble Eightfold Path is brought to focus. " And what monks is right view? Now, I, monks, say that right view is twofold. There is, monks, the right view that has cankers (*sāsavā*), that is on the side of merit (*puññabhāgiyā*), that ripen unto cleaving to new rebirth (*upadhivepakkā*). There is monks, the right view that is ariyan (*ariyā*), cankerless (*anāsavā*), supermundane (*lokuttarā*), a component of the way (*maggaṅgā*)"[1]. The former can be called mundane or saṃsāric and the latter supermundane or Nibbānic. If so, it is possible that the home dwellers, still enjoying carnal pleasures, also can practise the Noble Eightfold Path in a much diluted form, and therefore be included among practioners of a form of *brahmacariya*.

There is, in fact, a very interesting use of the term *sabrahmacārī* where a person who can be described as a home-dweller, and very much an enjoyer of carnal pleasures, refers to Arahant Mahāmoggallāna as his *sabrahmacārī* (*M.* I. 255). Going by traditional views, the commentator must have found it hard to explain this situation. The person, who uses this term to introduce his relations with the great Arahant, is no less a person than Sakka, the King of gods, himself. The commentator states, although the Elder is a non-home dweller (*anagāriyō*), endowed with great resolution (*abhinīhārasampanno*), a chief disciple, but Sakka is a home dweller, they are called fellows in the noble life (*sabrahmacārino*) on the basis of the 'great *brahmacariya*' (*mahābrahmacariya-vasena MA.* II. 304). What Buddhaghosa means by this term *mahā-brahmacariya* here is anybody's guess, for he has not explained what he means by the term any where.

However another gloss he has given to the term *brahmacariya* in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*DA.* 1. 177) may give a clue to find out what he means by *mahā brahmacariya*. Collected from different canonical contexts, Buddhaghosa has given here as many as ten

senses in which the term has been used. According to Prof. Jotiya Dhirasekera[2], all these senses collected by the commentator may not be Buddhist. But the word in all the cases given indicates a form of virtuous living. Following ten senses of the term are given by him; charity (*dāna*), service (*veyyāvacca*), observance of the five precepts (*pañca sikkhāpadasīla*), practice of *brahmavihāras* (*appamaññā*), celibacy (*methūnavirati*) chastity (*sadārasantosa*), striving (*viriya*), observance of the *uposatha* (*uposathaṅga*), the noble path (*ariyamagga*), and the Buddhist way of life (*sāsana*). Some of these, especially the observance of the five precepts, charity, service and the Buddhist way of life, may be applicable to Sakka's description of himself as a fellow in the noble religious life (*sabrahmacārī*) of the Arahant Mahā Moggallāna. Buddhaghosa's term *mahābrahmacariya* also may be applicable to any one of these senses or he may have used it in an overall sense covered by all these senses given by him.

Use of the Term *Sabrahmacārī* in the Texts

Most of the instances where the term *sabrahmacārī* is used in the Pāli texts refer to the disciplined life of the Buddhist monks, the great respect they had for the Teacher, cordiality and harmony among members of the Saṅgha and, the Buddha's instructions to his disciples on the maintenance and development of qualities leading to such harmony and welbeing among them. A number of observations, of a person outside the Saṅgha, on the behaviour of the disciples of the Buddha are recorded in the *Dhammacetiya Sutta* (*M.* II. 120). One such observation of the king Pasenadi Kosala was the great respect they had for their Teacher. When the Buddha delivered a sermon in a gathering of his disciples, no one was expected to disturb him even unconsciously. Even if a monk sneezes while the Buddha was speaking, the fellow in the noble life, seated next to him, would politely nudge him with the knee to remind that the Lord is speaking and that he should not be disturbed. But such a disturbance would also affect the concentration of the audience listening with full attention to the sermon so that they would not lose a single word falling from the lips of the Buddha. Thus, by not disturbing the Buddha, one should assist one's fellows in the noble life to receive the Buddha's message with the fullest attention.

In several of his discourses the Buddha speaks of six things that should be stored in the mind (*sārāniyā dhammā*) which, when practised, lead to affection and respect and are conducive to concord, absence of contention, to harmony and unity among his disciples. Friendly bodily acts, friendly words and friendly thoughts whether openly or privately, directed to one's fellows in the noble life are the first three. The fourth is to share and enjoy in common, with one's fellows in the noble life, whatever is lawfully gained, even if it be just what falls into one's bowl. The fifth is to dwell united in moral habits, faultless, spotless, without blemish, conducive to concentration etc. with one's fellows in the noble life. Finally one should live united with one's fellows in the noble life, in noble views, leading onwards, and leading to complete destruction of *dukkha* (*M.* II. 250f).

The Buddha has also often discussed the noble qualities, which, when cultivated, would be conducive to the respect of one's fellows in the noble life, popularity among them, and leading to their harmony and welbeing. Naturally they indicate the Buddha's wish for unity and harmony in the Saṅgha. "The unity of the Saṅgha is a cause for happiness" says the Buddha in one place (*Dhp.* v. 16). But there is no gimmick that could bring this about. The only method to achieve this is the cultivation of noble qualities by the members of the Order of disciples. A member of the Saṅgha is, in the first place, expected to learn the Dhamma, examine its meaning and, understanding it both in the letter and meaning, live in accordance with it. However an ideal Buddhist monk would not be contented only with one's own welfare. He is also expected to impart the knowledge of the Dhamma one has gained to others, clearly and distinctly. He should "teach, urge, incite and gladden one's fellows in the noble life with what one has understood and realized" (*A.* II. 97). Respect and deference shown to one's fellows in the noble life and harmonious living with them are essential factors in the successful fulfillment of one's disciplinary codes and the development of right views and right mental concentration (*ibid.* III. 14f). But the lack of these qualities would not be conducive to progress in discipline, right views and right concentration. One who is lacking in positive qualities and full of negative qualities cannot be dear or pleasant to the fellows in the noble life nor would he be respected by them or beheld in high esteem (*ibid.* 110ff).

Among the negative qualities stressed by the Buddha is included the tendency of a monk to be angry and displeased with one's fellows in the noble life. The minds of such persons do not incline to ardour, to continued application, to perseverance and to striving (*M.* I. 101). In another discourse the Buddha shows how a monk should keep to the true norm of a recluse (*samaṇadhammo*). A recluse should not return the insult of an insulter, the anger of the angry, the abuse of an abuser, says the Buddha. For a Buddhist monk who insults his fellows in the noble life digs a deeper pit than one who reviles an outsider (*A.* III. 372)). The Buddha has also enumerated ten calamities, any one of which could befall a monk who abuses, reviles and rails at noble disciples who are one's fellows in the noble life (*ibid.* V. 169).

One of the most beautiful incidents referring to the harmonious life among the cream of the Buddha's community of disciples is found in several places in the texts, connected to different incidents. The Buddha who was faced with the distruptive behaviour of some of his disciples at Kosambi, leading to strife and disharmony in the Saṅgha, left the place and was on his way to the Parileyya forest to lead a quiet and retired life. On the way, he broke journey at the Gosing a Sāla wood to visit three of his disciples, viz. Anuruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila, living there. After the preliminary greetings and so forth, the Buddha inquired from each one of them regarding their mode of life in the forest dwelling and their spiritual progress. "I hope that you, Anuruddha, are living all together on friendly terms and harmonious, as milk and water blend, regarding one another with the eye of affection"? They all replied in the affirmative and when asked how they achieved it, Anuruddha replied, "as to this, Lord, it occurred to me; Indeed it is a gain for me, indeed it is well gotten by me, that I am living with fellow Brahma-farers.... Because of this, Lord, it occurred to me, now suppose that I, having surrendered my own mind should live only according to the mind of these venerable ones? So I, Lord, having surrendered my own mind, am living only according to the mind of these venerable ones. Lord, we have diverse bodies but assuredly only one mind".[3] This aptly illustrates the early Buddhist thinking on how the disciples of the Buddha should conduct themselves towards their fellows in the noble life (*sabrahmacārī*). Living in such harmony, these monks reveal to the Buddha, that they are diligent, ardent and self-resolute with regard to the practice and, that they have realized and abide in the nine *jhānic* stages. The Buddha praised them profusely and their fame is said to have risen up to the very world of Brahmā (*M.* I. 205 ff.).

Duty of *Sabrahmacāris* to One Another:

Every Buddhist monk or nun has his or her duty by their fellows in the noble life. Speaking about tending the sick the Buddha says that the monks do not have their mother or father to tend them when sick. "If you monks, do not tend one another *(aññ amaññaṃ),* then who is there to tend you"? queries the Buddha. The word *sabrahmacārī* is not used here. But the words 'one another' carry the meaning (*Vin.* I. 302). As pointed out above, a monk who works for one's emancipation diligently, also has the duty to help one's fellows in the noble life. A monk who is endowed with five qualities is said to be suitable to engage in conversation with the fellows in the noble life. Such a monk also is fit to be taken as a rule of life by his fellow brethren. These five qualities are discipline, concentration, wisdom, freedom and knowledge and vision of freedom and Knowledge and also the ability to answer any question raised on any of the five topics (*A.* III. 81).

It is also the duty of a monk to admonish one's fellows in the noble life who are treading the crooked path and try to put them back on the right track. They should try to wean them away from any wrong behavior with regard to thought, word or deed. There is also the possibility of a monk contemplating, for some reason or other, to leave the Order and returning to home life. It is considered the duty of his fellows in the noble life to dissuade him from such a course of action by admonition and persuasion. They may, however, not be always successful (e.g. *ibid.* III 97 ff.) . Yet for all, any member of the Order who is not amenable to disciplinary action, whether it be soft or hard or both, should be left alone. He should not be spoken to or instructed either by the Tathāgata himself or by any intelligent fellow in the noble life. This, says the Buddha, is equivalent to 'execution' in the discipline of the Noble One (*ibid.* II. 113).

Patriarchal Patronage for the *Sabrahmacāris*:

There were many senior and highly esteemed monks in the Saṅgha who were well known for their patronage extended to their fellows in the noble life. Ven. Sāriputta, the first Chief Disciple of the Buddha

was the foremost amongst them. On one occasion when a group of monks, who were to leave for the western regions, saw the Buddha, he instructed them to consult Sāriputta who is 'a patron of his fellows in the noble life (*Sariputto anugghāhako sabrahmacārinam S.* III, 5). In another context Ven. Ananda, who brought the news of Sāriputta's demise to the Buddha, states that he is grief stricken by the passing away of Sāriputta because, "he was to me an adviser, one who was well grounded, an instructor, one who could arouse, incite, and gladden. He was unwearied in teaching the norm. He was the patron of those who lived the righteous life along with him (*sabrahmacārinaṃ KS.* V. 142). [4] Another senior member especially mentioned as receiving the plaudits of the fellow members of the Order for his services was Punna Mantāniputta. Once the Buddha queried from a group of monks who had returned from what is called the 'native country' (of the Buddha?; *Jātabhūmi*) after the rains retreat, whether there was any one monk among them, esteemed by their fellows, in the noble life, as possessing high spiritual qualities and talks to them on such qualities. They were unanimous that Ven. Puṇṇa Mantāniputta is esteemed by them as possessing such qualities (*M.* I. 145 ff.). Later in the same discourse we find Ven. Sāriputta and Ven. Puṇṇa Mantāniputta complimenting each other saying, "it is profitable for the fellow Brahma-farers, it is well gotten for the fellow Brahma-farers that they have a chance to see, that they have a chance to visit" such an elder. "It would be profitable for them to see and visit them even carrying him on their heads in a roll of cloth",[5] say the two elders to each other. (*MLS.* I. 187 f.). Such was the great esteem in which the patriarchs of the Saṅgha who contributed to the welfare of their fellow brethren in the noble life were held.

C. Witanachchi

References

1. *Middle Length Sayings*, III, 114f.
2. *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*, M. D. Gunasena and Co. (printers) Ltd. Colombo, 1982, p. 26.
3. *Middle Length Sayings*, III, 114f.
4. *Kindred Sayings* V. p. 142
5. *Middle Length Sayings* I, 193 f.

SACCA (true/truth). The fundamental 'knowledge and vision' (*ñāṇa-dassana*) about existence that the Buddha gained by becoming the Fully Enlightened One (*sammā-sambuddha*) has been described as 'the Four Noble Truths' (*cattāri ariya saccāni*). The Buddha is described as '*sammā sambuddha*, for his realization of these four truths. The *Dhamma-cakkap-pavattana-sutta* (*S.* V, p. 433), traditionally believed to be the first sermon of the Buddha, articulates these four truths. They are: the noble truth of suffering (*dukkha ariya-sacca*), the noble truth of arising of suffering (*dukkhasamudaya ariya-sacca*), the noble truth of cessation of suffering (*dukkhanirodha ariya-sacca*) and the noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of suffering (*dukkhanirodha-gāmini-paṭipadā ariya-sacca*). The knowledge of each truth involves three stages, namely, knowing that it is true (*sacca-ñāṇa*), that something needs to be done about it (*kicca-ñāṇa*) and that what is needed to be done has been done (*kata-ñāṇa*). For example, in case of the first truth the Buddha knew that it is true, that it has to be comprehended (*pariññeyya*) and that it was comprehended (*pariññāta*). In the like manner, similar three stages are applicable to what involves the second noble truth, craving, which is to be abandoned, the third noble truth, *nirvāna*, which is to be realized and the forth noble truth, the eight fold path, which is to be cultivated.

The Buddha describes the four truths as noble (*ariya*). What is meant by this epithet is obviously not its racial meaning. According to the *Visuddhimagga* the four truths are called '*ariya*' for the following reasons: (i) for they have been realized by the noble ones such as the Buddhas (*buddhādayo ariyā paṭivijjhantīti...* (ii) truths that belong to the Noble (*ariyassa saccāni ti ariysaccāni*); (iii) the truths the realization of which makes one *ārya* or noble (*etesaṃ abhisambuddhattā ariyabhāvasiddhato*); (iv) truths that are noble (*ariyāni saccāni ti*) (*Vism* p. 495).

The four truths have been described in the discourses as real (*tatha*), unerring (*avitatha*) and not otherwise (*anaññatha*) (*S.* V, pp.431-2), terms usually employed to describe the idea of dependent co-origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*). What is implied by these terms is that the truths are real, not unreal or untrue and not otherwise or different from what is real.

Although the idea of *ariya-sacca* dominates the early Buddhist discussion of truth the concept of truth by no means is-confined to that alone. For instance, in the *Visuddhimagga* Buddhaghosa identifies five usages of the concept of truth. They are (i) verbal truth (*vācā-sacca*), (ii) ethical truth (*virati-sacca*), (iii) conceptual truth (*diṭṭhi-sacca*), (iv) ultimate truth (*paramattha-sacca*) and (v) noble truth (*ariya-sacca*). It is obvious that the terminology of this classification belongs to Pāli scholasticism. Nevertheless, the examples Buddhaghosa quotes are from the canon, and used, clearly, in different contexts to convey different shades of meanings of the term. These terms have been rendered into English by Ñāṇamoli as...respectively. Here '*virati*' and '*diṭṭhi*' have been rendered into English as ethical and conceptual taking into consideration the broad connotations of these terms. The classification as a whole testifies to the fact that the Buddhist tradition was operating within a broad concept of truth.

In discussing the Buddhist concept of truth we have to make a basic distinction between (verbal) utterance of truth and (psychological) realization of truth. What is meant by Buddhaghosa as 'verbal truth' is the aspect of truth associated with language. In the modern use it is the propositional (aspect of) truth. In Buddhism this aspect has been highlighted mainly for ethical purposes. Telling truth and refraining from uttering falsehood are important aspects of morality (*sīla*) to be developed as the first step in the threefold discipline (*tisso sikkhā*). The ordinary lay Buddhist followers are advised to observe the five precepts (*pañca-sīla*), the fourth aspect of which is the precept of refraining from uttering falsehood (*musāvādā veramaṇī*). In the context of monastic discipline the relevant morality has been described in the following words; abandoning false speech, he abstains from false speech, he speaks truth, adheres to truth, is trustworthy and reliable, he who is no deceiver of the world; (*musāvādaṃ pahāya musāvādā paṭivirato hoti saccavādī saccasandho theto paccayiko avisaṃvādako lokassa*) (*M.* I p. 179). As a part of disciplining one's verbal behaviour, truth and falsehood basically refer to true and false utterances.

Realization of truth involves a more important aspect of the Buddhist theory of truth. In calling suffering a truth what is meant is that it is really there as an essential aspect of human life. What one needs to do about it is to comprehend it. In fact the intellectual and practical aspects of this process of realization have been described as comprehension, abandonment, realization and practice (*pariññā, pahāna, sacchikaraṇa* and *bhāvanā*): the first truth has to be comprehended; the Second has to be abandoned, the third has to be realized and the fourth has to be cultivated. The four noble truths discussed here involve a very important practical aspect about them. What is referred to by the first and second noble truths are there in ordinary (human) beings actually. One has to comprehend suffering that is already there in human beings and likewise one needs to abandon desire that is already there. *Nirvāna* involving the third noble truth has to be realized in the sense of making it real in oneself. The ethical path involving the fourth noble truth has to be cultivated. In this manner the first and second truths are real for they are there in all unenlightened beings. The next two are real in the sense that they can be made real by all those who have required qualities. The actions involved in the four noble truths clearly go beyond intellectual understanding of a proposition. What comes close to intellectual understanding, if at all, is the comprehension associated with the first truth. The rest involve different kinds of practice which make abandoning, realization and cultivation possible. All these activities and associated behaviour are intimately connected with the Buddhist concept of truth and this practical / experiential aspect of truth may be called 'realization of truth'.

The Buddha has outlined three stages of realization of truth (*Caṅkisutta M*): preservation of truth (*saccānurakkhanā*), discovery of truth (*saccānubodha*), and the attainment of truth (*saccānupatti*). The first stage is characterized by making known what one believes to be true but not drawing a definite conclusion on it. One may accept a certain state of affairs to be the case on one of the following five grounds, namely, faith, (*saddhā*), approval (*ruci*), oral tradition (*anussava*), reasoned cogitation (*ākāra parivitakka*) and reflective acceptance of a view (*diṭṭhi-nijjhāna-khanti*). The Buddha does not reject them in toto. The criticism is that they could result in being either 'empty, hollow and false' or 'factual, true and unmistaken'. Hence a person serious about preserving truth must not come

to a definite conclusion that "Only this is true; anything else is wrong" (*natveva tāva niṭṭhaṃ gacchati idameva saccaṃ moghaṃ aññaṃti*). What one can properly do at this stage is simply to say that such and such is one's faith etc. and nothing more. In doing so one preserves truth.

The discovery of truth (*saccānubodha*) is a result of a series of ethico-intellectual activities. It begins when a prospective follower visits a religious teacher and starts investigating him whether or not his physical, verbal and mental behaviour is characterized by greed, hatred and delusion. Once he discovers for himself that his behaviour is purified of such states as greed etc. he opts to live a religious life under that teacher. The process is described in the following manner:

When he has investigated him and has seen that he is purified...he places faith in him; filled with faith he visits him and pays respect to him; having paid respect to him, he gives ear; when he gives ear, he hears the Dhamma; having heard the Dhamma he memorizes it and examines the meaning of the teachings he has memorized; when he examines their meaning, he gains reflective acceptance of those teachings; when he has gained a reflective acceptance of those teachings, zeal springs up; when zeal has sprung up, he applies his will; having applied his will, he scrutinizes; having scrutinized he strives; resolutely striving, he realizes with the body the ultimate truth and sees it by penetrating it with wisdom *(kāyena c'eva paramasaccaṃ sacchikaroti paññāya ca taṃ ativijjha passati)*. In this way.....there is the discovery of truth.

The third stage of arrival at truth (*saccānupatti*) is described as resulting from "the repetition, development, and cultivation of those same things" (*tesaṃ yeva kho dhammānaṃ āsevanā bhāvanā bahulikammā saccānupatti hoti*). The three stages outlined in this discussion show that truth involves a complex cognitive, intellectual and experiential process. At the first stage one makes a statement without making any effort at justification, marking a preliminary stage of linguistic expression. The second stage represents a cognitive and intellectual activity whereas the third represents a stage characterized by realization, or experiencing the truth as real. This stage is far above the cognitive state of knowing something to be the case through one's intellect. The final stage results from, as we saw above, from repetition of the process of practice, development and cultivation.

This account of truth in early discourses gives us some idea about the concept of truth accepted in early Buddhism. When truth is spoken of as real, not unreal and not otherwise what it indicates is that truth has been understood primarily as reality or what exists in reality. Several discourses in the *saccasaṃyutta* lay stress on the idea that these truths are eternal in the sense that they are real not only for the present but they have been real in the past and they will be so in the future (*S.* V 416, - 7). This stands sharply contrasted with the modern philosophical understanding of truth as an aspect of propositions or statements/assertions. Assertions are understood as either true or false. In this sense truth or falsehood is not a property of reality. The propositional sense of truth and falsehood is not absent in Buddhism. To refrain from utterance of falsehood is an essential element of virtue to be cultivated by all. One is compelled to refer to reality or any other criterion only when one has to answer the question why a particular proposition is true or otherwise. In discussing the Buddhist theory of truth K. N. Jayatilleke (*Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge:* pp.352-3) has argued that early Buddhism accepts correspondence as the criterion of truth. In fact, the characterization of truth as reality supports this position. He also notices instances where coherence has been taken into consideration as a criterion of truth (*Ibid.* p.353). In his discussion Jayatilleke takes coherence and consistency synonymously and shows how the Buddha was careful to observe the Principle of Non-contradiction. While we do not deny this as a relevant example, we would like to take coherency in a little broader sense as referring to the internal consistency within the totality of the statements available in the teaching. A case in point is the four great indicators (*mahā apadesa*) mentioned in the *Mahā Parinibbāna-sutta* of the *Dighanikāya* (*D.* II 123-6). When a doubt arises on a statement attributed to the Buddha, the Buddha admonishes the monks that they must not go by the authority of any one monk or a group of monks however powerful they may be. Instead the statement at question must be "compared with the *suttas* and reviewed in the light of the discipline" (*sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni*). What is meant by this in the present context is not simple consistency between two statements but coherency of the statement at question with the entirety of the statements in the Dhamma and the Vinaya. Here is a good example in which coherency has been used as the criterion to determine what is Dhamma and Vinaya. This amply demonstrates that while correspondence

to reality has been used as the criterion of truth in many instances including the four noble truths, coherency too has been used as a major criterion in certain other contexts. One could argue that a problem of truth does not arise with regard to the great indicators for they are meant to determine what is or what is not Dhamma and Vinaya. Since Vinaya, being the practical aspect of monasticism, derives its validity from the Dhamma, and the Dhamma is true in the sense that the four noble truths are true. Therefore what the great indicators are ultimately meant to do is to determine whether or not a particular statement is true (to the Dhamma).

Scholars have noted how the early discourses take utility as an important aspect of an, assertion. It is widely accepted in early discourses that for a statement to be meaningful (*attha-saṃhita*) it has to be relevant or useful for the ultimate goal advocated in Buddhism. The Buddha has made it quite clear that he would not teach anything that is not relevant to the goal. In responding to Maluṅkya-putta who demanded that the Buddha answer his ten questions on 'unexplained matters (*abyākata vatthu*), the latter asks the former to hold what is said by the Tathāgata as what has been said and what has not been said by the Tathāgata as what has not been said. Subsequently he explains what he has said and not said and why:

What have I left undeclared? 'The world is eternal' -I have left undeclared.... 'After death a Tathāgata neither exists nor does not exist' -I have left undeclared. Why have I left that undeclared? Because it is unbeneficial, it does not belong to the fundamentals of holy life, it does not lead to disenchantment, to dispassion, to cessation, to peace, to direct knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nibbāna. That is why I have left it undeclared. And what have I declared? 'This is suffering' -I have declared. ...'This is the way leading to the cessation of suffering' -I have declared. Why have I declared that? Because it is beneficial, it belongs to the fundamentals of the holy life, it leads to disenchantment, to dispassion, to cessation, to peace, to direct knowledge, to enlightenment, to Ñibbāna. That is why I have declared it (Translation from: *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha,* Bhikkhu Ñaṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi., Kandy, Sri Lanka, 1995. p.536)

As this explanation reveals, there is a strong pragmatic element in the teaching of the Buddha. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that the Buddha took usefulness/relevance as a criterion of truth. Discussing the well-known simile of the raft (*M.* I. 135) Jayatilleke says:

We cannot interpret this to mean that the dhamma is true only by virtue of its utility and that it ceases to be true when it ceases to be useful. What is meant is that unlike the answers to the *avyākata*-questions (which were 'not useful' for...salvation, the dhamma was useful for salvation and its value (though not its truth-value) lay in its utility. It ceases to have value, though it does not cease to be true, when one has achieved one's purpose with its help by attaining salvation (*Ibid.* pp.357-8).

Truth and logicality: In the *Sandakasutta* (*M.* 76) the Buddha describes the practice of reasoner and inquirer (*takki vimaṃsi*) in the following manner:...when a teacher is a reasoner, an inquirer, some is well reasoned and some is wrongly reasoned, some is true and some is otherwise. *(takkissa kho pana satthuno vīmaṃsissa sutakkitampi hoti duttakkitampi hoti, tathāpi hoti aññathāpi hoti* (*M.*76). From this we get four positions, namely, well-reasoned truth, well-reasoned falsehood, ill-reasoned truth, and ill-reasoned falsehood. The analysis shows that there is no necessary connection between truth and logicality from the Buddhist point of view. In the well-known *Kālāma-sutta* the Buddha advised Kālāmas that they should not accept any statement as morally good or bad simply on the ground of logicality of that statement. As the *Kālāma-sutta* explains further what is morally good or bad has to be judged according to one's personal experience which means that what one knows to be morally good or bad has to be so in his and others' experience. It is the community of intelligent people- *viññu purisa-* in society that is taken as capable of determining what is good and bad, Which, in their most complete sense, have to be determined and judged with reference to the soteriological scheme articulated in the four noble truths. Thus logicality of an assertion is not totally rejected; nor has it been made a necessary or a sufficient condition of truth-value.

Sammuti and paramattha sacca : It is interesting to see how an idea of two truths developed within the

Buddhist tradition. At the first glance it even looks like going against the idea advocated in discourses that truth is one and there is no second (*ekaṃ hi saccaṃ na dutiyam' atthi Sn.*884). The commentarial interpretation of this statement is that it refers to truth in the ultimate sense- *paramattha-sacca*. This, however, assumes that there is truth that is not *paramattha* and thus begs the question. The statement may be interpreted as affirming that, truth is one in any given situation. But the commentarial interpretation indicates to a development that had got established in Buddhist scholasticism, namely, the classification of truth into two as, conventional (*sammuti*) and ultimate (*paramattha*) truth.

The division is not seen in the early discourses. Nevertheless, the early discourses refer to a somewhat similar distinction, namely, discourses with direct meaning (*nītattha sutta*) and indirect meaning (*neyattha sutta*) (*A.* I 60). The Sutta itself does not elaborate on what these two categories are. According to Buddhaghosa direct discourses are those in which the Buddha denies that there is a being, an individual or an *ātma*. It is the way of explaining *anatta* or the non-substantiality of reality. The indirect discourse is the ordinary worldly usage in which the Buddha speaks as if there are substantial entities in reality. The Sutta says that those who confuse these two categories misrepresent the Buddha. A classic example in the history of Buddhism for misunderstanding this division is the 'personalism' (*puggala-vāda*) held by the school called Sammitiyas. (See the *Kathāvatthu* for the Theravāda critique of this view). The commentarial invention of *sammuti* and *paramattha* mean exactly the same as *neyattha* and *nītattha* respectively. As Jayatilleke too has noticed and highlighted the commentator goes one step further in calling these two categories truth:

Duve saccāni akkhāsi sambuddho vadataṃ varo
Sammutiṃ paramatthaṃ ca tatiyaṃ nūpalabbhati
Saṅketavacanaṃ saccaṃ lokasammuti kāranaṃ
Paramatthavacanaṃ saccaṃ dhammānaṃ
tathalakkhanaṃ (*KvuA.* p.34)

The Perfectly Enlightened One, the best of teachers, spoke two truths, viz. conventional and absolute -one does not come across a third; a conventional statement is true because of convention and an absolute statement is true as (disclosing) the true characteristics of things.

In calling these categories truths the commentarial tradition seems to assume an idea of standpoints. What is suggested is that both truths are valid depending on the standpoint from which one makes the statement.

The emphasis on two truths has been necessitated, in particular, by the later developments in the Buddhist tradition. While the Buddha used two kinds of discourses, as we noted above, to clarify his *anatta* doctrine, the later tradition needed more sharply defined analysis in order to support the non-substantialist position of the teaching. Nāgārjuna, the founder of Mādhyamaka tradition provides a good example. Nāgārjuna uses the idea of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) in order to drive home the non-substantiality of all phenomena. But he comes under severe attack of his opponent who construes his position as an extreme form of nihilism which, if true, ultimately denies the entire ethical structure, including the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, advocated by the Buddha. To counter this criticism Nāgārjuna resorts to the distinction between what he calls '*samvṛti*' and '*paramartha*' truths. Nāgārjuna says:

Dve satye samupāśritya buddhānām
dharmadeṣanā
Lokasamvṛti satyaṃ ca satyaṃ ca paramārthataḥ
Yo'nayor na vijānati vibhāgam satyayor dvayoḥ
Te tatvam na vijānanti gambhiram buddhasāsane
Vyavahāraṃ anāsritya paramārtho na desyate
Paramārthaṃ anāgamya nirvānaṃ nādhigamyate
(24:8-10)

The teaching of the doctrine by the Buddha is based on two truths: truth relating to worldly convention and truth in terms of ultimate truth. Those who do not understand the distinction between these two truths do not understand the profound truth embodied in the Buddha's message. Without relying upon convention, the ultimate truth is not taught. Without understanding the ultimate truth, freedom is not attained. (Translation from: *Nāgārjuna: The Philosophy of the Middle way*, D.J. Kalupahana, State University of New York Press, 1986).

From this statement, which is one of its kind in the entire *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, Nagarjuna says that his concept of emptiness is the language employed to articulate the *Paramārtha-satya* and that one must not confuse it with the *samvṛti-satya*. In this view,

both truths are complementary and one needs both for the proper exposition and understanding of the Dhamma. The overall implication is that in order to understand any given statement in the Dhamma one must know the point of view in which the particular statement is made.

This kind of acceptance of standpoints seems to go against the sharp dichotomy made between truth and falsehood, a characteristic mark in the western thinking. The very fact that Buddhism accepts a scheme of four-fold proposition (*catuṣkoṭi*) further support this position. The third position in the *catuṣkoṭi* scheme, namely, for example, is and is not (*hoti ca na hoti ca*), bearing the form of *p* and *~p*, has to be understood only as one made from two standpoints. Nevertheless, within the broad scheme of *catuṣkoṭi*, Jayatilleke maintains, still two valued system holds. Jayatillke calls the Buddhist scheme a 'two valued system of four alternatives' (*Ibid.* p.350) for in any given situation, when one alternative is true all the others are false. This is excepting the situations where all four propositions are taken as irrelevant or non-applicable, as in the case of the post-mortem status of the arahant (*hoti tathāgato parammaranu*? etc.).

Finally, a word on ethics, epistemology and sotericloy of truth in Buddhism. K.N. Jayatilleke starts his discussion of the concept of truth in the *Nikāyas* with the following remarks:

There is no direct inquiry into the nature of truth (in the epistemological sense) in them, but the value placed on truth (in the wider sense) was so great that some observations about the nature of truth (in the above sense) were, perhaps, inevitable (*Ibid.* p.351).

Jayatilleke is right in saying that there is no direct inquiry into the epistemological nature of truth in the Pāli *Nikāya* literature. This is, perhaps, because truth in Buddhism, mainly and fundamentally, is moral and soteriological. The Buddha seems to have made often the following statement, highlighting the crucial significance of the four truths:

It is because of not understanding and not penetrating the Four Noble truths that you, and I have roamed and wandered through this long course of *saṃsāra* (*Catunnaṃ bhikkhave ariyasaccānam ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañceva tumhākanca*...(*S.* V p.431).

The statement traces the root cause of samsaric existence to lack of understanding of the four truths. This is none other than 'ignorance' or '*avijjā*' occurring in the *Paṭicca-samupāda*. The following statement highlights the realization aspect associated with the four truths and asserts that the ultimate goal cannot be realized without 'knowing and seeing' the four noble truths:

I say that the destruction of the taints is for one who knows and sees, not for one who does not know and does not see. For one who knows what, for one who sees what...? The destruction of the taints comes about for one who knows and sees: 'This is suffering';...'This is the origin of suffering'; 'This is the cessation of suffering'; ...'This is the way leading to the cessation of suffering'. *Jānato 'ham bhikkhave passatoāsavānam khayaṃ vadāmi no ajānato apassato*. (*S* .V p.434).

The statements of this nature testify to the crucial soteriological role played by the four truths in the teaching of the Buddha. In this religious sense, truth is not a mere characteristic of a proposition. Rather it is the reality or what is real about human existence. It has to be comprehended, abandoned, realized and cultivated. The process is not merely intellectual. But beginning from intellectual understanding it culminates in cultivation and realization. This shows that the Buddhist concept of truth involves a much broader sphere of human action than mere intellectual understanding.

Asanga Tilakaratne

SACCAKIRIYĀ is a concept somewhat difficult to be rendered into English with all its original nuances. Simply expressed it refers to a declaration on oath, an asseveration of truth, solemnly performed to the effect that "if such and such is the case truly and truthfully, such and such a thing should come to pass."

Thus it is an assertion always accompanied with a wish as well, the fulfilment of which is dependent upon the truthfulness of the wish-maker's assertion.

Such an act of truth can refer either to a personal matter or to a general one. As for example if the maker of any statement stands subject to suspiciously any other party or parties, the declarant can assert himself or herself on oath that one is speaking the truth, nothing but the truth and that one's words relate correctly and truthfully to that about which it is made.

In such a context, the concept of *saccakiriyā* is a case of recalling the help of a natural quality inherent in a particular phenomenon, event or situation through its innate correctness and strength. The words used in such a statement should stand related correctly to that about which it is made or in other words there should be exact correspondence between what is said *as per* what is done.

In human affairs there at times arise situations wherein one becomes left all alone in the face of some adversity or danger or in the performance of a Herculean task or in taking highly significant decisions. In the absence of any resort, expedient, refuge or helper at hand, when at one's wits end as it were, when one knows fully well that one has a genuine case to be settled solely by oneself, one can make this Mother Nature's valuable provision, provided, it should be emphasized that one is one hundred per cent faithful in the casé at hand in the assertion one is going to make. The theory of moral causation would work operate here by divine intervention as it were, by the fulfilment of the wish of the performer.

For instance, in the Buddha's life, at the most crucial point in his struggle for enlightenment, when the Bodhisattva was left alone to himself with the flight of the groups of duties surrounding him, out of fright of the Māra and his advancing hosts under the Bodhi tree at Buddhagayā, he resorted to this refuge by referring to the *saccakiriyā* involving his fulfilment of so many perfections *(pārami)* throughout a long period in *samsāra*. He successfully called the Earth Goddess as his witness to his claim (*JA. SHB* 71-72).

On an earlier occasion too, after partaking of the milk rice offered by Sujātā, the Bodhisattva took the empty golden bowl to the river Nerañjanā and performed a *saccakiriyā* by placing it on the surface water and wishing that if he would attain Buddhahood that night the bowl should float upstream against the current (*JA SHB* pp. 67-8). True to this concept the bowl floated upstream prophesying thereby the fulfilment of the wish.

An oft-quoted instance for this phenomenon from Buddhist literature in the story of the *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka* (No. 35), when the Bodhisattva was born as a quail. He was a tiny creature just out of its shell, fed and looked after by its parents, when a forest-fire broke out encircling the area as this spot was annually subject to such a conflagration. All the creatures living there would run helter skelter for safety. Accordingly, when the fire broke out in the present occasion too, these events were repeated, the only difference being the exceptional case of the Bodhisattva quail who saved himself from the fire by means of a *saccakiriyā*. When even his own parents had sought their safety leaving him to his own fate and the raging fires were advancing menacingly all around him, the Bodhisattva thought to himself. "Had I the power to put forth my wings and fly I would wing my way to safety or, if I could walk I would have moved elsewhere: my parents too have left me alone. I am without a protector or a helper: what shall I do now?"

It was at this juncture that this thought occurred to him as befitting the Bodhisattva: "In this world there exists what is called "the efficacy of virtue"(*sīla-guṇa*) as well as what is called 'the efficacy of truthfulness' *(sacca-guṇa)*. In keeping with this truth, there have been Buddhas who have fulfilled the perfections (*pāramī*) and attained full enlightenment: they are filled with truthfulness, compassion, mercy and patience: their love embraces all creatures: there is a rare efficacy in the attributes they have attained: here I too have such a truth in that I hold and believe in a single truth which is the belief in a single principle in Nature (*saṃvijjamāno eko sabhāvadhammo*) the apparent single principle of Nature as Truth: let me call to mind the past Buddhas and the efficacy they have won: now let me combine all these elements of that power of virtues of the past Buddhas and pronounce a *saccakiriyā*." Accordingly he made the Act of Truth by declaring as follows:

In this world there is superiority of virtue, truthfulness, ethical purity and compassion: through the power of this truth I shall make an unsurpassable act of truth." Thus recalling to his mind the power of Dhamma and the memory of past Buddhas and establishing himself on the power of truthfulness, the Bodhisatta declared his Act of Truth thus: 'I have wings which cannot move for flying: I have feet which

cannot move for walking: My parents have forsaken me: may this fire retard! No sooner than he made this solemn *saccakiriyā* the fire which was raging forward menacingly came to a sudden halt and retreated to a distance of sixteen lengths (*karīsa*: a square measure of a land in which a *karīsa* of grains can be sown) and extinguished itself as if it came near some water. Here the Bodhisattva also claims that as per truthfulness there is none to equal him in the whole world which refers to his long practice of the perfection of truthfulness or *sacca-pāramī*.

Even the preaching of the *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka* was as the result of a *sacca-kiriyā* performed by the Buddha who was passing this very same spot (subject to an annual forest fire) with a retinue of monks. When the same annual fire appeared on their path, the Buddha controlled with his super-normal power and preached the past story, the *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka* (*J.I*, 212 ff.).

Another *Saccakiriyā* recorded in Pali Literature is available in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. xviii, stz. 39) where Emperor Asoka performs one when the southern branch of the Sri Mahā Bodhi tree at Buddhagayā severed itself from the parent tree and vanished leaving only a stump in the tree when he was about to separate it from the main tree. Then the king offered his kingdom to the Bodhi tree and made so many other forms of worship prior to making the following *saccakiriyā*: "So truly as the great Bodhi tree shall go to the Isle of Lanka and so truly as I shall stand steadfastly firm in the Buddha dhamma shall this fair southern branch of the Great Bodhi tree severed of itself taking its place here in this golden vase" (*ibid*. vv. 40-41). So saying he drew a line with a red arsenic *(manosilā)* pen and the wish was fulfilled. He further continued the *saccakiriyā* and was able to make roots also spring forth from the branch once inside the vase.

As so far shown *saccakiriyā* can be defined not only as an oath but also as an ordeal, a confirmation of truth as well.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

SACRIFICE. The Pāli words *yañña* and *yāga* with the Sanskrit *yajña* and *yāga* designate sacrifices of varying types and degrees offered especially to gods and also to other species of non-human beings such as Fathers (*pitṛs*) and various grades of demi-gods(*bhūta*). However the use of the word has been extended to cover a number of other subjects as well. For instance in the concept of the five Grand Sacrifices (*mahāyajña*) in Brahmanism, *brahma-yajña* is defined as the recitation of portions of the Vedas and other sacred texts as a particular sacrificial ritual while *manushya-yajña* is defined as hospitality to guests. *Deva-yajña*, *pitṛ-yajña* and *bhūta- yajña* are the offerings made to gods, fathers and all created beings respectively[1]. Some spiritualists and scholars have tried to give a symbolic interpretation to all forms of Brahmanic rituals and concepts from the Rg Vedic times downwards showing that garbed in ritualistic and mythical language, in Vedic texts is a mystical and spiritual content. Speaking of the Vedic sacrifice it is said, "The sacrifice was represented at once as a giving and worship, a battle and a journey. It was a centre of a battle between the gods aided by Aryan men on one side and the Titans or destroyers on the opposite faction, Dasyus, Vritras, Panis, Rakshasas, later called Daityas and Asuras, between the powers of falsehood, division and darkness. It was a journey, because the sacrifice travelled from earth to the gods in their heaven, but also because it made ready the path by which man himself travelled to the Home of the Truth. This journey opposed by the Dasyus, thieves, robbers, tearers, besiegers (Vitras) was itself a battle. The giving was an inner giving. All the offering of the outer sacrifice, the cow and its yield, the horse, the Soma were the symbols of the dedication of inner powers and experiences to the Lords of Truth. The divine gifts the cows of the divine light, symbolized by the herds of the sun, the horse of strength and power, the sun of the inner godhead or divine man created by the sacrifice and so through the whole list"[2].

In Buddhist texts too the word *yañña* sometimes is given a sort of symbolic interpretation. In the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (*D*. I. p. 145ff) *yañña* designates not only the offerings of food etc. given to gods, recluses etc. but also the various milestones on the Path to Nibbāna from the point of one's conversion as a lay Buddhist. Thus the taking refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha is called a *yañña* in this symbolic sense from thence the taking on of the five precepts (*sikkhāpadāni samādiyāti*) the realization of the First Jhāna, the Second Jhāna, the third Jhana , the fourth Jhāna turning one's mind to vision through knowledge (*ñāṇadassanāya cittaṃ namati*), turning one's mind to the creation of a mental image and creating such an image (*manomayakāyaṃ abhinimmināya*), turning one's mind to the practice of

various psychic powers (*iddhividha*), turning one's mind to the realization of the divine car, (*dibbāya sotadhātuyā*), turning one's mind to the knowledge of penetration of another's mind with one's mind (*cetopariyañāṇa*) turning one's mind to the recalling of one's previous births (*pubbenivāsānussati ñāna*), turning one's mind to the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings (*sattānam Cutūpapāta-ñāṇa*) and turning one's mind to the destruction of the intoxicants (*āsavānaṃ khayañāṇa*). Through this last one the meditator realizes the four Noble Truths and the destruction of the intoxicants (*āsavas*) and attains total liberation. This is the highest of all *yaññas* and there is no other *yañña* sweeter or higher than this. Thus the Buddhist text has applied the term *yañña* to the various important stages on the Buddhist Path of liberation where there is no indication of any idea of sacrifice or gifting related to it. The commentator Buddhaghosa (*DA*.I. 305 ff), has however, tried, at least in some of the above instances, to show that there is some form of abandoning or sacrificing related to them. Thus one who takes refuge in the Buddha and so forth does it as if by sacrificing one's life to the three jewels (*tiṇṇaṃ pana ratanānam Jīvita -pariccāga-vasena yaññoti*). In this sense it is a *yañña*, a sacrifice. Training in the five precepts, says Buddhaghosa, has been called a great gift. Since they have to be practiced sacrificing self love and life it is called a *yañña*. The first *Jhāna* is called *yañña* because it is attained by abandoning the adversary mental states like the hindrances (*nivaraṇa*). Abandoning of the defilements (*kilesa*) is also a *yañña* says Buddhaghosa. In spite of these commentarial views not found in the discourse, one could surmise what the Buddha's intention was the internalization of an externally performed ritual. In the discourse each higher step on the Path is said to be less difficult and less troublesome than the previous one.

In the Rg. Vedic period as well as in later much developed stages sacrifice and invocation formed a very important aspect of the religion. There was a great variety of sacrifices from the simple offerings up to the great religious festivals. The latter required a lot of preparations and a numerous array of priests, singers and officers at the performances. Offerings consisting mainly of melted butter, curdled milk, rice, soups, cakes and some mixed with water or milk were thrown into the fire which took them to heaven and conveyed them to gods. Animal sacrifices were also there. The horse sacrifice (*as'va medha*) is described at great length. Goats, bulls, buffaloes, cows and rams were also sacrificed to various gods like indra and Pushan and Agni. What the Vedic Aryans expected in return were various material and mundane benefits. Rain, light, warmth and health, sons and long life were expected from gods in return for the sustenance they received, through sacrifice, from man[3].

In the final parts of the Rg Veda the sacrifice has been elevated to the position of the instrument of cosmic creation. From the first sacrifice of gods in which the victim was the cosmic man (*puruska*) were born the first three Vedas, animals as well as the four principal castes[4]. It shows the growing importance given to the sacrifice which continued to grow and elaborated through the later *Vedas*, the *Brahmanas* and still later *Smṛtis* and so forth.

Yañña in Pāli Literature

The terms *yañña* and *yāga*, as also other terms related to the Brahmanic sacrificial ritual, occur frequently in Pāli literature as well as in the works of other Buddhist traditions. Here we could observe a twofold use of these terms. In the first place they are found used in relation to Brahmanic ritualistic activities as well as in relation to their Buddhist interpretations. On the other hand the terms are also found used in relation to their Buddhist adaptation as well to express the Buddhist view on them and its own concept of the *yañña*.

Once, questioned whether he praises sacrifice the Buddha replies that he neither praise them all nor condemn all of them. He explains that sacrifices where all sorts of animals are immolated and life destroyed are not praised by him. The reason is that such sacrifices where animals are slaughtered (*sārambhaṃ yaññaṃ*) are not approached by Arahants and those set on the path to Arahanthood. He adds that he praises those sacrifices where no animals are slaughtered such as those charities instituted by one's forefathers and conducted regularly without break in the family (*niccadānaṃ anukūlayaññaṃ*). (*A*. II. 42f). The interpretation here is based on the commentarial notes by Buddhaghosa (*DA*. I. 302; *SA*. I. 146; *AA*. III. 82) which seem to have been misinterpreted by the translator of the *Anguttara Nikāya*[5] and the compiler of the Pāli English Dictionary (*PED* s.v. *anukūlayañña* under *anukūla*). Buddhaghosa has taken *anukūla* in

the text as *anukūla*. *Anukūla yañña* is interpreted by the Pāli-English Dictionary as 'propitiative sacrifice'. In the very next discourse (*A*. II. 43f) the Buddha gives more details about the qualities of the noble recluses who come to receive alms at these sacrifices, and also the nature of the sacrifices themselves. The sacrifice is performed in due season without any cruelty to animals. To these sacrifices come completely restained recluses leading the noble higher life (*brahmacariya*), who have removed the cover (of ignorance) and gone beyond time and rebirth (*kāla-gati-vītivatta*). Buddhas who are skilled in meritorious deeds fraise such sacrifices. However, according to another discourse, the mere absence of cruelty to animals is not enough to attract arahants to these bloodless sacrifices. The seekers of alms who come there should be treated with respect and courtesy. There should not be such rough treatment of them as beating with sticks (*daṇḍaggāha*) and seizing by the throat (*galaggāha*). No such treatment is found at the houses of the pious benevolent offerers of alms to recluses at their doorstep (*D*. I. 144).

The Brahmanical sacrifices rejected here by the Buddha could fall into the category characterized as *mahāyañña* in Buddhist literature (these are not the five *mahāyajñas* in Brahmanical literature). There are five rituals designated as grand sacrifices of the Brahmins by Buddhists viz. *Assamedha* (Buddhist *Skt. Aśvamedha*) or 'Horse Sacrifice', *Purisamedha* (Bdst. *Skt. Puruṣamedha*) 'Human Sacrifice', *Vājapeya* or *Vācapeya* or Drink of strength, *Sammāpāsa* (Bdst. *Skt. Samyaprāsa* or *Somaprāsa*)or Throwing the Peg' and *Niraggala* (Bdst. *Skt. Nirargada*) or 'Bolt-withdrawn'. The Buddhist Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* (Vol. II. 237), where *Vājapeyya* is not found, adds two more names, to the list of *Mahayajñas*, viz *Paduma* or the Red Lotus' and *Puṇḍarika* or white Lotus' which are not mentioned elsewhere. In the Pāli Literature, wherever these five are mentioned they are said to involve animal sacrifice of a very large scale (*mahārambhā*) and that they are not of great benefit (*na te honti mapphalā*). The sacrifice of the Brahamin Kūtadanta described in the *Kūtadanta Sutta* is also called a grand sacrifice (*D*. I.127). To which of these five it falls is not clear. Anyhow it is said to have involved the slaughter of a large number of animals, as many as 3500 it is said. In the same discourse what the king Mahāvijita of the past wished to perform was also a grand Sacrifice (*ibid*. 134) involving the immolation of animals. But when the king, on the instruction of his chaplain, removed the slaughter of animals and a number of other obnoxious features from his sacrifice it was still called a grand Sacrifice. Probably this was because it still involved the three modes (*tisso vidhā*), the sixteen accessories (*solasa parikkhāra*), and the use of a huge amount of wealth. For Kūtadanta queried whether there is a sacrifice less difficult (*appaṭṭhatara*) and less trouble some (*appasamārambhatara*) but, yet of greater fruit (*mahāpphalatara*) and of greater benefit (*mahānisaṃsatara*). Besides the slaughter of animals the other obnoxious features of the grand sacrifice criticized by the Buddha are the cutting down of trees for sacrificial posts, mowing down of *dabba* grass to be strewn on the sacrificial ground, and the harassment of slaves, messengers and workers, who, beaten with sticks have to work in fear with faces covered with tears. These features were also absent from the grand sacrifice peformed by Mahāvijita (*ibid*. 141). Undoubtedly they were also common to all those grand Sacrifices and also to some of the lesser ones.

The commentator Buddhaghosa has supplied us with certain explanations of the five names of these grand sacrifices and also with some details regarding their performance. Some of them may be from commentarial notes found in the old Sihala commentaries or else he may have based his description on what he had heard or seen in India. The *Assamedha* is so named, according to him, because a horse is sacrificed in it. Performed on two days with the first day devoted to sacrificing perfumes ; at twenty one posts. On the second day five hundred and ninety seven victims are slaughtered. Every thing except man and land is gifted (*dakkkiṇā*) at this sacrifice.

According to Barth[6] *Aśvamedha* along with *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya* are all *soma-yāgas* and princely sacrifices *par excellence*. As mentioned above the history of the horse sacrifice goes back to Rg Vedic times. At the early stages, like all other sacrifices, what was expected from it was the rewards of various material benefits. Wealth, cows, excellent horses, male offspring, exemption from wickedness, and also bodily vigour[7]. But later it came to be associated more with political gains. Powerful monarchs performed horse sacrifice to consolidate their political power. But Buddhaghosa does not refer to this aspect of the sacrifice.

The sacrifice in which a man is sacrificed is called *Purisamedha*. Like in the horse sacrifice a gift of every thing including land is offered at this sacrifice. Among the victims of a sacrifice which included all imaginable kinds of domestic and wild animals, says Barth[8], is frequently mentioned a man. Human sacrifice is mentioned not only in legends and the symbolism of the ritual but it is expressly mentioned and formally prescribed. In fact all the *soma* sacrifices included one or many human victims but only, one of them is called *Purushamedha*. However it is very difficult to unravel the genuine position with regard to its prevalence in historical times. Some texts indicate that it was obsolete. One text actually names the sacrificer who performs it for the last tome. The growing popularity of *ahimsā* may have weakened the brahmanic yearning for it. But details given in some texts are so precise that it is difficult to imagine it had completely disappeared from the sacrificial stage. We can also add that some of the *Jātakas* (*J*.VI.p. 132ff), both in Pāli and the *Mahavastu* II p. 95ff) mention the sacrificing of human beings in brahmanical sacrifices.

The *Sammāpāsa* is so-called because the sacrifice is performed on an altar built on the spot where a *sammā* or *samma* (*Skt. śamyā*), meaning a peg or pin of a yoke, thrown from a certain distance, falls. The altar is built with movable material like sacrificial posts. It is said to be a *Yātra-yāga* or a *Sātra-yāga*. The former, according to the Pāli-English Dictionary, is a conjectural form for the latter. The same work suggests 'customary sacrifice' for *yātrā-yāga*. The *Sutta Nipāta* commentary has the form *Sātrā-yāga*, which Helmer Smith, its editor, likes to compare with Sanskrit *yātasattra* (*SnA*. p. 322, n. 1). This term is explained by Monier Williams[9] as a "continuous sacrifice'. He adds further : "name of a particular solemn ceremony (which go on for a long period, also called Sārasvata)". Significantly this sacrifice, according to Buddhaghosa, was performed on the banks of the River Sarasvati, proceeding upwards, day by day, from the place where the Sarasvati sinks into the ground (*nimugganokāsato pabhuti*). The term *yātra-yāga* also may have been used, or substituted, because it was a continuous process, progressing along the river for a long period of time. Barth[10] says that when a sacrifice continues for more than twelve days it is called a *sattra*, 'a session'.

Vājapeyya is so called because here they drink *vāja* (*vājam ettha pivantī ti vājapeyyo*). In it seventeen victims are immolated at a *beluva* wood Sacrificial Post. In Sanskrit *vāja* means strength, vigour, energy, spirit etc. It is also the name of an acetous mixture of ground meal and water left to ferment[11]. As such it could be a form of intoxicating drink. Barth[12] calls it a strengthening beverage. Vājapeya is one of the seven *soma* sacrifices. Since *soma* has become the exclusive privilege of Brahmins, another liquid is substituted to the same effect in the case in which the Yajamāna does not belong to the priestly caste. It may be that in the *vājapeya* this substitution does take place as indicated by the acetous mixture referred to above. The *vājapeya* is a sacrifice performed especially by kings and brahamins aspiring for the highest positions and precedes the Rājasūya and Brhaspati sacrifices.

The Niraggala is so-called in the sense that "bolts are withdrawn" says the commentary (*natthi ettha aggaloti niraggalo*). This is also called *sabbamedha*, sacrifice of everything, and like in the horse sacrifice a gift of everything including land and man is made in this. It is an alternative to the horse sacrifice (*assamedha-vikappa*). *SnA*. 321-322, *SA*. I. 145f. *AA*.III 82f)

Self Tormentation and Tormentation of others in a sacrifice.

A description of a sacrifice which could fall into the category found in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* but with a few additional details is found in an *Anguttara Nikāya Sutta* (II 207). Here the Buddha describes it under the religious practice of tormenting self and tormenting others (*attantapa parantapa*). A king builds a new sacrificial hall to the east of the capital city and goes into temporary residence there with his chief queen and the chaplain. He dons shaggy skins, smears his body with ghee and oil and uses a deer horn to scratch his back. There he sleeps on the bear floor covered only with green grass. During their stay in this sacrificial hall the three of them subsist on the milk of a single cow. The king takes milk from one teat, the queen from the second and the chaplain from the third. The calf is fed with the milk from the fourth teat. He orders the slaughter for sacrifice of a certain number of animals such as cattle, goats, rams etc. Trees are cut down for sacrificial posts, grass is mowed for use on sacrificial ground, slaves, messengers and workers toil scared by the fear of rod with tears on their faces.

Buddha calls it a form of tormenting self and tormenting others and rejects it as a non-beneficial religious practice. Normally anointed kings and brahamins of rich families practice it.

Origin of Bloody Sacrifices

Buddhists have their own theory and a legend regarding the origin of bloody sacrifices in Brahamin worship. It claims that there was no sacrificing of animals by Brahamins in very ancient times. It is said (*Sn.* p. 50ff) that once a group of old and venerable brahamins who visited the Buddha queried whether there are Brahmins today who are seen to follow the norms of ancient brahamins. The Buddha gave a definite "no" to the query and, at their request, went on to relate how these changes came about. The ancient brahamin sages, said the Buddha, led a very restrained and austere life without any desire for material possessions. Their wealth and corn was only learning (*sajjhāya*) and they guarded the 'holy treasure' (*brahmaṃ nidhiṃ*). They sustained themselves on alms received outside the doors of the devout. They led a home life but their life pattern was almost ascetic. They did offer sacrifices, but with rice, beds, garments, ghee and oil received from the devout. Never did they slaughter cattle at that time in sacrifice.

But soon corruption set in. Blinded by the splendour of the life of luxury led by kings, brahamin priests started to covet the luxuries possessed by them. Composing hymns and ritual texts, they approached the then king Okkāka and prevailed upon him to offer sacrifice. "Abounding wealth is thine and substance", said they, "offer sacrifice. Great store, great wealth hast thou make sacrifice". Won over by the priests, Okkāka started to offer sacrifice, such as the horse sacrifices, human sacrifice, Throwing the Peg, Drinking Vāja and The Doors Unbolted". At the close of the sacrifices the priests were also gifted with rice, beds, garments, fair women, chariots yoked with steeds and covered with gay coverlets, abodes filled with treasures etc. But their greed was gratified only for a short while. They yearned for more. "As earth, water, gold and corn are cattle for man" they told the king, and so they urged him to sacrifice cattle as well. Agreeing, Okkaka slaughtered in hundreds and thousands the innocent and pail-filling kine so far regarded as father, mother, brother or other kin.

Then the devas and fathers,
Inda, Asuras and Rakkhasas
"It is wrong" they yelled in horror
When the knife fell on the cow. (*Sn.* 310)

It is not easy to assess the historicity of this legendary episode. However we see a similar idea in another discourse (*D.* I. 134ff). This discourse claims that the Brahamin chaplain of an ancient king named Mahāvijita instructed him, who sought his advice about a grand sacrifice he desired to perform, to offer a bloodless sacrifice. It is possible that there were certain schools of unorthodox brahamins who favoured such rituals. Speaking of brahmanic sacrifices Barth says[13] that in spite of the fact that quite a large number of victims were needed for some of the *yāgas*, there is direct evidence in the texts that, in the case of at least some of them, the victims brought to the altar formally were released in the end. "In general the more recent the texts are the more does the number of the symbolic victims increase and that of the real ones diminish." Barth adds that in the Brahmanas a tendency to a less bloody sacrifice already appears. In a legend given in a number of texts "the *medha*, the property of the victim, passes in succession from the man to the horse, from the horse to the cow, from the cow to the sheep , from the sheep to the goat, from the goat to the earth and finally into the barley and the rice, which then contains the essence of all the victims and the best of the offering". Such views held by at least some Brahmanic schools may have influenced the views attributed to ancient Brahamins by Buddhists.

Commentarial elaborations

Pāli commentators have further elaborated upon these ideas found in the discourses. According to Buddhaghosa ancient kings before Okkāka had four modes of attraction (*sangaha-vatthūni*) by which they treated the people with sympathy, viz *Sassamedha, Purisamedha, Sammāpāsa* and *Vājapeyya* or *Vācapeyya*. The practice of these four modes led to a happy and contented social order expressed by the term *niraggala*. These four appear as Buddhist adaptations of the first four of the five grand sacrifices Buddhists attribute to Brahmanism, but has come under the influence of the four modes of attraction (*saṅgahavatthūni*) found in the discourses of the Buddha.

The first of these called *Sassamedha* or the grain-sacrifice or the harvest-sacrifice is the Buddhist substitute for Brahmanic *Assa-medha*. It is said to be

the grain tax of one tenth of the harvest of grain extracted from the framers. By this nine tenths of the harvested grain is left for the producer. It is said to demonstrate the cleverness in procuring grain (*sassa-sampadāne medhavitā*), probably without over taxing the farmers. A play on the word *medha* 'sacrifice' could be seen here. A six-monthly food allowance (or is it 'food and pay', *bhattavetanaṃ*) to the great soldiers is called *purisa-medha*. It demonstrates the cleverness in the kindly treatment of people (*purisa-sangaṇhane medhāvitā*). Standing for the grand sacrifice by the same name attributed to Brahmanism, *sammāpāsa* is given here a different interpretation. It is said to stand for an interest free three year loan of a thousand to two thousand given to poor people on a sort of a promissory note taken from the recipient of the loan. By it, it is said people are kept well ensnared to the heart (*sammāmanusse pāseti hadaye banditvā viya ṭhapēti*). To address people with such endearing terms as uncle (*mātula*) is said to be *Vācapeyya* which undoubtedly stands for *Vājapeyya*, one of the grand sacrifices of the Brahmins. *Peyyavāca*, 'endearing language', is one of the four modes of attraction. Thus gratified by these four modes of attraction the country becomes prosperous, opulent, supplied with abundant food and drink, secure and free from turmoil. People live happy and rejoicing, with children playing on their breast and with their house doors wide open. Since doors are kept unlocked it is called *niraggala*. These traditional customs of his predecessors were turned upside down by Okkāka at the instigation of brahamin priests (*SA*. I. 144f).

Buddhist Attitude to Brahmanical Sacrifice

Once a brahman who was preparing to make a grand sacrifice where many animals were to be immolated went to the Buddha and entered into a conversation on the sacrifice with him. "I have heard good Gotama" he said "that the laying of the fire and erection of sacrificial posts is very fruitful and is of great benefit" (*mahapphalaṃ hoti mahānisaṃsaṃ*). Replying that he has also heard the same, the Buddha went on to critically examine the brahmanical ritual. The Buddha straight away condemns the bramanical ritual saying, "he who lays the fire and sets up sacrificial posts, even before the sacrifice, sets up three swords, which are evil (*akusalāni*), yielding pain (*dukkhudrayaṃ*), resulting in pain (*dukkhavipākaṃ*), viz the three swords of deed, word and thought".

One who intends performing a Grand Sacrifice first conceives in his mind that so many animals of different kinds should be immolated. This is the thought sword. Then he gives verbal instructions that so many animals should be immolated and sets up the word sword and finally he himself starts (*samārabbhati*) the killing saying "let so many bulls be immolated" and so forth. This is the deed-sword. Thus thinking of doing meritorious deeds he actually does demeritorius deeds, seeking the path to a happy abode he really paves the way to a miserable existence. By thought, word and deed he accumulates demerit and cuts a path to misery. In the same discours the Buddha also gives his ethical interpretation to the three sacred fires of the Brahmins (*A*. IV. 41f).

Questioned by the brahamin youth Puṇṇaka the purpose of the many sacrifices to gods made by brahamin and khattiya sages, the Buddha replies that they did so desiring life here on earth. But these, although they hope for, laud, pray and sacrifice, praying to be repaid in pleasures of the senses, these sacrifices attached to future becoming did not go beyond birth and old age, adds the Buddha (*S*.I. p 200f.). This shows that the brahmanical ritual is not the cure for the saṃsāric ailment of birth, old age, death and rebirth. The bloodless sacrifice recommended to King Mahāvijita by his brahamin chaplain could take one to heavenly rebirth but apparently not Nibbāna (*D*. I. 143). Mahāvijita in fact planned originally to hold a sacrifice for his benefit and happiness for a long time (*ibid*. 134). Probably this was also the intention of the sages (*isayā*) referred to by Puṇṇaka above.

Adaptation of Brahmanical terms

The Buddha, as we have noted above did not completely reject the concepts of *yañña*. He only rejected animal sacrifices and some other features obnoxious to his ethical sense. He has in fact adapted a number of terms relating to the brahmanical sacrificial ritual and used them in presenting some of his doctrines. For instance the past participles of the two verbal forms *yajati* and *juhati* 'to sacrifice', are used as *yiṭṭha* and *huta* along with *dinna*, 'given' in defining the Buddhist concept of 'right view' (*sammā diṭṭhi*) and wrong view (*micchā diṭṭhi*). What the Buddha counters here is not the brahmanical idea of *yañña* based on acceptance of the notion of *kamma*, but the materialistic and nihilistic and also the agnostic rejection of the notion of *kamma* and ethical retribution held

by some of his contemporary religious teachers (*M.* III. p. 71f; I p. 52 ff.). The Buddha has, however, given his own interpretation to the words taken over from the brahmanical vocabulary. Among other loanwords from Brahmanism are *āhuti, havyas, āhuna*, all meaning 'oblation' or 'sacrifice' *pāhuna* (cp. *Pkt. prāhuna* from *Skt. prāghūrna*, visitor), *pūralāsa* (*Skt. pūrodāsa*) 'sacrificial cake, *aggihutta* 'sacrificial fire', *dakkhinā* (*Skt. dakṣiṇā*) 'religious gift', from the sacrificial fee paid to brahamin priests. The three terms *āhuneyya* 'worthy of oblations', *pāhuneyya* 'worthy of hospitality' and *dakkhiṇeyya* 'worthy of receiving religious gifts', used in enumerating the virtues of the Buddha's disciples who are on the path and have reached Arahanthood, are adaptations of some of the above terms. Buddhists have also given ethical interpretation to the three sacred fires used in Brahmanical rituals under the three terms *āhuneyyaggi* (*Skt. āhvaniya agni*), *gahapati aggi* (*Skt. gārhapatya agni*) and *dakkhineyyaggi* (*Skt. dakṣiṇa agni*).

While rejecting the practice of bloody sacrifices of the brahamin, Buddhists also seem though not explicitly, reject the idea of making sacrifices to gods with the expectation of harvesting good benefits. All the above words used in Buddhist texts have been used, if they do not refer to a brahmanical practice, to indicate the suitability of making them to Buddhist monks with high spiritual attainments, or to recluses in general leading a pure and noble religious life (*sukhette brahmacārisu*). In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (I. 141) is a story of a brahamin woman whose son, significantly named Brahamadeva, was a Buddhist Arahant. But she continued with her regular offering oblations to god Brahma. One day Ven. Brahmadeva, on his alms round, was to come to his mother's door. God Brahma Sahampati, seeing this, visited her house to convince her of Brahmadeva's suitability to accept her oblation made to him. He said,

> Far hence brahmane is Brahmā's world
> To whom thou servest offerings always
> And Brahmā feedeth not on food like that.
> What babblest thou unwitting of the way[14]

He urges her to offer the oblation (*āhuti*) instead to her own son who is also named Brahmadeva

> By all the hosts of evil unassailed
> His heart at utter peace, he goes about
> Like a tame elephant, with vices purged.
> Almsman most virtuous, and with heart well free
> Let him enjoy the choice meats, thou hast served[15]
> (*So tyāhutiṃ bhuñjatu aggapiṇḍaṃ*)

Here Brahma Sahampati himself is made to instruct his devotee on the futility of making such offerings to him and the like but to make them to recluses with advanced spiritual qualities. She is convinced and her oblation (*āhuti*) is received by Brahmadeva, her own son and, by that, makes much merit for her future happiness. Sages of old who made sacrifices to gods with hymns of praise and prayers could not go beyond birth and death (*Sn.* 1043ff). Thus oblations to gods is futile with regard to liberation from *Saṃsāra*. On the other hand, says the Buddha when oblations offered in the good field of merit of the religious leading the noble life, the sacrifice is enhanced, and *deves* are also pleased with it (*pasidanti ca devatā A.* II 44f.). Thus there is no need to make offerings to gods. By making such sacrifices (*yajitvā*) to human recluses, rich in virtues, the intelligent faithful one, with the heart released, will be reborn in a blissful world free from suffering (*ibid*).

It was the Brahaminical view that whether it be at a sacrifice (*yaññe*), or a post-funerary ritual (*saddhe*), or an offering of barley cooked in milk (*thālipāka*) (said to be made on auspicious occasions etc. *DA.* I. 267) or any gift worthy object (*deyyadhamma*), should be donated to brahamins of pure descent, expert in the threefold Vedas together with their anciliary literature (*tevijjesu brāhmanesu*). But the Buddha gives his own interpretation of the term *tevijja brahmana*. A person who, having realized the four *jhānas* acquires the knowledge of recalling ones previous births (*pubbenivāsānussati ñāna*), the knowledge of seeing the deaths and rebirths, according to their *Kamma*, of other beings (*cutūpātañāṇa*) and the Knowledge of the destructions of one's intoxicants (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*) is termed a *tevijja-brahmana* by the Buddha (*A.*I.166f.). Although it is not stated explicitly we can assume that such Arahants, according to the Buddha, are the ones who deserve to be fed at the rituals mentioned in the discourse. So it is clear then that the substitution of not only god of Brahmanism but also of brahamin priests by spiritually advanced Buddhist recluses is advocated by Buddhism. For it is stated that whether it be at a sacrifice (*yañña*) or a post-funerary ritual (*saddha*), having offered a fitting

oblation (*havyaṃ katvā yathāraham*), one makes a gift in the good field (of merit) of those who lead the noble religious life (*brahma Cārisu*). This well- offered (*suhuta*), well- sacrificed (*suyiṭṭha*) and well conferred (*supatta*) sacrifice is much enhanced and gods also are pleased with it (*A*.II. 43f.).

This, however, is point to be cleared. Do the stanzas of the above discourse refer to a direct substitution of brahminical gods with spiritually advanced Buddhist recluses or do they refer to the eligibility of these Buddhist monks to receive the remainder of the sacrificial offering (*havyāvasesa*)? In actual fact brahamins had such a tradition of gifting the food left after a sacrifice to a fitting person. Recluses often went to such sacrificial grounds on their alms rounds. This is the reason why the Buddha says in a number of places that Arahants or those on the path to Arahanthood do not go to sacrifices where animals are slaughtered. The Buddha was once prohibited from entering a sacrificial ground by a Bharadvāja brahamin who called him a shaveling, an outcaste (*Sn*. p. 21). In another context (ibid 79ff) Sundarika Bharadvaja brahamin, who was looking around for a suitable person to receive the remainder of his sacrifice to fire (*havyāvasesa*) saw the Buddha seated at the foot of a tree and thought of gifting it to him. But when he found him to be shaven headed he was first reluctant to go to him. But thinking that there are even shaven headed brahamins he went to the Buddha and fell into a long conversation with him. In it the Buddha explained to him his views on the suitability of a person to receive an oblation (*havya*) or a sacrificial cake (*pūraḷāsa*). Although the discussion begins with the question of the remainder of a sacrificial offering (*havyāvasesa*) the Buddha always refers directly to the oblation (*havya*) and the sacrificial cake being offered to the spiritually advanced recluse monks. In this case he directly refers to Arahants. In one stanza he says, "Tamed by Truth, endowed with restraint, who has reached the highest knowledge, consummate in noble life, to him the brahamin who desired merit, should make in time his sacrificial offering (*havyam pavecche Sn*. 463). In another stanza he says (ibid. 168), "One who has abandoned passion fares on overcome, one who knows the end of birth, cooled (*Parinibbuto*), cool like the waters of a lake, the Tathāgata, deserves the sacrificial cake" (*pūralāsaṃ arahati*). This is no other than an Arahant or a Buddha. There is no doubt here we see the direct substitution of gods with as also brahamins with non-homedwelling recluse Arahants. This is also seen in the list of virtues attributed often to the community of the disciples of the Buddha (*Bhagavato sāvakasangho*). Three of them say that the disciples of the Buddha, the eight individuals in four pairs (*cattāri purisayugāni aṭṭhapurisa-puggalā*), are worthy of receiving sacrificial offerings (*āhuneyyo*), of gifts to visitors (*pāhuneyyo*) and gifts as sacrificial fees given to brahamin priests (*dakkhineyyo*). They are also called an unsurpassable field of merit to the world, an idea also stressed often and on in above references (eg. *A*. 1. 208).

The process of replacing brahmanical gods and brahamin priests as recipients of oblations and gifts with Buddhist monks, especially those with a highly spiritual character must have been a gradual one. At first Buddhist monks must have visited the sacrificial grounds of the brahamins while on their alms rounds. Brahamins who regarded shaven-headed recluses in rag robes as outcastes must have been reluctant to entertain them with the remainder of their sacrificial offerings. Sometimes they were not even allowed to come close to them. The Buddha had to convince the brahamin Sundarika Bhāradvaja that it is an Arahant who is really worthy of receiving the sacrificial food. Probably at first it was the remainder of the sacrifice as in the case of Sundarika's attempt to offer to the Buddha, that was received by Buddhist monks. But as Buddhism expanded and the Buddhist culture developed, Buddhist devotees substituted the gods and brahamin priests with Buddhist monks. With further development Buddhists entertained the *sangha* and the merit so generated was conferred on gods and various classes of demi-gods. Today in Buddhist countries like Sri Lanka Buddhist devotees would never entertain even the thought of offering to Buddhist monks the remainder of any offering made to gods. It is possible, however that in certain folk rituals Buddhist monks are either entertained to a meal before offerings are made to gods etc, or else, after such a ritual Buddhist monks would be thus entertained separately as a concluding finale to the whole ritual. Once again merit generated by such honour shown to the *sangha* would be transferred to gods and demi-gods.

Buddhist Concept of Yañña

The terms *yañña*, *dāna* and *dakkhiṇā* are used synonymously in Buddhist terminology. The *Niddesa*

(*Nd.* II 523) interprets *yañña* as *deyyadhamma*, 'something fit to be gifted' (*yañño vuccati deyyadhammo*). Fourteen objects are enumerated in detailing out the meaning, viz the four requisites of a Buddhist monk or nun, food, drink, clothe, conveyances, garlands, perfumes, ointments, beds, residences and lamps. The three constituents enumerated under *dāna* and *deyyadhamma* are similarly enumerated under *yañña* or *yaññapatha* viz the gift the giver and the recipient (*ye yaññam esati, ye yaññ am abhisaṅkharoti* and *ye yaññam denti Nd* II 70). A full and complete sacrifice (*yañña*) in the Buddhist sense is said to consist of six limbs (*aṅga*). This six limbed gift, called *calaṅgadakkhiṇā* as well as *yañño* in the discourse could generate a great mass of merit unrekonable and immeasurable. Of the six limbs the first three relate to the donor viz. before the gift he is glad at heart (*sumano*), while giving the mind is purified (*dadaṃ cittampasidati*), and after giving the heart is uplifted (*datvā attamanohoti*). The second three limbs relate to the recipient viz. the recipient's mind is free from attachment, hatred and delusion or is set on casting out attachment, hatred and delusion. Thus the recipient should be either an Arahant or one on the path to arahanthood. Complete in these six elements both the gift (*yañña*) and the field of merit (*khetta*) are said to be full (*A.* III. 336f). Therefore, naturally the result is immeasurable.

The sacrifices (*yañña*) whether Brahmanical or Buddhist is said to generate merit. In the *Padhāna sutta* (*Sn.* p.74), Māra the Evil One, admonishes the Buddha-to-be, to give up his effort in the practice of spiritual exercises and acquire merit by sacrifices to the sacred fire etc., which the Bodhisatta rejects outright, saying, that he needs no merit but to give his advice to those who need it. The *Mahavastu* (*tr.* II p. 224) states that Māra's advice to the Bodhisatta was to perform the Grand Sacrifice, of the Brahmins. The Buddha's advice to Brahmin performers of the sacrifices was to gift this sacrificial food etc. to Arahants and those on the path to Arahanthood for it is the best way of acquiring merit and happiness in the future births. The aim of ancient sages in performing sacrifices was also these mundane benefits for, says the Buddha, they did not go beyond birth, old age and death through the sacrifices to gods. In the *Kuṭadanta Sutta* the Buddha says that one can be reborn in heaven through the bloodless sacrifice recommended by the chaplain of King Mahāvijita. However, he then goes on to designate each progressive step on the path to Nibbāna and finally Nibbāna itself a *yañña*. Thus the external *yañña* ritual is given not only an ethical interpretation but also a spiritual interpretation in Buddhism. Another very instructive evaluation of the Brahmanical Grand Sacrifice *vis-a-vis* the cultivation of boundless loving kindness in an *Anguttara Nikaya* (V. 150 f) discourse. Here Buddha says that the ancient royal sages, having overcome the earth teaming with beings made continuous sacrifices like the horse-sacrifice, the human sacrifice etc. But such sacrifices cannot equal even the sixteenth part of a mind well developed with loving kindness. This shows the spiritual heights envisaged in Buddhism, far above the mundane sacrificial rituals in Brahmanism.

C.Witanachchi

References

1. Williams, Monier, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* s.v. *yajña*
2. Pandit, M.P. (Compiled from the Writing of Sri Aurobindo), *Key to Vedic Symbolism*, Dipti Publications, Pondicherry, 1967,p.2
3. Barth,A., *The Religions of India*, Kegan Paul , Trench , Trübner and Co. Ltd, London, 1891, p. 34ff.
4. Macdonell, Arthur Anthony, *A Vedic Reader for Students*, Oxford University press, 1957, p. 195ff.
5. *Gradual Sayings* Vol. II p. 49 n.5
6. *ibid*.p.54
7. Pancy, Lalita Prasad, *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsidas 1971. p. 28
8. *ibid.* p. 58f
9. *Sanskrit- English Dictionary* s.v. *yāt*
10. ibid.p.54
11. Williams, Monier, *ibid.* s.v. *vāja*.
12. Barth, A. *ibid.* p. 56
13. *ibid.* 57. see also n. 1
14. Kindred Sayings I. 177f.)
15. *ibid.* 178f.

SADDANĪTI. The *Saddanīti* or "Laws of the Language" is a Pāli grammatical work written in Burma (Myanmar) by Ven. Aggavamsa who was popularly known as Aggapaṇḍita III. The book was written in 1154 A.C., i.e. 1697 years after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha. Aggavamsa lived in Pagan or Arimaddanapura in upper Burma during the reign of the king Narapatisiṭhu (1107-1202 A.C.). He was the spiritual adviser to the king. It is said Ven. Aggavamsa was well versed, not only in the whole *Tipiṭaka* including the commentaries, but also in many languages, sciences and other religions. He is supposed to have lived in a monastery on the northern plateau, above Pagan "the cradle of Pāli Burmese Literature". According to the *Gandhavamsa* he was of Jambudīpa (meaning India), but the Burmese writers often use it to mean Burma as well. Nothing more is known about the author of the *Saddanīti*.

The *Saddanīti*, the grammar of the *Tipiṭaka* is described as the most comprehensive work of its kind in existence. The *Gandhavamsa* (*JPTS*. 1896 p. 79) calls it *Saddanītipakaraṇa* written independently. Malalasekara (*DPPN*. Vol. II p. 1015) calls it "a very important grammatical work". It is based on the *Tipiṭaka* and has followed the *Kaccāyana grammar* closely. The author had dwelt fully on various grammatical points occurring in the *Tipiṭaka* and the commentaries and has discussed the views of different scholars therein. The book consists of three main sections, the *Padamālā* on the declension of nouns, the *Ākkhyātamālā* (*Dhātumālā*) dealing with the roots and their conjugations and the *Suttamālā* on *Sandhi* and *Samāsa*, with examples. But the proper grammatical part is the section called the *Suttamālā*. Ven. Aggavamsa has not followed Sanskrit grammar as done in the *Moggallāna grammar*, but has followed the *Kaccāyana* system. Yet it is not an accessory treatise to *Kaccāyana grammar*, but a separate independent grammatical work.

Further, it is divided into twenty-eight chapters and has seventy "*bhānavāras*". It contains seven hundred and seventy stanzas and one thousand, three hundred and forty four *Suttas*. It is universally acknowledged to be the most comprehensive grammatical work highly valuable and useful in the study of the Pāli language.

It was after the conquest of Rāmañña, the Lower Burma, by the king Aniruddha (Anorata 1044-77) and carrying away of scriptures, learned monks, relics etc. forcibly to Pagan, the capital of upper Burma (*Marammaraṭṭha*) the scholasticism proper commenced in Pagan. Though started late their progress in the scholastic sphere was unprecedented. Within a very short period, namely just hundred years after the introduction of scriptures to Pagan, they were able to produce a grammar like the *Saddanīti* which won the admiration of Mahāvihāra monks of Anuradhapura, which would be discussed later.

Both being Theravāda countries there had been a cordial relationship and religious intercourse between Sri Lanka and Burma since the time of King Vijayabāhu I (1070- 110 A.C.). There has been frequent exchange of scholars and texts between them across the sea. Few years after the completion of *Saddanīti*, an elder named Uttarajīva left Pagan (with his pupil Chapaṭa) and crossed the sea in order to visit the celebrated Mahāvihāra, taking with him a copy of *Saddanīti*. The grammar *Saddanīti* was received with enthusiastic admiration by the Mahāvihāra monks and declared that work superior to any work of that kind written by Sinhala scholars.

Further, according to the *Sāsanavamsa* (ed. Mabel Bode, London 1897, p.74), some Sinhala monks who were experts of grammar, having heard that there were many scholars in Pegu, paid a visit there and they were shown a copy of the *Saddanīti*, which they greatly appreciated. Thus the *Saddanīti* established the reputation of Burmese scholarship in that age and also the fame of the author and it is considered as the "first return gift from Burma to Sri Lanka" (Mabel Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma*, London 1909 p. 17).

The *Saddanīti* is also called the *Mahāsaddanīti*. Some think that there are two grammatical works as *Mahāsaddanīti* and *Cūlasaddanīti*. But there is nothing at the beginning or in the end of any section to support that view and the author in the original table of contents says nothing in favour of such a division. The *Saddanīti* is not edited and published under the *PTS*. But it has been edited (by Ven. Aruggoda Sīlananda) and printed by H.C. Cottle, Govt. printer, Colombo, Ceylon 1909 in the Sinhala script. The *Saddhanīti* is very popular up to date in Burma and is widely used by the students of the Pāli language. But it is hardly used in Sri Lanka,

probably due to the availability of other grammatical works. However the *Catalogue of Palm leaf Manuscripts* shows that there are fifty manuscripts in the temple libraries, which shows its acceptance in the past in Sri Lanka.

K. Arunasiri

SADDHA See ŚRADDHA

SADDHĀ: The P.T.S. Dictionary gives the meaning as faith, from the Vedic *śraddhā*; the verb *saddhahati* means to believe, to have faith in.

From the context of the *suttas* in the Buddhist canon, the meaning of *saddhā* in the early stratum comes out more in the sense of confidence, or, as some scholars[1] have pointed out, justified true belief. Since Buddhism's goal is *gñānic* and not *bhaktic*, *saddhā* as *amūlikā saddhā* or blind faith has no place in the doctrine. *Amūlikā saddhā* is not the kind of belief or confidence the Buddha encouraged his followers to have in the *dhamma* or himself. The motivation to follow the Noble Eightfold Path should be *ākāravati saddhā*, based on justified belief, rational faith. For example, the following statement is found in the *Kandāraka Sutta* (*M*. 51):

"A householder or householder's son or one born in some other clan hears the *dhamma*. On hearing the *dhamma* he acquires faith in the Tathāgata..."

"so taṃ dhammaṃ sutvā tathāgate saddhaṃ paṭilabhati ...".

As can be seen from the context, the faith referred to is not blind faith. It is confidence placed in the teacher and as a result in the teaching. Such statements are encountered very frequently in the texts.

There seems to be a divergence of opinion among scholars on the role of *saddhā* (belief, faith, confidence) in early Buddhism. K.N. Jayatilleke quotes them copiously in his classic, *Early Buddhist Theory of knowledge*[2] and refutes their arguments that Buddhism in contradictory. He suggests that one reason for the difference of opinion among scholars stem from the fact that "almost the entire field of Buddhism (the different schools, ancient and medieval) has been treated together with little regard for the historical perspective."[3] Jayatilleke points out that there are at least, two historical layers in the Buddhist canon.

One of the scholars Jayatilleke cites at putting forward the theory that faith "is the root of the correct view in Buddhism" is Poussin.[4] Keith[5] agrees with him and Mrs. Rhys Davids is quoted as saying "Years of study in Buddhism has shown me that for it, faith is no less important that it is for all religions worthy of the name[6]." Poussin believed that the critical outlook in Buddhism contradicted its emphasis as faith and Keith has stated that "the teaching of the Buddha saves him who has faith but destroys the faithless" Jayatilleke draws attention to the fact that Keith has mistranslated the quotation and therefore his conclusion is completely wrong[7] on the other hand Dr. Gyomroi-Ludowyk[8] understands the meaning of *saddhā* to be trust, confidence or belief in the teacher. She highlights the fact that the Buddha did not prohibit criticism and judgement and that the doctrine never demands absolute a *priory* faith in it. She also observes that Buddhism values knowledge above faith; disciples are praised by the Buddha for their wisdom and not their faith (*S*.I. 191); thus Sāriputta is praised for his wisdom (*A*. I-23) and Vakkali, 'the highest of those who had faith" (*A*. 1.22) was requested not to be attached to the person of the Buddha but concentrate on the *dhamma* (*S*. III 119 ff). Further, faith is not a characteristic of an arahant. It has no place in the Noble Eightfold Path.

Jayatilleke is inclined to agree with Dr Gymroi Ludowyk but qualifies his approval with his observation that there are at least two historical layers in the canon that have to be taken into account when evaluating *saddhā*. In the early stratum, the meaning is in consonance with the liberal spirit of inquiry found in the *Kālāma sutta*.

Jayatilleke also draws attention to the fact that *bhatti* (devotion) *pema* (filial affection) and *pasāda* (mental appreciation) overlap with *saddhā*. Although a distinction can be made between *saddhā* on the one hand and *bhatti* and *pema* on the other hand, it is more difficult to separate the meaning of *pasāda* from *saddhā*. *Aveccappasāda* is similar in meaning to *ākāravatī saddhā* - rational faith. They are both said to be 'rooted, established, fixed and irremovable (*mūlajātā patiṭṭhitā...... daḷhā asamhāriya*. *M*. I. 320).

An important analysis of the word's meaning is that it has several aspects, affective, connative and cognitive. This view is supported by Dutt[9] who discerns two distinctive meanings in *saddhā*. 1. faith (*pasāda*) producing *pīti*(serene pleasure) and 2. self confidence producing *viriya* (energy). These two aspects refer to the affective and the connative.

The *Nettippakaraṇa* draws attention to the cognitive aspect of *saddhā*, when it states that faith has the characteristic of trust and the proximate state of belief[10]. Miss. M. Gupta[11] has pointed out that in the *Vedic* texts, at least in the *Vedic samhitas*, *bhakti* implied confidence, trust, belief based on the knowledge of truth.

The object of *saddhā* in the *nikāyas* is most frequently the Buddha.

There is a revealing passage quoted by Jayatilleke from *S*. IV. 298[12]. This passage clearly elicits the early Buddhist stand with regard to the emphasis on wisdom over faith. In it, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta asks Citta, "Do you believe (*saddahasi*) in the statement of the recluse Gotama that there is a jhānic state (trance) in which there is no discursive reflective thought and there is a cessation of discursive thought and reflection? Citta replies that he does not accept this as a belief (*saddhāya*), since he has attained up to the fourth *jhāna*. He says "knowing and seeing thus, why should I accept this on the grounds of faith in any recluse or brahamin, that there is a trance in which there is no discursive or reflective thought....".

It is said an arahant is devoid of faith (*assaddho* ; *Dh*.97). It is also claimed that an arahant must be in a position to claim the highest knowledge without having to rely on faith (*S*.IV. 138).

Some valuable insights are shed on what is Right View in the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* of the*Majjhima Nikāya*. There it is described how RightView is acquired, which establishes faith in the doctrine. One way is to know what is wholesome and what is unwholesome. What constitutes unwholesome are greed, hate, delusion, which keep the individual in *dukkha* fraught *samsāra*. What constitutes wholesome are non-greed, non-hate, non-delusion. When one understands this well, he abandons the underlying tendency to lust, aversion, view, the conceit of "I am", ignorance and thereby develops knowledge.

In the *Vimamsaka Sutta* (*M*. 47), the Buddha tells the bhikkhus that hey should investigate the Tathāgata in respect of two kinds of states cognisable through the eye and through the ear, states such as defilements or mixed states of good and bad, or cleansed states. Having verified these facts, the inquirer should investigate the Tathāgata further as to whether these cleansed states have been attained recently or have been in him for a long period of time. Then he should investigate further as to whether the Tathāgata exhibits the dangers that arise in connection with renown and fame. He should also investigate whether the Tathāgata is restrained through fear or whether he avoids indulgence in sensual pleasures because he is without lust, through destruction of lust. Also, these questions should be put to the Tathāgata direct.

Having satisfied himself on all count, when the inquiring bhikkhu listens to the *dhamma* and comes to know the correctness of certain assertions in the teaching, through direct knowledge, he is in a position to repose confidence in the teacher. (*satthari pasidam*). The final passage of the *Vimamsaka sutta* states:

"Bhikkhus, when anyone's faith is planted rooted and established in the Tathāgata through these reasons, terms and phrases, his faith is said to be supported by reasons, rooted in vision, firm." Vision in the above passage has the meaning of seeing and knowing the *dhamma ñāna dassana*.

One reason why the Buddha would have encouraged an enquiring attitude in his disciples could be because the first and the second Noble Truth may be immediately verifiable through empirical knowledge, but what of the nibbānic state and the path to it?[13] Therefore, when one reposes confidence in the teacher and sees in him the attainments characterized in a *Sammā Sambuddha*, one is then motivated to follow the path recommended in the spirit of "*ehi passiko*". This kind of confidence that one acquires in the teacher and the teaching is summed up in the words "He who sees the dhamma sees me. He who sees me, sees the dhamma."[14]

Akāravati saddhā is therefore confidence in the teaching and the teacher which motivates one to wade deeper and deepter, as it were, into the stream of the *dhamma* and follow the way to the goal.

In the *Purāṇijasa Sutta* (*S.* II pp. 104-5), the Buddha draws a parallel between his discovery of the Noble Eightfold Path to Nibbāna and a traveller wandering through a forest and stumbling upon an ancient path leading to an ancient city that had been inhabited by people in the past. It was with parks, groves, ponds and ramparts, a perfectly delightful place. The parallel we can draw from this tale is apt. Were the man to return and report to others about the city, they would have to repose faith in the reliability of the reporter to believe his tale. With that initial trust created in the reliability of the reporter, the people who listened to him could themselves undertake the journey along the path pointed out and travelling along it reach the ancient city. That initial trust, confidence or belief is what is called *saddhā*. It is not *amulikā saddhā* but *ākāravati saddhā* because it is based on justified belief.

The *Chankī Sutta* (*M.* 95) reveals a liberal, open minded attitude on the part of the Buddha by encouraging his disciples to investigate his person through personal verification. At the same time, though faith supported by reason is what is praised as conducive to probing the teacher and the teaching for the purpose of acquiring further confidence, it is implicitly stated in so many analogies that the goal of Nibbāna is not realised through reasoning.

With regard to Kāpathika's question presented in the sutta as to what the Buddha thinks of the ancient brahmanic hymns in the Vedic scriptural collection and the brahamans' contention that "only this is true, anything else is wrong: (*idam eva saccaṃ mogham aññaṃ*) the Buddha replied that the Teacher- pupil lineage going back in time to a hoary distant past can be likened to a long line of blindmen, one behind the other, for, none of those seers of old has claimed that he has seen and known the truth through direct knowledge and then declared "we know this, we see this, only this is true. Anything else is false." So belief based on what they say is based on blind faith *amulikā saddhā*.

The Buddha explains that there are five things that may help one to arrive at the truth of a proposition but which may also lead to a wrong conclusion. Those five fallible'means of knowledge'are faith, aproval, oral tradition, reasoned cogitation and reflective acceptance of aview. (*Saddhā, ruci, anussava, ākāraparivitakka, diṭṭhi nijjhānakkhanti*). These means of knowledge are fallible because something may be accepted on faith but may prove to be wrong eventually. In the same way, something may not be accepted through faith but prove to be correct. Likewise, the other four means of knowledge are also fallible. Thus it is not prudent on the part of a wise man who wishes to be truthful and to 'protect the truth' (*saccānurakkhati*) to come to a definite conclusion through those five means.

The Buddha was then asked how one may rightly protect the truth. The reply was that the truthwill be protected so long as the person, without being dogmatic, says "I accept such and such as faith" but does not jump to a conclusion that what he has accepted is the turth and nothing but the truth.

The next question asked of the Buddha is in what way one could discover the truth (*saccānubodha*). The reply is, by the investigation of the teacher as whether he has been completely liberated from those taints. Then having satisfied oneself on that score, when he hears the *dhamma* from the teacher and finds it to be profound, hard to see and hard to understand, peaceful, sublime, unattainable by pure reasoning, subtle, to be experienced by the wise, then he is filled with faith. He is then motivated to visit the teacher, pay respect to him and give ear to his teaching. Having heard the teaching, he memorizes it, examines the meaning and gains a reflective acceptance of it, resulting in zeal springing up in him. This would lead to the application of will to scrutinize the teaching more deeply. Having scrutinized the teaching he strives and resolutely striving he realizes through his body the ultimate truth and having penetrated it with wisdom, sees it. In this way there will be the discovery of truth, but still there is no arrival at the truth experientially (*saccānupatti*). Finally, it is said, the truth is arrived at by striving, by familiarising oneself with the *dhamma* and by constantly developing and increasing zeal.

"..... *dhammānam āsevanā bhāvanā bahulīkammā saccānupatti hoti, ettāvatā kho bhāradvāja , saccānupatti hoti...*"

In the *Kālāma Sutta* (*A.* III 65) when the Kalamas asked the Buddha how they may conclude that a

teaching is correct and true his answer again reflects the liberal spirit of inquiry. His advice was:

"Do not go by (a) oral tradition (b) lineage of teachers (c) by here say (d) by a collection of scriptures (e) by reflecting on reason (f) by the acceptance of a view after pondering it (g) by the seeming competence of the speaker (h)because you think "the ascetic is my teacher". The Pāli words in the text, mostly in the instrumental case are: (a)*anussavena* (b)*paramparāya* (c)*itikirāya* (d)*piṭakasampadāya* (e)*takkahetu* (f)*nayahetu* (g)*ākāraparivitakkena* (h)*diṭṭhinijjhānakkhantiyā* (i)*bhabbarūpatāya* (j)*Samaṇo no garūti*

The first four words imply acceptance through respect for sacred authority, i.e., tradition and scriptural texts. Even *itikira* which means rumour, something heard through word of mouth but which has the nuance of antiquity like '*itihāsas*' and '*purāṇas*'. These latter two formed the fifth component of Vedic lore, after the fourth which is the *Atharvaveda- Itihāsas*, though not identical in meaning to *itikira*, were not strictly scriptural but included everything other than the scriptural content of the Vedas and were thought worthy of giving ear to. The next four words seem to reject basing one's acceptance of a doctrine on logic, inference, reasoning and speculation. The last two words in the list, according to Jayatilleka, refer to the seeming reliability of the Teacher and respect for the word of an ascetic on the score of his being 'our teacher'.

The question is asked in the *Kālāma sutta* if one is not to go by these above criteria, then how is one to conclude that a Teaching is true? The Buddha's reply is again very liberal. When one knows for one's self that certain practices are not skilful, blameworthy, evoking censure from the wise, resulting in unhappiness and of no benefit to one, then reject them, after testing them in the light of one's own experience (*attanā Jāneyyātha*). Accept and abide by those practices that are skilful, without blame, praised by the wise, leading to happiness and to one's benefit, after having tested them in the light of one's own experience.

So, what is advised is not to reject or accept a statement without personal verification.

Considering this charter for the freedom of thought when deciding for oneself the truthfulness and correctness of a religious teaching, one cannot accept *Saddhā* to mean blind faith.

Another *Sutta* which establishes the distinction between blind faith and faith based on reason, as a first step to considering the legitimacy of a doctrine, is the *Cūlahatthipadopama Sutta* (M.27).

The Buddha clearly states through the analogy of the elephant's foot print that a wise woodsman would not conclude from the large foot print that it is that of a big bull elephant. This was the instant conclusion of Pilotika in his analogy. The Buddha says the large foot print could have been made by a stunted she-elephant-whose foot prints are large. So the woodsman if he is wise will not jump to any conclusion. Then following the foot print he sees another large foot print and some scraping high up on a tree; but still he does not conclude that the foot print belong to a big bull elephant because he knows there are tall she-elephants with prominent teeth. Then while following these foot-prints, he sees a large foot print with scraping high up and marks made by tusks. Still he refrains from concluding that the foot print is that of a large bull-elephant because he knows there are tall she elephants with big feet, prominent teeth and tusks. Finally, he sees a large foot print and some broken off branches and sees a bull elephant at the root of a tree or in the open. Then only does he conclude that those foot prints belong to that bull elephant.

In the same way, the Buddha says when a Tathāgata appears in the world and preaches the doctrine and a person hears the doctrine and acquires faith and renounces lay life and reaches the first *jhāna*, he does not come to any conclusion. He merely perseveres in his epports and attains the second, third and fourth *Jhānas*. But even then he does not jump to any conclusion; likewise, when he attains *pubbenivāsānussatiñāna* and *dibbacakkhu*. Only after he attains *āsavakkhayañāna* and sees for himself that all the taints are eradicated in him, that he knows he is fully liberated: "He understands: Birth is destroyed, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done, has been done, there is no more coming to a state of being". It is at this point of seeing the foot print of the Tathāgata, as it were, that he concludes, "The Blessed

one is fully enlightened, the *dhamma* is well proclaimed by the Blessed one, the Saṅgha is practising the good way." Thus it is only after completing the practice of the path and reaching *sammā ñāṇa dassana* and *sammā vimutti* of the Noble Eight fold path and achieves fruition of the path that one can say he is convinced of the truth of the doctrine. Up to that point, he is motivated to follow the 'footprints' through *ākāravati saddhā* or justified belief in a continually increasing intensity of belief.

It is said that when one enters the path as a stream entrant (*sotāpatti*) one's doubts are dispelled, but this must mean initial disbelief replaced by *ākāravati saddhā*. One must attain the goal of *nibbāna* and its fruition to know comprehensively the four Noble truths.

Samaneri Suvimalee

References

1. see K.N. Jayatillaka, *Early Buddhist Theory of knowledge* (London 1963) Delhi, 1980. pp. 382-401. and Asanga Tilakaratne, *Saddhā*: a pre-requisite of religious Action in Professor Y. Karunadasa Felisitation Volume. Colombo 1997.
2. Jayatilleka, *op.cit.*pp. 382-89.
3. *Ibid*, p.369
4. Louis de la V. Poussin, '*Faith and Reason in Buddhism*' in transactions of the third *International Congress for the History of Religious* vol. II, *1908, pp. 32-43.*
5. A.B. Keith *Buddhist Philosophy* oxford 1923
6. Mrs Rhys Davids, *Wayfarers words*, vol. III p. 1124.
7. See Jayatillake, *op. cit.* p. 385
8. Dr. Gyomiroi-Ludowyk, '*The Valuation of Saddhā in the early Buddhist Texts*' in U.C.R. , vol.5, p. 37.
9. N. Dutt, '*Place of faith in Buddhism* in the I.H.G vol. 16, p.639
10. *Nettippakaraṇa*, 28 see Jayatilleka, *op.cit.* p. 388
11. Miss. M Das Gupta, '*Sraddhā and Bhakti* in the Vedic Literature, in I.H.Q.; vol.6, p. 322 quoted in EBTK. p. 388.
12. Jayatillake, *op.cit.*p.398
13. see Asanga Tilakaratne, *op.cit.*p.595-596
14. *S.*III p.120

SADDHAMMAPAJJOTIKĀ. The *Saddhamma pajjotikā* is the commentary written for the *Niddesa*, one of the fifteen texts of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the Theravāda school of Buddhism. Though the *Niddesa* consists of two main parts the *Mahā Niddesa* and the *Culla Niddesa*, the commentary is reckoned as one unit bearing the same name *Saddhammapajjotikā*. In case the whole *Niddesa* commentary is printed as a single unit it would obviously become unwieldly due its size. Therefore probably for the convenience of the readership. The *PTS* has made arrangements to print the *Mahā Niddesa* commentary in two units and the *Culla Niddesa* commentary in one unit, edited by A.P. Buddhadatta Mahā Thera. According to the tradition the whole commentary consists of little over forty "*bhāṇavāras*" (recitals). As per the colophon, it was written by Ven. Upasena of the Mahāvihāra[1] resident at the *pirivena* west of the Mahāthūpa of Anurādhapura, built by a minister named Bhattisena[2], on a request made by a learned Thera named Deva.

The colophon further adds that the *Saddhammapajjotikā* was completed in the 26th regnal year of king Sirinivāsa Siri Saṅgabodhi. But there appear to be no consensus among the scholars as regards the correct identification of the king. The king named Sirisaṅghabodi (Sinhala Siri-saṅgabo) is reported to have reigned only for two years (307-309 A.C.). The two kings Aggabodhi II and III, though both had the epithet "Sanghabodhi" neither of them appear to have ruled for twenty six years. But king Aggabodhi I who ascended the throne in 563 A.C. is reported to have ruled for 34 years. But it is not recorded that he had the epithet Saṅghabodi. Yet it is recorded in chapter XLI of the *Mahāvaṃsa* that he built a *pirivena* named Sirisanghabodi, and it is presumed that he too had the epithet Sanghabodhi. In the light of the above facts Polwatte Buddhadatta Thera concludes that the king referred to in the *Saddhammapajjotikā* is Aggabodhi I and says that the commentary concerned might have been written in 589 A.C.

But Paranavitāna says that king Mahānāma (410-432 A.C.) was known as Sirinivāsa, the first part of the king's name referred to in the commentary (ie. Sirinivāsa Sirisanghabodhi). In spite of the fact that king Mahānama ruled for only 22 years according to the *Mahāvamsa*, Paranavitana holds the view that the king under reference could be Mahānāma. He further

adds that even after the death of the king it is possible that they have used his regnal years, due to the troublesome period that followed Mahānāma's reign in the country.

Nothing more is known about the author. His name is not given in the list of commentators who succeeded Buddhaghosa, given in the *Nikāyasaṅgraha*. The Burmese *Gandhavaṃsa* includes his name among the Sri Lankan authors (*Gandhavaṃsa* pp 66-7). The *Sāsanavaṃsa* only identifies him as the author of *Saddhammapajjotikā*'.

The *Saddhammapajjotikā* occupies a special place among the commentaries because it is a commentary on the *Niddesa* which itself is a commentary. The *Niddesa* is an old commentary on the *Aṭṭhaka* and the *Pārāyana vaggas* and the *Khaggavisāna sutta* (at present embodied in the *Suttanipāta*) given canonical status. But the *Niddesa* has followed a dictionary type of exposition, forerunner of the later commentarial method. Under normal circumstances a commentary written to a commentary is called a *Ṭīkā* and the *Saddhammapajjotikā* should have been called a *Ṭīkā*. But, as the *Niddesa* is given canonical status, its commentary the *Saddhammapajjotikā* enjoys the position of an *aṭṭhakatha* (commentary). At the same time there exists a separate commentary called the *Paramatthajotikā* for the *Suttanipāta* ascribed to Buddhaghosa, which contains the exegesis of the *Aṭṭhakatha* and the *Pārāyana vaggas* and the *Khaggavisāna sutta*. Thus it should be clear that the *Aṭṭhakavagga* and the *Pārāyanavagga* and the *Khaggavisāna sutta* occupy a unique position in the Pali Literature, being commented upon thrice. First in the *Niddesa*, next in the *Suttanipāta* commentary the *Paramatthajotikā* and finally in the *Saddhammapajjotikā* the *Niddesa* commentary.

At the commencement of the exegesis as usual Ven. Upasena declares that he would abide by the Mahāvihāra tradition and extract whatever appropriate decisions of the ancients (*porāṇā*) thus:

Mahāvihāra vāsīnaṃ sajjhāyamhi patiṭṭhito
Gahetabbaṃ gahetvāna porāṇe suvinicchayaṃ
(*NdA*. p.2)

Though the *Saddhammapajjotikā* is commenting on the *Niddesa* the author often comments on the passages of the original text the *Suttanipāta* (*Aṭṭhaka* and *Pārāyana vaggas* and the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* in the *Suttanipāta*). In those instances Ven. Upasena has extracted relevant lines from the *Suttanipāta* commentary the *Paramattajotikā*. In the course of his extractions from the *Suttanipāta* commentary the Ven. Author has gone so far as to refer to certain latter parts of a connected story without making mention of its beginning. For example, towards the end of the exegesis on the second stanza of the *Khaggavisāna Sutta* he says:

"*Evam vuttā te amaccā evaṃ āhaṃsu: idaṃ bhante kuhiṃ gacchāmāti*"

This refers to a king and his ministers. But at the beginning of the extracted passage no mention of a king or his minister is found.

Another instance, while commenting on the *Purābedha-sutta Niddesa* he says:

"*imassa suttassa itoparesañca kalahavivāda*
……
Attadaṇḍa suttānaṃ sammāparibbājaniya sutta vaṇṇanāyaṃ vuttanayam' eva sāmaññato uppatti veditabbāti".

Apparently the Ven. Commentator has forgotten the fact that he was commenting on the *Niddesa* that does not contain the *Sammāparibbājaniya Sutta*. The person who reads the *Saddhammapajjotikā* only, would be puzzled at these disconnected extractions. In case he was referring the reader to the *Sammāparibbājaniya Sutta* exegesis in the *Suttanipāta* commentary he should have mentioned so.

Similarly the author has copied explanatory matter such as on *Paṭiccasamuppāda* and *Ariyasacca* from the *Visuddhimagga* or the *Sammohavinodani* the *Vibhaṅga* commentary. Thus it is clear that the *Saddhammapajjotikā* is posterior to the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Sammohavinodani* and the *Suttanipāta* commentary the *Paramatthajotikā*.

As regards the quality of the work, the scholars are hesitant to put it on par with the works of celebrated commentators like Buddhaghosa or Dhammapala. In this respect Malalasekera observes:



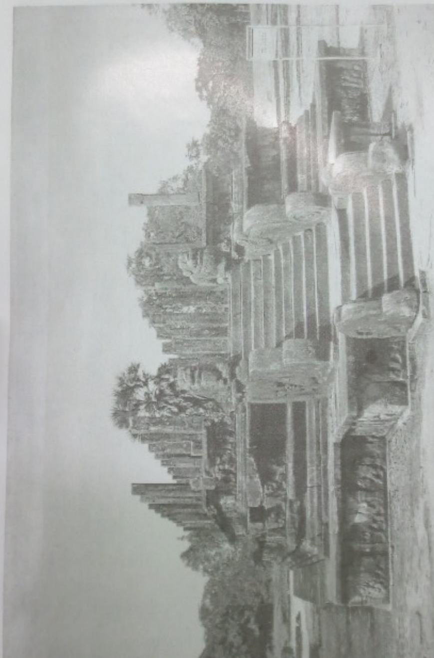
Council Chamber of King Nissaṅkamalla of Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

16–CM 5274



Palace of King Parakkramabāhu of Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

PLATE XIV



The Royal Pavilian of Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

PLATE XV



Śivadevāla No. 01 of Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



Thupārāma in Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

PLATE XVII

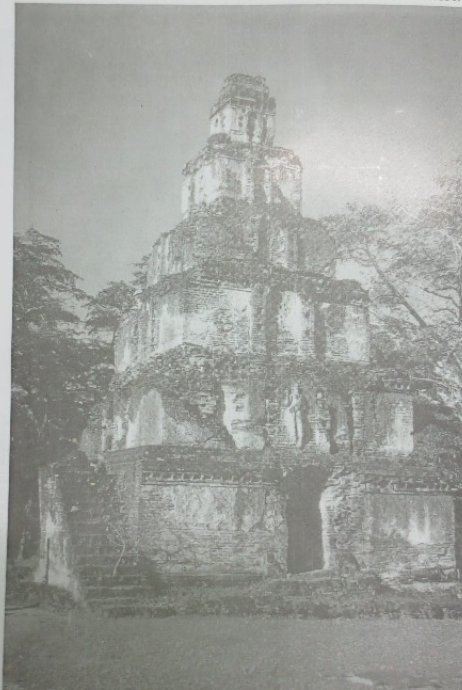


The Vaṭadāge in Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

PLATE XVIII



Latā Maṇḍapaya built by King Nissankamalla.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



The Seven Storied Mansion in Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



Śivadevāla No. 02 of Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



Lankātilleka-Kirivehera in Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

PLATE XXII

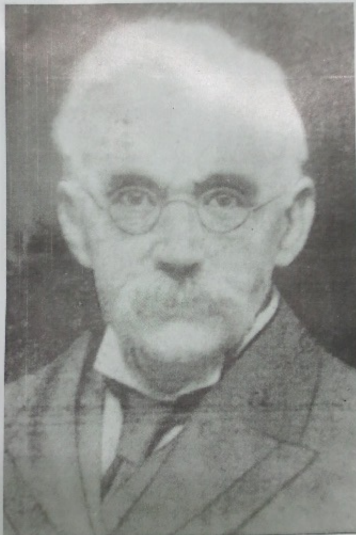


Galvihāra in Polonnaruwa.
Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



Ven. Sāsanavaṃsa Kavidhaja Sirisaddhammācariya yati Saṅghapati Ambagahawatte Mahānāyaka Thero, the founder of the Rāmañña Nikāya of Sri Lanaka.

Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne



T. W. Rhys Davids, the British Civil Servant who served in Sri Lanka during the colonial times, who mastered the Pāli language and founded the Pāli Text Society of England. He was also the Co-editor of the prestigious Pāli-English dictionary with William Stede.

Courtesy : M. W. E. Karunaratne

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

Volume VII , Fascicle 4

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM

Founder Editor-in Chief

G. P. MALALASEKERA, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Professor Emeritus

Editor-in Chief

W. G. WEERARATNE, M. A., Ph. D.

VOLUME VII

FASCICLE 4 : Saddhammappakāsinī – Sāsanavaṃsa

2006

Published by the Department of Buddhist Affairs,
Ministry of Religious Affairs,
Sri Lanka.

CM 5968–(03/2006) Printed at The Govt. Printing Dept. Sri Lanka.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM
EDITORIAL BOARD

"It is fairly a long work, but distinctly inferior to the achievements of Dhammapala or Buddhaghosa. The author was merely retranslating into Pali what he found in Ceylon commentaries and makes no attempt at originality."[4]

Basing on some similarities which have been observed between this commentary to *Paṭisambhidāmagga* some suppose a teacher pupil relationship between the two commentators (*Sinhala – Encyclopaedia* Vol. IV. p. 722).

K. Arunasiri

References

[1] A.P. Buddhadatta Maha Thera in his Introduction to *Saddhammapjjotikā* Volume I, has confused Ven. Upasena with Upatissa the author of *Vimuktimagga*. But in his "Editor's Note" to the Vol. II of the commentary he admits that he has mistaken Upatissa for Upasena.

[2] In the colophon quoted in *Pali Literature* (Sinhala) by A.P. Buddhadatta Maha Thera, Colombo 1966 p. 229 and the *Sinhala Encyclopaedia* Vol. IV p. 722 the name of the Minister who built the Pirivena appears as Kittisena.

[3] According to the *Sinhala Encyclopaedia* Vol. IV p. 723 Ven. Upasena I mentioned among the Sinhala Ācariyas in the Inscription at Buddhagaya could be the author of the *Saddhammapajjotikā*

[4] *Pali Literature of Ceylon* G.P. Malalasekera Colombo. 1958 p. 117.

SADDHAMMAPPAKĀSINĪ. *Saddhammappakāsinī* is the commentary to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, the 12th text of the *Khuddhaka Nikāya* of the Theravāda School of Buddhism. According to its colophon it has been written by Ven. Mahānāma, resident at the *pirivena* built by the Minister Uttara in the third year after the death of king Moggallāna (495-512 A.C.)

Ven Mahānāma who is supposed to have composed the *Mahāvaṃsa* was king Dhātusena's (459-477 A.C.) uncle as per the *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. XXXVIII Verse 16). The authorship of the *Saddhammappakāsinī* too is generally ascribed to him. As stated above *Saddhammappakāsinī* has been composed three years after the death of king Dhātusena's son Moggallāna. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says that king Dhātusena had to fight for 25 years before he secured the throne. Thus it is presumed that Dhātusena was at least 40 years of age at the time of his accession to the throne. Dhātusena who reigned for 18 years was succeeded by his elder son Kassapa who ruled for another 18 years. It was Moggallāna who succeeded Kassapa and ruled the kingdom for further 18 years. The *Saddhammappakāsinī* was written 3 years after the death of Moggallāna. The total of the reigns of the three kings and the three years after the death of Moggallāna comes to 57 years. Considering the above information A. P. Buddhadatta[1] and Geiger pointed out that Ven. Mahānāma, the uncle of king Dhatusena, would have been nearly 96 years old in the years the *Saddhammappakāsini* is stated to have been written, obviously too old to write a book of this nature, therefore they think that Ven Mahānāma, the author of the *Saddhammappakāsinī* should be his pupil or another thera by the same name.

Further the minister Uttara the builder of the *pirivena*, residing where the author wrote the commentary, is the General of king Moggallāna as per the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. XXXIX Verse 58). At the same time the author gives the year of completion of the book as the third year after the death of Moggallāna, instead of calculating the year from the accession of his successor. This shows that there appear to have been a strong connection between the author and king Moggallāna.

In the preamble as usual the author declares that he would follow the ancient tradition. However it has been found that the following two stanzas are common to the preambles of both commentaries the *Saddhammappakāsinī* and the *Saddhammapajjotikā*, the *Niddesa* commentary.

Avokkamanto Samayaṃ Sakañca
Anāmasanto Samayaṃ Parañca
Pubbāparepaṭṭhakathā nayañca
Yathānurūpaṃ upasamharanto
Ñāṇappabhedāvahanassa tassa
Yogīhi nekehi nisevitassa
Atthaṃ apubbaṃ anuvaṇṇayanto
Suttañca yuttañ ca avokkamanto

However it is seen that the positions of the stanzas have been interchanged.

Under normal circumstance one commentator would not copy the stanzas from another's preface. Therefore it is possible that the two commentators are one and the same or perhaps teacher and pupil. A. P. Buddhadatta [2] who has calculated the period of Mahānāma as *circa* 563 A.C. and Upasena's period as *circa* 518 A.C. suggests that Upasena could be a pupil of Mahānāma.

Buddhadatta[3] has further come across an instance where the author of the *Saddhammappakāsinī* has not fully agreed with an explanation given in the *Visuddhimagga*. A difference between the story of Saṅkicca Thera found in the *Saddhammppakāsinī* and the same story in the *Visuddhimagga* has also received his[4] attention. A resemblance in the sentences as well as in words in the story of Ghosita Gahapati in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakāthā* and the same story found in the *Saddhammappakāsinī* has made Buddhadatta[5] to conclude that the *Saddhammappakāsinī* is posterior to the *Dhammapadaṭṭakathā*.

The Pāli text of the *Saddhammppakāsinī* the commentary to the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* has been edited (by C.V. Joshi) and published by the *PTS* in three volumes. It has also been published under the *Simon Hewavitārana Bequest* in Sri Lanka in Sinhala characters.

K. Arunasiri

References

1. A. P. Buddhadatta *Pāli literature* (complete edition in Sinhala) Colombo 1966 p.232.
2. *Ibid.* p. 231
3. *Ibid.* p. 234
4. 200 cit
5. *Ibid.* p. 235.

SADDHARMA-PUṆḌARĪKA-SŪTRA or the Lotus of the True Doctrine is one of the nine *Dharmas* or Mahāyāna *sūtras* proper. *Dharma* here appears to be an abbreviation for *dharma-paryāya* meaning religious texts. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka- sūtra* occupies the most important place among them. The remaining eight *sūtras* are :

1. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*
2. *Gaṇḍavyūha*
3. *Daśabhūmīśvara*
4. *Samādhirāja*
5. *Laṅkāvatāra*
6. *Tathāgata-guyhaka*
7. *Lalitavistara*. and
8. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*.

These do not comprise a canon of any sect, but a series of texts that have been composed at different periods and represent the various aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism. They are also known as *Vaipulya-sūtras*. All these works enjoy a high veneration in Nepal to-day. Of these, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, presents an abstract of the philosophy of Buddhism. *(See Prajñāpāramitā above)*. The *Tathāgata-guyhaka-sūtra* is a treatise on the esoteric doctrine. The remaining *sūtras* including the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra*, on the other hand deal with the ordinary doctrine and discipline in narrative style, using examples and anecdotes interspersed here and there with instances of dogmatic instruction.

The title of the work '*Saddharma- puṇḍarīka*' has been explained as follows:

The lotus is symbol of purity and perfection because it grows out of mud but is not defiled, just as the Buddha is born into this world but lives above the world, because its fruits are said to be ripe when the flower blooms, just as the truth preached by the Buddha bears immediately the fruit of enlightenment'.

The present version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* contains 27 chapters including an introductory chapter and an epilogue. All chapters with the exception of Chapters 21, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 27 contain metrical compositions inserted into the body of the prose text or appended at the end of chapters. The last chapter in the form of an epilogue appears to be a moderate expansion of a short prose passage.

In the chapters where metrical versions are found there are occasional discrepancies between the prose and the verse, but it is difficult to say which of them is earlier. However, in certain instances, the presence of *gāthās* in the *sūtra* is indicated both in prose and poetry. It, therefore, appears that original prose passages that served as an introduction to the verses

were later expanded into a regular prose version at a time when the poetical form for the exposition of religious matters had become obsolete or more or less impracticable. These prose passages, though not meant to be a formal commentary, would tend to elucidate the older text in metrical form. But this does not mean that all poetical sections in the text are anterior to the prose. We have definite proof that *gāthās* of some chapters have been added in later times, as confirmed by the Chinese preface to the translation of the *Sūtra* of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta in 601 A.C. On the other hand, the chapters without metrical passages clearly belong to a later period. It is, therefore, not at all possible to arrive at a specific date for the different sections of the work. It therefore behoves us only to consider at what point of history the present redaction of the text was made.

There are various Chinese translations of the *Saddharma- puṇḍarīka-sūtra,* some of them containing only parts though. The oldest Chinese translation in existence belongs to the 3rd century A. C. We may, therefore, safely assign the work a date prior to the second century A. C. This also finds support from the fact that Nagarjuna quotes from the work, which makes it very probable that the *Sūtra* must have been in existence at least in the second century. Of the Chinese translations, three belonging to 255, 270 and 386 A.C. respectively, which are earlier than the extant ones are now lost. The more important Chinese translations of the *Sūtra,* which are in existence, may be listed in chronological order as follows:

1. The translation titled *Can-fa-hwa-cin* by Cu Fa-hu (Dharnarakṣa) of the Western Tsin dynasty, 265-316 A. C. It contains 28 chapters.

2. *Sa-than-fan-tho-li-cin,* an incomplete translation of an unknown author, belong to more or less the same period.

3. *Mian-fa-lien-hwa-cin* by Kumārarajiva belonging to the latter Tshin dynasty, 384-417 A.C. This version too contains 28 chapters. Of Chapter 24 Kumarajiva has translated the prose only. The *gāthās* were added by Jñānagupta during the Northen Cen dynasty, 557-589.

4. *Thien-phin-miao-fa-lien-hwa-cin* by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta of the Sui dynasty, 601A. C. This MS contains 27 chapters. This is the translation which runs parallel to the present text of the *Saddharma- puṇḍarika-sūtra.*

It will be seen that the earlier translations have the number of chapters contained therein as twenty-eight, and so must be their originals. But this difference in the number of chapters has no bearing on their contents, because Chapter 11 of the present text and the latest Chinese translation has been split up into two in the earlier translations as Chapters 11 and 12. There is also no change in the order of the chapters in all the texts and translations up to Chapter 20 (or Chapter 21 of the older versions). The positioning of the remaining seven chapters however differ slightly. This would suggest that the first 20 chapters and the last (Chapter 27 which is the epilogue) comprise the original text and that the last six chapters barring Chapter 27 are later additions. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarika* has been translated into Tibetan by Srendrabodhi and Sna-nam Ye-'ses-sde.

There had been a Sanskrit commentary on the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika* by Vasubandhu, the famed teacher of the Yogācāra School. This work has yet to be recovered. Vasubandhu was the *Guru* of Gunaprabha who taught the famous Sri Harsa of Kanauj, who authored the three Sanskrit plays *Ratnāvali, Priyadarsika* and *Nāgananda.* The famous Chinese traveller-pilgrim Yuan Chwang or Hieun Tsang who visited India during his reign and became a friend of his, mentions both Vasubandhu and Gunaprabha in his writings. Both these scholars appear to have died by the time Hieun Tsang visited India. Harsa ruled India from about 605 A. C. to 647 A. C. Taking these facts into consideration, Kern assigns this commentary to the period between 550 and 600 A. C.

The Contents of the *Saddharma- puṇḍarī ka - sutra* : The work is divided into 27 chapters called *parivartas.* A summary of their contents may be given as follows:

1. ***Nidānaparivarta*** *or* Prologue. This sets the stage for the exposition of the *Saddharma- puṇḍarī ka-sūtra,* by Tathāgata Sākyamuni. Once upon a time the Buddha was dwelling on the Gṛjhrakūṭa Mountain at Rajagrha. One day when he was in deep meditation, surrounded by hosts of his disciples, followers, gods, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Guardian Deities and all the

rest, all of a sudden a ray of light emitted from within the circle of hair between his eye-brows. It extended over 18,00000 Buddha-lands and laid bare all the worlds with their inhabitants. The Bodhisattva Maitreya who was present among the crowd was awed in astonishment like any other and addressing the ever young Bodhisattva Manjusri inquired the cause of that miraculous phenomenon. In reply to his inquiry, Manjusri, referring to a similar miracle performed by a previous Buddha, Candrasūryapradīpa by name, declares that it is a fore-token signaling the exposition of the Lotus of the True Doctrine by the Buddha that day itself.

2. ***Upāyakauśalya-parivarta.*** The Buddha rises from his deep meditation and addresses Sāriputra to dwell on the profundity and incomprehensibility of his doctrine. The latter on behalf of the twelve thousand Arhants, the other Bhiksu-Bhiksunis, Upāsaka-Upāsikās who had gathered round the Tathāgata and on his own behalf, asks the Buddha to explain why he describes his doctrine as unfathomable and incomprehensible. Twice Sāriputra's request was turned down by the Buddha, but when he insisted for the third time, the Lord relented and prepared to lay bare his doctrine. At this point 5000 proud monks and nuns and devotees left the assembly after making due obeisance to the Buddha. Satisfied that his assembly was now rid of chaff and trash and that only the pith remained, he set out to expound the doctrine. This chapter mainly deals with *upāya-kauśalya* or skilful means such as different interpretations, indications, explanations and illustrations that the Buddha proposes to use in elucidating his doctrine.

The other noteworthy feature of this chapter is the Buddha's insistence on following the singular vehicle of Buddha-yāna in preference to the three vehicles of Srāvaka-yāna, Arhat-yāna and Pratyekabuddhayāna, all of which fail to lead the innumerable creatures of all the worlds to emancipation.

This chapter discloses that the practice of making Buddha images was known in India as early as the 1st century A. C. Here the work refers to the making of beautiful Buddha images of lead, iron, clay and plaster, and also to the painting of images on painted walls with complete limbs and the hundred holy signs.

3. ***Aupamya-parivarta.*** The Buddha prophesies that Sariputra in a future birth will become a Tathāgata named Padmaprabha and that, after having announced the future destiny of the Bodhisattva called Dhṛtiparipūrna, he will attain perfect *Nirvāna*. The second half of the chapter contains a parable (*upamā* whence the chapter gets its title) in which this mundane existence is compared to a derelict house inhabited by a large family and all sorts of creatures, spirits and goblins. Suddenly the house is on fire from which the householder manages to escape. But his children are playing inside the house blissfully ignorant of the impending disaster. Now the householder resorts to a ruse to coax the children out of the house. He asks them to come out of the house to play with all sorts of playthings he has kept for them. When they come out he offers to them only bullock-carts gorgeously decorated (an allusion to the Buddha-yāna). The ruse the householder uses does not amount to uttering of falsehood for his intention is pure. Herein the householder stands for the Buddha, the one kind of cart for the singular Buddha-yāna. This *sūtra* is not to be preached to the insolent and the foolish but to those who genuinely strive after the highest supreme enlightenment.

4. ***Adhimukti-parivarta.*** *Adhimukti* means 'disposition'. In this *parivarta* the Buddha by-means of another parable (which reminds one of the parable of the Prodigal Son found in the Bible) shows how the Tathāgata by means of skillfulness is able to bring his sons of low disposition back to a feeling of nobility, self -respect and happiness. The parable recounts how a son who had run away from home and lost all self-respect is discovered by his rich father after fifty years, who resorts to many ruses to bring him back to his former self to be in a position to take possession of his inheritance at the demise of the father.

5. ***Osadhī-parivarta.*** Herein the Lord addresses Ven. Mahākasyapa and other senior disciples and explains the nature of his doctrine which is preached to all creatures, men and gods, without distinction, and from which all benefit alike, is compared to a great rain-cloud which both refreshes the thirsty earth and waters all grasses, shrubs, forest trees, other trees small and great. By means of another parable of a man born-blind, the Lord extols the *Buddha-yāna* in preference to the *Triple-yāna*.

6. ***Vyākaraṇa-parivarta.*** In this *parivarta* the Tathāgata prophesies the future destinies of Ven. Mahākasyapa, Subhūti, Mahākatyāyana and Mahāmaudgalyāyana respectively. They will all become future Buddhas. Their respective Buddha names, the names of their respective Buddha lands and their descriptions are also given.

7. ***Pūrvayoga-parivarta.*** The Tathāgata has a vivid memory of the turning of the wheel by the Tathāgata named Mahābhijñā-jñānābhibhu who existed many *koṭis* of aeons ago and of his sixteen sons who became *jinas* after listening to the *Lotus Sūtra* preached by the former.

8. ***Pañcabhikṣuśata-vyākaraṇa-parivarta.*** This chapter contains the Lord's prophesy regarding the five hundred monks headed by Ajñāta-Kaundinya who are destined to the highest, supreme enlightenment after the lapse of an endless period.

9. ***Ānandādi-vyākaraṇa-parivarta.*** In this *parivarta* the Buddha announces the future-destinies of Ānanda, Rāhula and the two thousand monks. On hearing the future destiny of Ajñāta-Kaundinya and others, Ānanda and Rāhula wished to hear from the Tathāgata their own destinies, whereupon the Lord prophesies that they and the two thousand other disciples will attain supreme, perfect enlightenment in future births.

10. ***Dharma-bhāṇaka-parivarta.*** Herein the Lord promises supreme, perfect enlightenment to all those who listen to the doctrine and take it to their hearts. He then teaches how future preachers of the Law should be duly honoured and assures that he will always protect the ministers of religion.

11. ***Stūpa-sandarśana-parivarta.*** While Sākyamuni is preaching the *Dharmaparyāya* of the Lotus of the True Doctrine, there arises in front of him the apparition of a great *stūpa* the description of which defies all imagination, and a former Buddha Prabhūtaratna by name makes his appearance within the frame of the *stūpa*. He has come to listen to the exposition of the *Dharmaparyāya* of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Sākyamuni recounts how he strove to achieve perfect enlightenment in a previous birth in which he had become a king named Dharmika. He then acknowledges his great obligations to Devadatta who is destined to be a future Buddha known as Devarāja. The chapter ends with the story of the young daughter of Sāgara, Nāga king, who on account of her strong determination to attain supreme enlightenment, is transformed into a male in order to allow her to become a Bodhisattva.

12. ***Utsāha-parivarta.*** The Buddha's prediction to Gautami, Yasodharā and the ten thousand nuns that they will all attain supreme enlightenment in the days to come. His disciples and Bodhisattvas promise that they will preach the Law to the people of this corrupt world, after the complete extinction of the Lord.

13. ***Sukhavihāra-parivarta.*** Herein the Buddha describes the life to be led by a Bodhisattva or preacher of the Law. He must be completely rid of all attachments and shall preach the Law to all beings after the complete extinction of the Lord. By means of a parable the Buddha says that he is more generous than a king who may bestow most valuable gifts to his valiant soldiers who fight for him but will never part with his crown. But the Lord promises to his disciples who would fight for his cause his most exalted crown jewel which brings omniscience to all.

14. ***Bodhisattva-prthivi-vivara-samudgama-parivarta.*** This chapter deals with *the-issue (samudgama)* of innumerable Bodhisattvas from gaps *(vivara)* of the earth *(prthivi)*, by the creative power of the Buddha.

15. ***Tathāgathāyuṣpramāṇa-parivarta.*** The Buddha reveals to his disciples the immense duration of his lifetime. He says that he had attained perfect enlightenment in the long past but was not completely extinct at that time because he wanted to be repeatedly born in this world of the living in order to lead the beings to enlightenment.

16. ***Puṇyaparyāya-parivarta.*** An immense mass of merit will accrue to those who believe in the immense duration of the Tathāgata and other Buddhas, and those who shall keep the *Lotus Sūtra* after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata.

17. ***Anumodanāpuṇyanirdeśa-parivarta.*** The Lord tells Ajita, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, that if any one who, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata, hears the preaching of the *Dharmaparyāya* of the *Lotus Sūtra* will have acquired an accumulation of merit connected with the joyful acceptance of the same.

18. ***Dharmabhāṇakānisamsa-parivarta.*** This *parivarta* sets advantages, worldly and spiritual, of being a religious preacher.

19. ***Ṣadaparibūta-parivarta.*** This *parivarta* relates the story of Bodhisattva *Ṣadaparibūta* who was none other than the Tathāgata Sākyamuni in a previous existence. The Bodhisattva promulgated the *Lotus Sūtra* after the complete extinction of the ruling Tathāgata Bhismaśvara.

20. ***Tathāgatarddhyābhisamskāra-parivarta*** describes a great show put up by the two Tathāgatas, Sākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna. The Tathāgata extols the *Lotus Sūtra* in which teachings of the Buddha are included, as well as the preachers of the *Sūtra*.

21. ***Dhāraṇī-parivarta.*** This chapter extols the efficacy of *dhāraṇīs* or talismanic words or spells. A large number of *dhāraṇīs* pronounced by various Bodhisattvas, guardian deities and even giantesses such as Lamba, Vilamba and Hariti are given. These *Dhāraṇīs* will protect, save preachers of the *Lotus Sūtra* as well as those who keep the *Sūtranta*.

22. ***Bhaisajyarāja—purvayoga-parivarta.*** This *parivarta* describes the self- sacrifice in a previous birth of Bodhisattva Bhaisajyarāja, also called Sarvasattvapriyadarśana. The latter half of the chapter is devoted to a glorification of the *Lotus Sūtra* which surpasses all *sūtras* expounded by the Tathāgata.

23. ***Gadgadasvara-parivarta*** gives a description of the visit of Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara who was living in the Buddha-field known as Vairocanarasmi-pratimaṇḍita of Tathāgata Kamaladalavimalanakṣa-trarājasankusumitabhijña, to this Saha-world to see and salute Lord Sākyamuni, Bodhisattvas Mañjusri, Bhaisajyarāja and others, and his return to his own Buddha- field.

24. ***Samantamukha-parivarta.*** This chapter extols the power of Bodhisativa Avalokitesvara. In reply to a question by Bodhisattva Akṣayamati as to why Bodhisatrva Avalokitesvara is so called, Sākyamuni says that, if any one in any sort of distress implores Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara, he will be delivered from it by the power of the Bodhisattva. The epithet 'Samantamukha' (the all-sided one) refers to the ubiquitousness of Bodhisativa Avalokiteśvara.

25. ***Subhavyūhapūrvarājayoga-parivarta.*** This *parivarta* relates the story of King *Subhavyūha* who was living at the time of the Buddha Jaladharagarjitaghoṣasusvaranakṣatra-rājasankusumitabhijña became a convert to Buddhism through the instrumentality of his two sons Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra who in a later birth became the Bodhisattvas Bhaisajyarāja and Bhaisajyarājasamudgata respectively.

26. ***Samantabhadrotsahana-parivarta.*** The Bodhisattva Samantabhadra left his Buddha-field and arrived at this *Saha*-world to pay his homage to Śākyamuni who was residing at that time on Mount Grjhrakūṭa. In the presence of the Buddha he takes upon himself the charge of protecting future preachers of the *Dharmaparyāya* of the *Lotus Sūtra*, after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata.

27. ***Anuparindana parivarta:*** Sākyamuni gathered the Bodhisattvas, took them by his hand and pronounced his decision to transfer, transmit, entrust and deposit the supreme and perfect enlightenment in the Bodhisattvas. He also admonished them to preach the *Dharmaparyāya* to young men and women of good family, who would rally round him, whereupon innumerable Tathāgatas including the Tathāgata Prabhūtaratna, the whole host of Bodhisattvas headed by Visistacarita, 'the great disciples, the four classes, the world including gods, men, demons and Gandharvas in ecstasy applauded the words of the Lord'.

The work reveals that Mahāyāna Buddhism had reached full development by the time the *Sūtra* was composed, especially in devotional Buddhism with the cults of relic, image and *stūpa* worship and the use of sophisticated music. Almost all chapters glorify the *Sutra* in one way or the other, so as to inspire awe in the devotee. The descriptions of the various Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and their respective Buddha-fields are mostly exaggerations of the highest order with imagination knowing no bounds. They are so designed as to command the respect and devotion of the devotees for the Buddha Śākyamuni as well as the *Sūtra*. Herein Śākyamuni is portrayed not as an ordinary human being but as an immeasurably exalted super being higher than a god and standing above all divinities. He apparently attains *Nirvāna* but again and again appears in this world to preach the doctrine. But there are other Buddhas who have become extinct

after attaining the perfect *Nirvāna*. Sākyamuni's mystic power, the power of the Bodhisattvas as well as the power and efficacy of *dhāraṇīs* or talismanic formulas are some of the topics discussed in the work, be it in prose or in verse. 'If a critical reader leaves these aside and analyzes its contents, he will find that the main object of the work is to emphasize the doctrine of one *yāna*, viz, *Buddha-yāna*, against that of three, viz, Arhant, Pratyekabuddha and Srāvaka'.

Editions of the Work. Four editions of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* have appeared up to now. They are as follows:

1. In Devanāgari script based on 6 MSS, ed. by H. Kern and B. Nanjio, St. Petersberg, 1908-12 (*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, X).

2. In Roman script, ed. by U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934.

3. In Devanāgari script, ed. by Nalinaksha Dutt, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society, 1953.

4. In Devanāgari script, ed. P.L. Vaidya, a co-ordinated edition based on the three above mentioned editions, Darbhanga, the Mithila Institute, 1960. An English translation of the *Sūtra* was made by Kern under the title "*The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or the Lotus of the True Law*' and published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1909.

Bibliography:

1. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra* ed. By H. Kern and B. Nanjio, St. Petersberg, 1908-12 (*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, X)

2. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra* ed. By P.L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, The Mithila Institute, 1960.

3. *The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or *The Lotus of the True Law*, translated into English by H. Kern, Oxford, 1909.

4. A.K. Nariman, *A History of Sanskrit Buddhism*.

E. W. Marasinghe

SADDHIVIHĀRIKA: *Saddhivihārika* (also *Saddhivihārin* and...... *vihārinī*), Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *sārdhaṃvihārika* and *sārdhaṃvihārin*, literally means a co-resident, i.e. one who dwells in the same house, monastery or cell. But technically, in the Buddhist Vinaya, it is applied to a pupil monk in relation to his preceptor (*upajjhāya*). The same pupil monk, however, would be called an *antevāsika* in relation to his teacher (*ācariya*), an office separate from that of an *upajjhāya*.

At the initial stages of the Sangha the disciples of the Buddha must have been trained under his personal supervision and guidance, as, for instance, seen in his personal interest taken in training his first five disciples (*Vin*. I. 12ff). Moreover the majority of the earliest recruits to the Order of Monks were those who have had a certain form of religious training under some religious teacher or other. The Buddha himself indicates at several places that the training and guidance of his earliest disciples was not a very difficult task. A mere indication by him was enough for them to accept and follow his instructions (eg. *M*. I. 124). Guidance of new recruits to the Order was also regarded as a collective responsibility of the Sangha as a whole. But some new entrants seem to have resented such attempts by senior monks to guide them. (*A*. II. 123 f). But this situation was to end soon. With the popularity of the new religion gaining ground, an increasing number of applicants, from different walks of life, started to stream into enter the Order of monks. Popularity apart, this seems to have brought down the standard of discipline in the Sangha (*M*. I. 445). One person, even the Buddha, must have found it extremely difficult to keep an eye on the behaviour of all the new entrants to the Order.

Soon complaints started to come to the Buddha of newly ordained monks, not under the personal supervision of a preceptor, going on the alms round, improperly dressed in the lower and upper garments and lacking in proper deportment. They were also observed to overstep the proper norms of social behaviour expected of recluses in soliciting for alms from the laity and, making quite a din in the refectory. When the criticism of the laity, levelled at the Sakyan monks in general, because of the poor behaviour of some of them, was brought to the Buddha, he decided to institute the office of a preceptor to be the guide of each newly ordained member of the Order.

Having assembled the monks and rebuked those who misbehaved and, giving a reasoned talk on what is fitting and becoming, he made the announcement, "Monks, I allow a preceptor" (*anujānāmi bhikkhave upajjhāyaṃ*). The basis of the relationship between a preceptor and his co-resident pupil (*saddhivihārika*) should be as that between a father and a son. The preceptor should put forth an attitude of a father towards the co-resident and the co-resident should put forth an attitude of a son towards the preceptor (*upajjhāyo bhikkhave saddhivihāramhi pitucittam upaṭṭhapessati, saddhivihāriko... upajjhāyamhi puttacittam upaṭṭhapessati*). "Thus these, living with reverence, with deference, with courtesy towards one another, will come to growth, to increase, to maturity in this *dhamma* and discipline'" says the Buddha.

Selection of a Preceptor: Neither the Buddha nor any other authority is empowered to select and appoint a preceptor for a newly ordained monk or nun. Each one of them has the freedom to select his or her preceptor. For this a monk, who needs the services of a preceptor, should approach a suitable elder of the Order, arrange one's robe on one shoulder, honour him at the feet, sit down on the haunches and, with joined palms, say thrice "be my preceptor, Honourable Sir". If, when this request is made, the elder says, "very well", or "certainly", or "all right" or 'it is proper" or "manage it amiably" and makes this understood by gesture, speech or both, the request is granted. But if no such indication by gesture or word is made, then it means the request is rejected. (*Vin.* 1. 44f).

This selection is formally made today, in Sri Lanka, before any applicant for higher ordination (*upasampadā*) goes before the chapter of the Sangha to request for higher ordination. It is one of the compulsories that an applicant for higher ordination should be equipped with. For when the monk who is empowered to anounce to the assembled Sangha of the intention of the applicant, he has to make known to them that the candidate is the "applicant for higher ordination of such and such venerable one". (*itthannāmassa āyasmato upsampadāpekkho*). His request to the Sangha is to grant him the higher ordination through the preceptor of such a name (*sangho itthannāmam upasampādeti itthannāmena upajjhāyena Vin.* 1. 56). The importance of the preceptor is further emphasised when the candidate is examined before the chapter prior to granting his request. One of the questions put to him is whether he has a preceptor and, if so, to name him (*ibid.* 93). The importance attached to the preceptor co-resident institution in the *upasampadā* ceremony shows the undoubted weightage given to it and the role it was expected to play in the life of a Buddhist monk.

Duties and Conduct of a Co-resident: The duties of a pupil co-resident and his conduct towards the preceptor, from the moment of waking up early in the morning, is given in minute detail in the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (1.46ff.) Almost like following a course in meditation, a co-resident has to go through the daily routine meticulously with devotion, deference, love and care. The first duty of a co-resident, properly attired with the robe arranged on one shoulder and slipping off his sandals, is to give the tooth-stick to the preceptor to be followed by water to rinse the mouth and face. Then the breakfast seat should be arranged and, if available, a meal of rice gruel and a drink of water should be offered. At the end of the meal the seat has to be removed and the place swept clean.

The second phase of the duties concerns the preceptor's alms round. He should assist the preceptor by handing over his robes and a washed bowl to start his begging round. If the preceptor so requires, the co-resident has to attire himself properly and, follow him at a respectful distance. At the end of the alms collecting, in returning to the cell, the co-resident has to precede the preceptor to the cell, make arrangements for him to take his meal and, go forward to receive the preceptor and relieve him of his bowl. At the cell he has to assist the preceptor in taking his meal in comfort. At the end he should carefully wash the bowl, wipe it, warm it in the sun for a while, and carefully pack it and the robes, worn on the alms round, away for the day.

The next set of duties of a co-resident is related to the preceptor's bath. If necessary a cold or warm bath should be prepared. At the common bath room (*jantāghāra*) a seat has to be provided for him and the necessary bathing powder and clay has to be prepared. The co-resident, in entering the bathroom, should smear his face with clay and cover himself both in the back and front. He should assist the preceptor in bathing and wiping off the water from the body at the

end. If called for, a drink of water should be provided after the bath.

A further set of instructions cover the cleaning and sweeping the living apartment of the preceptor and other buildings in the monastery. Furniture, bedding, coverlets, carpets and rugs are to be taken out with care and the dwelling cells, with their floors and walls have to be dusted and swept. The things removed should be dried, dusted and replaced in the cleansed apartment. Instructions as to how the windows should be opened or shut according to different seasons and under different weather conditions, are given in detail. The co-resident also should take care to wash the preceptor's robes, dye them, prepare the dye and assist him in making new robes. In case the preceptor falls ill the co-resident has to nurse him as long as his life lasts. However he should always live with the expectation of his recovery. Thus no room is left for any desire of his passing away.

All these instructions concern the physical comfort and well being of the preceptor. But a co-resident's duties are not exhausted with that. It is also his duty to look after one's preceptor's spiritual welfare as well as assisting him with maintaining his ecclesiastical discipline within the monastic community. It is always possible that some dissatisfaction (*anabhirati*) with regard to his monastic life could arise in his mind. An intelligent co-resident should be able to detect it and try to allay it or get someone else to do it. Or else he can give him a talk on the Dhamma to assist him. It is significant that not only the preceptor but the pupil co-resident also is expected to be capable of giving an instructive talk on the Dhamma, to no less a person than his own preceptor and mentor, if the occasion so demanded. Similar action has to be taken in case some remorse (*kukkucca*) or wrong-view (*diṭṭhigata*) has arisen in the preceptor's mind, to dispel it or remove it as the case may be. At the outset it was stated that these two have to live with mutual reverence, deference and courtesy. As such it is not surprising the pupil co-resident is expected also to be a spiritual mentor for his preceptor.

Normally one would expect a preceptor to take one's pupil co-resident before the Sangha to meet out justice for his offences and put him back on the right track once again. But a Buddhist pupil co-resident also has the right and privilege to bring his own preceptor before the Sangha to give him an opportunity to cleanse himself of the ecclesiastical offences he has committed. Thus if his preceptor deserves to be penalised for a grave offence with a suspension, (*parivāsa*), the co-resident should make an attempt to impose such a penalty on him by the Sangha. Similar efforts should be made if the penalty imposed on the preceptor has to be started from the beginning (*mūlāya paṭikassana*), or he needs to be given *mānatta* penalty. On the other hand, if the preceptor has reached the end of serving his penalty, the co-resident should make an effort with the Sangha to relieve him from it and restore his normal position in the Sangha (*abbhāna*).

If the Sangha desires to carryout a formal act of censure (*tajjhanīyakamma*), or of guidance (*nissaya kamma*), or of banishment (*pabbājanīya kamma*), or of reconciliation (*paṭisāranīya kamma*), or of suspension (*ukkhepanīya kamma*) on the preceptor, the co-resident must first try to dissuade the Sangha from carrying it out or to lighten the punishment to be imposed. But if, despite his efforts, the formal act is carried out, the co-resident should make an effort to get his preceptor conduct properly (*sammāvatteyya*), be subdued (*lomaṃ pāteyya*) and mend his ways (*netāraṃ vatteyya*), so that the Saṅgha could revoke the formal act (*kamamaṃ paṭippassambheyya*) in time.

The relationships and dealings with other members of the Order, not coming under the supervision of his preceptor, are also regulated by the rules of the preceptor – co-resident institution. Without the permission of the preceptor, a co-resident should not give out a robe, a bowl or any other requisite to any one or himself receive any of these items from any one else. Similarly, he should not, without the preceptor's permission, cut off another's hair, render service to another, execute a commission for another, be an attendant on any one nor bring back alms food for any one. On the other hand he also should not get these services for himself from any one else. Without the preceptor's permission a co-resident should not enter a village (to collect alms etc.), go to a cemetery (for meditation) or leave the district. These rules show how much a pupil co-resident's life and activities are bound up and regulated by his relations with the preceptor.

Preceptor's Duties towards the Co-resident: A preceptor also has his duties towards his pupil co-resident trained under his supervision. The preceptor has to treat his co-resident with compassion and help him with recitation (*uddesa*), interrogation (*paripucchā*), exhortation and instruction. He should see that the co-resident is supplied with his material needs like robes and bowls. If the co-resident falls ill the daily routine of activities is almost reversed. What a co-resident does in normal times for the physical comfort and well being of the preceptor has to be done by the preceptor for his diseased co-resident. In normal times a preceptor should instruct a co-resident how he should attend to the washing and dyeing his robes and the preparation the dye and the making of a new robe. With regard to spiritual and ecclesiastical matters too the preceptor is duty bound to treat the co-resident in the same manner the co-resident is expected to treat the preceptor.

Dismissal of Recalcitrant Co-residents (*Vin*. I. 53ff). However close and well regulated the relations between a precepior and a co-resident are, an occasion could arise where a preceptor will be forced to break his relations with his co-resident. The *Vinaya* texts have provided for carrying out in an orderly manner of such a breaking up of relations between a preceptor and his pupil co-resident. By regulation a co-resident is expected to conduct himself properly (*sammā vattitabbaṃ*) towards his preceptor. When it was reported that there are co-residents who do not comply, the Buddha condemned it and ruled that not to conduct oneself properly towards one's preceptor is an offence of wrong doing (*dukkaṭa*). The preceptor is allowed to dismiss a co-resident who does not mend his behaviour even after receiving this punishment. The proper manner of doing it is to communicate it to the punished person by a bodily gesture or word of mouth or both. If no such communication is made the dismissal is not binding. When such a dismissal is made known, the co-resident has to make an apology to the preceptor. It is an offence of wrong-doing not to apologise when the dismissal is made known. Now if the co-resident apologises the preceptor should accept it and forgive the co-resident. Not to forgive when apologised is also, on the part of the preceptor, an act of wrong-doing. This rule was laid down when co-residents, whose apologies were not accepted, either left, disrobed or went over to another sect. It is also an offence of wrong-doing to dismiss one who is not acting improperly or not to dismiss one who acts improperly.

The *Vinaya* texts also give five qualities which make a co-resident deserve a dismissal. viz., i. He does not possess much love (*pema*) for the preceptor; ii. he does not have much faith (*pasāda*) in the preceptor; iii. he does not have much sense of shame (*hiri*) towards the preceptor; iv. he does not have much respect (*gārava*) for the preceptor; v. he does not show much development (*bhāvanā*). The last quality is explained as developing loving kindness (*mettābhāvanā*) *VinA.* p. 982). Such a co-resident deserves dismissal. But to dismiss a person who does not have these negative qualities is going over the limit.

Comparative Position between an Upajjhāya and Ācariya : The position of a preceptor is considered to be above that of a teacher. It is said that when a pupil monk has both a preceptor and a teacher the preceptor's office is considered to be more important and above that of the teacher. Pointing out six causes for the nullification of guidance from a teacher the *Vinaya* text (*Vin.* 1.62) point out that, if a pupil monk, who is, at the time, under the guidance of the teacher, comes to be connected or comes into personal contact (*samodhānaṃ gato*) with the preceptor, the teacher's office of guidance is nullified (*nissaya-paṭippassaddhi*). This nullification takes effect if the co-resident sees the preceptor or hears his voice and recognizes him and not otherwise, according to the commentary (*VinA*. V. 988). The *Vinaya* text also gives five causes for the nullification of the guidance of a preceptor, viz. i. The preceptor has gone away, ii. left the Order, iii. died, iv. gone over to another side, and v. command (*ānatti*), i.e. if the preceptor has dismissed the co-resident.[2]

C. Witanachchi

References

[1] *Book of the Discipline* , Pt. 4, p. 58 f.

[2] *Ibid*.81.

SĀGALIKĀ Sāgalikā sometimes also called Sāgaliyā were the third and the youngest of the three sects of Buddhism which existed during the Anurādhapura period of Sri Lankan history. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (5.13) states briefly that the Dhammarucī and the Sāgaliyā

seceded (from the Theriyas) in the island of Lanka. Neither the *Mahāvaṃsa* nor the *Dīpavaṃsa* gives any reason or the course of events which led to the formation of the Sāgalika sect. To know some of these one has to go to the later compositions like the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary and the very much younger Simhala work *Nikāya Saṅgraha*. However the *Mahāvaṃsa* (37.32-39), giving a lead to these later elaborations, says that the king Mahasena (334-362A.C.) who was pleased with an elder named Tissa, described in very uncomplimentary terms as a hypocrite (*kuhaka*), crooked minded (*jimhamanas*), and an evil friend (*pāpamitta*), living at the Dakkhinārāma, constructed for him the Jetavana monastery within the sacred boundary of the Mahavihāra. This elder Tissa was later accused of an extreme offence (*antimavatthu*), and, being judged guilty by the minister of justice, was disrobed although the king himself did not approve it.

The commentator takes up the clue from it and continues. He says that the Sāgalikās were the monks of Jetavana built by the king Mahāsena (*MhvA*. 175). The dwellers of Abhayagiri seceded from Theravāda about two hundred and seventeen years after the establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and settled down in the Abhayagiri vihāra and came to be known as Dhammarucikas. Subsequently, about three hundred and forty one years from that, the dwellers of Jetavana, even before the establishment of the Jetavana vihāra, seceded from the Dhammarucikavāda and took up residence at the Dakkhiṇa vihāra. At the latter place they gave variant readings and variant interpretations to the *Vibhaṅga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* enunciated by the Buddha and became known as Sāgalikās. After the construction of the Jetavana Vihāra by the king Mahasena, they, who had grown in numbers, took up residence there (*MhvA*. p. 176). The secession of the Sāgalikās from the Dhammarucikas took place in the reign of Goṭhābhaya (309-322 A.C.)

The Simhala work on the history of Buddhism in India and Sri Lanka supplies a few more details. When, in the reign of the king Gothābhaya, shameless Dharmarucis of Abhayagiri, once again, held up the Vaitulya doctrines as words of the Buddha, one elder of that monastery named Ussilyātissa, who had heard how such monks were disgraced in the past by the king Voharikatissa, decided to leave Abhayagiri. Thinking that a future prudent king would do the same, he took about three hundred of his followers and went over to the Dakkhinagiri Vihāra and took up residence there seceding from the Dharmaruci sect. One monk among them named Sāgala started to interpret the Dhamma for them and through him the monks there came to be named Sāgaliyās. They, later in the days of King Mahasen, expanded to the Jetavana (Denānaka) vihāra[1]. Since then Jetavana vihāra became the head quarters of the Sāgalikas and hence they were popularly designated Jetavanāyas both locally and abroad.

The Sāgalikas with their centre at Jetavana continued to expand. The name Sāgalikā or Sāgaliyā is rarely mentioned in Pāli or Simhala works. But the name Jetavana is not so rare. The *Mahavaṃsa* has many references to patronage given to Jetavana vihāra by Sri Lankan kings. Many were the villages and lands granted to the *vihāra* for the maintenance of its buildings, inmates and the rituals. In one case a king is said to have granted the village Vasabha in Uddhagāma and three hundred fields to ensure a permanent supply of rice gruel to the monks. Undoubtedly this indicates a phenomenal increase in the number of inmates of the monastery. The Jetavana stūpa, one of the three largest stūpas in Anuradhapura, occupied the place of honour, as a symbol of the Buddha, in the *vihāra* (*DPPN*. p. 466). Several new constructions also were added to the vihāra complex by various kings. For instance Aggabodhi IV built the Aggabodhi pirivena and Sena I built a many storeyed mansion in the monastery. Attached to the *vihāra* also were four *pirivenas* built by four ministers of Mahinda IV (*ibid*). There were also institutions attached to the sect outside the main centre. For instance Moggallana I built the *vihāras* Dalha and Dāṭhākoṇḍañña at Sihagiri and gave them to the adherents of Dhammarucis and Sāgalikās (*Mhv*. 39. 42). Of the eight institutions belonging to the three main sects of Anuradhapura, called *mūlas* or *mūlāyatanas*, which survived the unification of the sects by Parakramabāhu I, only one is directly mentioned as connected to the Jetavana vihāra. A slab inscription of Mahinda IV (975-991 A.C.) found in the Jetavana vihāra premises refers to the Senaviradmūla as belonging to this *vihāra*. This inscription lays down regulations for the guidance of the residents of this institution and another called Ratna-mā-pirivena (*EZ*. III, p.227). Probably this is the same as the Senāpatimūla mentioned in the later

work called the *Vuttamālā*. The institution is mentioned for the last time in a grant belonging to the reign of Buvanekabāu VII (1521-1551). R.A.L.H. Gunawardhane, in his *Robe and the Plough*, states that, although this is the only *mūla* of the Jetavana vihāra explicitly mentioned, it is possible there were others attached to this institution, but not strong enough to play an active role in the matters of the religion in the post-Anuradhapura period.

Sāguli Tis Mahahimi

The tenth century slab inscription of Mahinda IV referred to above mentions a great elder named Tis (Tissa), moderate in his desires and contented and was known by the name of the Great Lord (*mahahimi*) Sāguli, for whose benefit the great royal monastery of Denā (Jetavana) was established. (*EZ*. III. 227ff). This reference is undoubtedly to the elder who received the Jetavana monastery from the king Mahasen in the fourth century A.C., but was subsequently accused of an extreme offence, found guilty, and disrobed. It is curious to see how this elder named Tissa who was expelled from the Order several centuries ago was still held up with great honour by the members of his sect and their devotees. It is also not impossible that the gap of long years had erased off the great disgrace attached to his name, or the Sāgalikās were consciously doing so for the recoupment of the loss of prestige they had suffered from his expulsion. How time could heal the stigma left by such ecclesiastical acts of the past was also shown when in the recent past a certain institution in Anuradhapura was named after Mahātissa thera who was the chief cause of the cession of the Dharmarucikas from the Mahavihāra. He was also punished by Mahavihāra monks, after the acceptance of the Abhayagiri vihāra for unduely close relations with the laity. But apparently the present day Theravādins of Sri Lanka seem to have forgotten all that and approved this honour bestowed on him. They did not show any disapproval and therefore, most probably, approved it.

Sāgalika views on Discipline and Doctrines

Above we saw the Mahāvaṃsa Commentator's view that the Sāgalikas at the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra gave variant readings to the *Suttavibhaṅga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. About three hundred and fifty years after their settlement at the Jetavana Vihāra, during the reign of the king Dāṭhopatissa II (659-667A.C.), two monks by the same name Dāṭhāveda, one from the Kurundacullaka pirivena of Jetavana and the other from the Kolambahālaka pirivena, have left certain written records stating that the Mahāvihāra monks seceded (*pāṭiyekkajāti*), taking the *Vibhanga* from the Dhammarucikas and the *Khandhakas* and *Parivāra* from the Sāgalikas. They have put on record, in addition to this false statement, other statements by altering the wording of the meaning and including various dissentient views. For this action of theirs the commentator of the *Mahāvaṃsa* has criticized them using the strongest language possible. All their writings should be considered to be false for they (Sāgalikās) seceded from the Dhammarucikas who had (earlier) seceded from the Theravādins, says the commentator. It should be known, says he, that there are no other schools outside these three, in this country. (*MhvA*. 176).

The above statements in the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary have been given a different interpretation by R.A.L.H. Gunawardhane in his work *Robe and the Plough*. He opines that the Kolambahālaka pirivena, which was to the north of Anuradhapura, must have belonged to the Abhayagiri vihāra. Hence Dathāveda from that institution must have been a member of the Dhammarucika school. Therefore the work of these two monks was a sort of a combined effort by two adherents of the Dhammarucikas and Sāgalikās. They, according to Gunawardhane compiled a new version of the *Vinaya* by combining the *Vibhaṅga* of the Dhammarucikas and the *Khandhakas* and the *Parivāra* of the Sāgalikās, adding their own commentaries, and comments and held it to be more orthodox than the Mahāvihāra recension. It is possible, he says, that the three schools have their own *Vinaya* and commentarial traditions and this may have been an attempt to reach a compromise between the Abhayagiri and Jetavana nikāyas.

However it is difficult to give such an interpretation to the passage in the *Mahāvaṃsa* Commentary. The Siṃhala translations of the work, published by the Postgraduate Institute of Pāli and Buddhist Studies of the Kelaniya University[2], gives a different interpretation with which I have to agree. The work clearly refers to the secession of the Sāgalikās from the Dhammarucikas and the latter from the Mahavihāra Theravādins. The accusing finger for falsifying history is pointed directly at Sāgalikās and not at Dhammarucikas. That itself shows that

Gunawardhane's interpretation cannot be accepted. Affiliations of the Kolambahalaka monks are not very clear.

The *Nikāya Sangraha*[3] states that in the reign of the king Ambaheraṇa Salamevan (526-539A.C.), also called Amba Sāmanera Silākāla, the Sāgalikas were persuaded by the Abhayagiri monks to install in their monastery a book on the Vaitulyavāda introduced to the country from India by a certain merchant who had gone to Kāsi (Banaras), may be for commercial purposes. It is said that he received this book while in India and, thinking it to be a book on the true *dharma*, brought it back to the country, and presented it to the King. The King too, who could not distinguish the true *dharma* from the false, consulted the Abhayagiri monks and ordered the Jetavana monks to keep it in their *vihāra* and venerate it. But the Sāgalikas of Jetavana, who knew the history of what happened to monks who had accepted the Vaitulya doctrines, were reluctant to venerate the Vaitulya book. The Abhayagiri monks, however, were able to convince them and they later agreed. The Abhayagiri monks were able to, says this work, make the foolish monks of Jetavana *vihāra* to venerate it, like mean persons who deceive small children to eat beetles which are the same in colour as *damba* fruits. Yet the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra and the intelligent among the people of Anuradhapura did not venerate it, adds the work.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (41.37-41) gives a slightly different version of this story. A young merchant, not named, who went to Kāsi brought back with him an object called *dhamma-dhātu*. The King, who was unable to distinguish between the true and the false doctrines regarded it as the genuine doctrine of the Buddha and received it joyfully. Showing great reverence and respect to it, he placed it in a house near his palace. Thinking it would greatly benefit the people he took it annually to the Jetavana vihāra and held a festival in its honour. From the description the *dhamma-dhātu* brought from India was definitely a document containing some doctrines different from that found in Theravāda scriptures and it confirms the statements of the later work, *Nikāyasangraha*. However the *Mahāvaṃsa* does not mention the initial reluctance of the Jetavana monks in venerating it, and the hand of the Abhayagiri monks in persuading the former into accepting it. The *Mahāvaṃsa* also gives the additional information regarding the annual *Dhammadhātu* festival and its connection with the Jetavana monastery. The *Nikāyasangraha*[4] also categorically states that the Sāgalikās who had settled down in the Jetavana *vihāra* adopted Vaitulyavāda (Mahāyāna) in the reign of Ambaherana Salamevan. This is interesting in view of this fact that the Sāgalikās initially seceded from the Dharmarucikas when the latter welcomed certain Vaitulya doctrines. Apparently they have, for some reason, changed their views by the sixth century A.C. Whether this acceding to the request of the king to make their monastery the centre of the worship of the *Dhammadhātu* can be construed as a total acceptance of *Mahāyāna* is not clear. Since, in later times, even well known Theravāda centres had allowed the worship of Mahāyāna Bodhisattvas like Avalokitesvara in their temples, this worship of the *Dhammadhātu* may not have directly affected their Hinayāna doctrinal basis. Prof G.P. Malalasekara (*DPPN*. Vol. 1, 967) states that the monks of Jetavana, though nominally forming a part of the Mahāvihara fraternity, held divergent views in regard to the teachings of the Buddha and were considered as a separate sect (the Sāgaliyas) till Parakranabāhu I united all the fraternities. But it is quite doubtful whether the Mahāvihāra monks ever considered the Sāgalikās as a part of their fraternity. None of the available sources point to such a possibility. A point which has to be taken into account in this respect are the views of Indian and Tibetan writers who considered the three main sects of Anuradhapura, viz. the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana Nikāyas as sub-sects of the Sthavira school[5]. This view of foreign Buddhist scholars regarding the three Buddhist sects of Sri Lanka is quite significant. Mahāvihāra writers of Sri Lanka always considered themselves as the only truly Theravāda school and the other two sects as having seceded from the Theravāda fold.

Worship of the Dharmadhātu by Sāgalikas

What was the *Dharmadhātu* that the Sāgalikās were persuaded to accept and honour by the king Silākāla and the Abhayagiri monks? The Pāli form of the term as *dhammadhātu* occurs in several canonical discourses. In them it probably indicates the totality of facts regarding the order of all phenomena. Some scholars have called it 'the causal cosmic order.' The reference is to the *idappaccaya paṭiccasamuppāda*, discovered and revealed to the world by the Buddha. In one discourse (*M*. I. 396) the Buddha states that

since he has well penetrated the Dhamma Element (*dhammadhātu*), an answer to any question put to him would promptly spring to his mind. Owing to the same reason the Buddha could describe in detail all facts about the past Buddhas who have already attained *Parinibbāna* (*D.* II. 8). The Buddha also attributed this deep penetration into and the mastery of the Dhamma Element to his disciple Sāriputta. Because of this Sāriputta is said to be capable of answering queries put to him almost endlessly (*S.* II. 56). These early references may have prompted Mahāyanists to regard the *Dharmadhātu* as indicative of the totality of existence.

With the development of the concept of the three bodies of the Buddha (*trikāya*), *Dharmakāya* regarded as the truth came to be identified with the *Dharmakāya*, the true body of the Buddha and, in fact, of all Buddhas. Sometimes after the demise of the Buddha, Buddhists started the cult of the worship of his bodily relics enshrined in stūpas. Probably, with the phenomenal expansion of Buddhism, they found the quantity of relics available for distribution throughout the Buddhist world too limited. This may have prompted Buddhists to look for other means of venerating the person of the Buddha without abandoning the traditional veneration of relics. The Buddha has in one discourse identified himself with the *Damma*. There he tells the monk Vakkali, who was frustrated by not being able to see the Buddha frequently, "what of this putrid body of mine, Vakkali; he who seeth the *Dhamma* seeth me, he who seeth me seeth the *Dhamma*" (*S.* II. 120). In another instance the Buddha is also said to have decided to live dependent on the *Dhamma*, honouring and respecting it, for he could not think of any brahamin or recluse in the world whom he can live reverencing and honouring. Brahma Sahampati is said to have promptly approved this decision of the Buddha and added that this is the nature of all Buddhas of the past and the future as well. He recommends this practice to those desirous of their well being and aspire for greatness (*ibid.* I. 138ff.). What more did Buddhists require to start a cult of the *Dhamma*?

Archeological finds prove that extracts from Buddhist texts were deposited in shrines along with bodily relics and other valuable articles. The text most often found used in this way is the stanza *ye dhammā hetuppabhavā* etc. (*ye dharmā heruprabhavā*) giving what is termed 'the creed of Buddhism' by some modern scholars. Copper plaques inscribed with this stanza in Pāli have been found enshrined, for instance, in the Vijayārāma Stūpa in Sri Lanka[6]. This plaque along with a number of others inscribed with Tantric *dhāraṇis* are in the Simhala script of the 9th century A.C. Mahayanists considered the worship of stūpas as capable of bringing much merit. A special place in such worship was given to *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*. In a dialogue found in the *Aṣṭāsāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* it is agreed that, since the attainment of Buddhahood itself is possible through training in the *Prajñāpāramitā*, more merit could be acquired by honouring the written word of this *Sūtra* than by the worship of bodily relics of the Buddha (*EZ.* III. p. 199ff). Scriptural passages such as mentioned above must have bolstered such views. Instances of the enshrining of extracts from *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* along with extracts from other *Mahāyāna Sūtras* and *dharaṇīs* have been discovered from Sri Lanka.

From the well known Mahayāna stūpa at Mihintale, called the Indikaṭu Säya, have been discovered nearly ninety one small copper plaques inscribed with names of Mahāyāna Bodhisattvas, Buddhas etc. These have been identified as extracts from the *Pañcaviṁśatisāhāsrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. A few of the plaques also contain extracts from other *Mahāyāna Sūtras* as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*[7]. These and many other similarly inscribed plaques, mostly Mahāyānist and belonging to the 9th or 10th centuries A.C., have been discovered from archaeological sites in Sri Lanka. This indicates that the cult of the *dharmadhātu* was quite popular in the Island during this period[8]. A 10th century slab inscription from Puliyankulama refers to the daily supply of rice to a person for what appears to be the performance of a daily ritual connected with *daham-daya* taken to be derived from *dhamma-dhātu*. Another archaeological find, is a bronze label inscribed with the words *daham-dāde-patek*, rendered into English as "two leaves from the *Dharma-dhātu*". Since the term *de-patek* is repeated in North-Eastern Indian *Nāgari* characters as well, it is possible that the label refers to a text inscribed in similar characters[9]. The 15th century Simhala work, *Saddharmaratanākara* states that one king Kassapa deposited *dharma-dhātu* in the Abhayagiri stūpa. The same work also refers to the term *dhamma-cetiya* which could be included among the five types of stūpas[10].

But the most important archaeological discovery in Sri Lanka pointing to the *Dharma-dhātu* cult, is from the ruins of the Jetavana Vihāra itself, the original centre of the worship of *Dharma-dhātu* in the Island. It is a manuscript of several gold sheets inscribed in Sinhala characters of the 8[th] or 9[th] century A.C., probably the latter. Prof. M.H.F. Jayasuriya of the Kelaniya University who deciphered and read the manuscript has identified it as a part of the *Pañcavimsatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Found among the debris outside the main wall, it has been suggested that it was deposited in the *harmikā* at the top of the Jetavana Stupa (*s.v. Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*). Whether this suggestion was historically correct or not, it is quite a fact that the worship of Mahāyāna Sūtras as *dharmadhātu* is confirmed by this finding in the Jetavana ruins. The use of the 9[th] century Sinhala script on the manuscript also confirms the popularity of the cult at that time.

However we cannot by this find fully confirm the information, indicated above, gathered from chronicles, regarding the introduction of the *dharmadhātu* to Jetavana in the 6[th] century A.C., in the reign of Silākāla. Had the manuscript discovered been in the 6[th] century A.C. Sinhala script, it would undoubtedly have confirmed the information of the chronicles and identified the find with the *dharmadhātu* introduced by the merchant Pūrṇa. Anyway it is quite possible that the discovered manuscript was a copy of the original text transcribed on gold sheets for enshrinement in the stūpa at a later period.

Anyhow, there is evidence from the *Mahāvaṃsa* that the practice of veneration of the *Dhamma* had spread to the Mahāvihāra community of monks as well. There is evidence in chronicles confirmed by epigraphical instances that the kings of the 9[th] and 10[th] centuries had shown a great interest in venerating the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* in general and especially the *Dhammasanganī*. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (51.79) Sena II had the whole of the *Ratana Sutta* written on plates of gold and held a great festival in its honour. He also had the *Abhidhamma* recited. The same chronicle states that Kassapa V (913-923 A.C.) himself recited the *Abhidhamma* surrounded by all the monks of the town, seated in a splendid pavilion at the Maricavaṭṭi vihāra. He had the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* written on tablets of gold and adorned the *Dhammasaṅgani* with all kinds of jewels. Then he kept it in a splendid temple built at the centre of the city and caused a festival procession held in its honour. (*Mhv*. 52.45-56). Mahinda IV (956-972 A.C.) restored the *Dhammasaṅgani* House at the centre of the city (*ibid*. 54.45-46).

An inscription of Mahinda IV states that he gilded the relic casket for the (book) *Dhammasaṅgani* which the king, his grand father had caused to be written (*EZ*. I. p. 228). An inscription of Kassapa V (*ibid*. 52) states that "on fulfillment of the resolution, 'how shall I honour the Dhamma Gem, he caused the *Abhidhamma* discourses to be transcribed on plates of gold [and there with] made a great offering." Discussing these epigraphical information Paranavitāna states that Sena II must have got the *Dhammasaṅgani* along with the *Ratana Sutta* transcribed, for, it is stated, that his son Kassapa V caused the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* transcribed on plates of gold and embellished the book *Dhammasaṅgani* with diverse jewels and built for it a house in the midst of the city (*ibid*. p. 214). It was this house at the centre of the city that was renovated by Mahinda IV. This information from the chronicle, confirmed by epigraphic evidence, quite clearly shows that the Mahāvihāra tradition had come strongly under the influence of the Sāgalikā and Dharmaruci ritualistic practices of the worship of the *dhammadhātu*. Although they did not fall in line with the Sāgalikās in venerating the Mahāyānist *dharmadhātu* in the reign of Silākāla, they soon started their own ritual by substituting it with the *Abhidhamma* texts and also with the *Ratana Sutta* regarded as a very powerful incantation.

Sāgalikas and Sarvāstivāda : It is unfortunate that, unlike with regard to the Dhammarucikas of the Abhayagiri Vihāra, the Pali and the Sinhala literature of Sri Lanka, almost wholly of Mahāvihāra origin, is silent on the doctrinal differences between the Sāgalikā and the Mahāvihāra factions. However we know that although they had left the Abhayagiri faction protesting against the latter's acceptance of certain Vaitulya doctrines, they later allowed the Jetavana Vihāra to be used as the centre for the conduct of a ritual of venerating a *Vaitulya Sūtra* described as the *dharmadhātu*. There are also indications of other Mahayāna rituals being performed within Jetavana premises.

D.J. Kalupahana[11] who has shown with the internal evidence collected from the Pali commentaries, sub commentaries, Sinhala translations of some of these etc. that the Sarvāstivāda and the Sautrāntika philosophies were studied by Sri Lankan monks of the Anuradhapura period, has made an effort to establish that "the Sāgaliyas could possibly have been Sarvāstivādins".

The first point he brings as evidence for this suggested Sarvāstivāda connection is the very name Sāgala of the teacher whose views were adopted by the breakaway group of Abhayagiri monks who had occupied the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra. Sāgala, says Kalupahana, was a city in North Western India close to Kashmir where the Sarvastivāda school flourished during the time of king Kanishka. It is usual for a monk hailing from a particular area being called by the name of the locality. If it was the case with the mentor of the Sāgalikās then the latter could have been Sarvāstivādins.

It is probable that Sri Lankan monks had close relationship with their counterparts in North Western India. They also must have been familiar with the name Sāgala (modern Sialkot), the capital of King Milinda, from the Milindapañha. It is also true that the name Sāgala was not popularly used by Sri Lankan monks. Therefore it is not impossible that the thera Sāgala could have been a foreign monk living at the Abhayagiri Vihāra and left the place along with the seceders who came to the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra. However it is doubtful whether this fact is a strong point in establishing the doctrinal affiliations of the Sāgalikas.

Kalupahana also has used the method of elimination in establishing his views on the Sāgalikās. At the end of a long discussion on three schools of Buddhist thought prevalent in Sri Lanka in the Anuradhapura and Polonnaru periods, he tries to delineate these three traditions in the following manner:

(i) Syncretic Sthaviravāda represented by the writings of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla.

(ii) Sarvastivāda, represented by the writings of Buddhadatta, Anuruddha, Sāriputta and Sumaṅgala, and

(iii) The Sautrāntika tradition represented by Ananda who was the author of the sub-commentary to Buddhaghosa's *Atthasālini*, the *Dhammasaṅgani* Commentary.

In the absence of the Simhala commentaries which Buddhaghosa, Dhammapala and others are said to have translated into Pāli, the Pāli translations left by these scholars are generally regarded as representing Mahāvihāra views. But Kalupahana thinks that these commentators have introduced Sarvāstivāda and even some Mahāyāna views into the Theravāda commentaries. Abhayagiri Vihāra monks, according to him, espoused Sautrāntika views. He finds proof for this in the words of Ananda, whom he regards as an exponent of Sautrāntika views, who has attributed to Abhayagiri monks the denial of the static moment (*ṭhitikkhaṇa*) which was a Sautrāntika view. However, Buddhaghosa explaining this view that is commented by Ananda states that when a possessor of supernormal power adverts one's mind, with the intention of knowing another's mind, it could penetrate the mind of the other at the moment of arising (*uppādakkkhaṇe*), moment of presence (*ṭhitikkhaṇe*) or at the moment of dissolution (*bhaṅgakkhaṇe*). This view is attributed to residents of the Abhayagiri Monastery by the *Visuddhimagga Ṭīkā*[12] (*DhsA.* p. 421, *Vism.* p. 432). This shows that the Abhayagiri monks, in fact, had accepted a static moment at least at an earlier stage. R.A.L.H. Gunawardhana also has pointed out this conflict in the Abhayagiri views. (*s.v.* Sabbattivāda).

Thus after bracketing, what he calls, syncretic Sthaviravāda with the Mahāvihāra and Sautrāntika views with Abhayagiri, Kalupahana goes on to argue that the Sāgalikas of the Jetavana vihāra possibly espoused the Sarvastivāda views. In actual fact he has not put forward even a single piece of evidence to support his view. He arrives at it only through a process of elimination. He says, "the greatest literary figures of the Polonnaruwa period, Anuruddha, Sāriputta and Sumaṅgala, all made attempts to justify the Sarvāstivāda standpoint and all of them were associated with Jetavana in Polonnaruwa." Then he goes on to argue that as evident from Buddhaghosa's statement, neither Mahāvihāra nor the Abhayagiri monks accepted the theory of the three moments and says, "Thus there is a strong possibility that it was accepted by the Jetavaniyas of the Anuradhapura period". However, we know that Buddhaghosa has nowhere stated that Abhayagiri monks rejected the theory of the three moments, viz. the nascent, static and the cessant moments. On the other hand we have

observed above that according to the *Visuddhimagga* commentator the Abhayagiri monks had in actual fact accepted this view.

Kalupahana also states in his article that Sarvāstivāda came to be introduced into Sri Lanka at the point of the formation of the Sāgaliya sect after the arrival of the monk named Sāgala. Elsewhere in the same article he states "Buddhaghosa has incorporated into his works the central tenets of many of the divergent schools of Buddhism, yet with a strong bias towards Sarvāstivāda realism". Dhammapāla, according to him, faithfully followed Budhaghosa's views. But Buddhaghosa's senior contemporary Buddhadatta favoured the type of realism advocated by Sarvāstivādins even more than Buddhaghosa did. These assertions of Kalupahana would lead us to assume that there should have been a great affinity between the views of the Mahāvihāra and the Jetavana monks at least after the arrival of the Mahāvihāra commentators. If it were so it is strange that one could discover no evidence of such an affinity indicated in the Pāli commentaries of the Mahāvihāra. On the other hand what we see even in the post-Buddhaghosan *Mahāvaṁsa* and its commentary are scathing attacks on the character of the head of the Sāgalikā fraternity who received the Jetavana Vihāra and their being under the influence of the Abhayagiri monks. It is also strange that Mahāvihara writers, when discussing a view in conflict with their own, always attribute it to the Abhayagiri fraternity and never to the Jetavana fraternity. Was it due to some affinity between the Mahāvihāra and Jetavana views as pointed out above?

As pointed above Kalupahana has tried to associate the prelates Buddhadatta, Anuruddha, Sāriputta and Sumangala with the Sarvāstivāda tradition. The last three of these who lived in the Polonnaru period were, according to him, connected with the Jetavana Vihāra built by Parakramabāhu I. The king is said to have built a beautiful mansion for Sāriputta within its premises. Sumangala was a pupil of Sāriputta. "The connection between the Jetavana in Anuradhapura and the Jetavana in Polonnaruwa", says Kalupahana, "though not established historically, seems to be rather significant when we consider the continuity of the tradition started by Buddhadatta". But we know that Buddhadatta did not have any direct connection with the Jetavana in Anuradhapura. In fact in the colophon of the *Abhidhammāvatāra* (*B.M.* I. 137) he says that he is writing it rooted in the Mahāvihāra tradition unmixed with the views of dissentient schools. If so Sāriputta and others were without doubt only defending the stand taken by their predecessors like Buddhadatta of the Mahāvihāra rather than following the views of a dissentient school.

It is not clear whether Kalupahana wanted the readers to infer that the Jetavana in Polonnaruwa was named after its namesake in Anuradhapura. Yet it is doubtful that Parākramabāhu would have done so after the unification of the three fraternities under the Mahāvihāra banner, for, according to the chronicle (*Mhv.* 78.25-26), he could not find in the Jetavana or Abhayagiri even a single unspoiled monk. In fact Geiger[13] was of the opinion that both the Jetavana monasteries of Anuradhapura and Polonnaru were named after the original Jetavana at Savatthi in India. The *Mahāvaṁsa* (*ibid.* 32) also seems to indicate the same.

Another piece of evidence from a work of The South Indian monk named Coliya Kassapa also seem to go against Kalupahana's view on Sāriputta's relationship with the Jetavana Sāgalikas. He has in his Vinaya sub-commentary, *Vimativinodani*, criticized some of Sariputta's statements in his Vinaya sub-commentary named *Sāratthadīpani*. In one place, criticizing Sariputta's views on consciously taking liquor, he says that this is a view of the residents of Abhayagiri which the author of the sub commentary has taken over not knowing that it was an outsiders' view.[14] If we take the views of Kalupahana on the one hand and that of Coliya Kassapa on the other, then we will have to conclude that Sāriputta was open to influence from both the Jetavana and Abhayagiri views.

The Unification of the Sangha: Several attempts were made by some of the kings of Anuradhapura to purify the Saṅgha and reconcile the three fraternities of monks. For instance the *Mahāvaṁsa* (44.75-80) states that the king Silāmeghavaṇṇa (617-626 A.C.) attempted to reconcile the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri Vihāra fraternities. But the former refused to comply. So it was in the Polonnaru period that this task was finally achieved. Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.C.) states in his Galvihāra inscription that he

expelled many hundreds of evil monks from the Order and unified the three fraternities into a single fraternity, a task which could not be achieved by past kings at times when there were even Arahants endowed with many virtues as the six super knowledges (*EZ.* II, p. 264: 269). He was assisted in this great task by the monks of the Mahāvihāra fraternity led by the great elder Maha Kaśyapa, a resident at the Udumbaragiri Vihāra.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (73.12-22: 78.1-27) gives in detail the efforts made by the king along with the elder Mahā Kassapa and others to bring about this unification. Thus, the chronicle states that the bhikkhus of Abhayagiri who had seceded in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmani Abhaya and those of the Jetavana, seceded from the days of Mahāsena and those who held the *Vetulla Piṭaka* as the true word of the Master were brought into concord with the monks of the Mahāvihara. It is not clear, however, whether this reference to the holders of the *Vetulla Piṭaka* is a reference to a separate sect or whether it applies in general to the monks of the two dissentient schools. Yet the *Nikāyasangraha*[5] does speak of the Vaitulyavādins as a third sect. Therefore, when it says that the three *nikāyas* were reconciled, it is not clear whether it means the reconciliation of the Dharmaruci and Sāgalikā sects with the Mahavihara sect or the unification of the Dhammaruci, Sāgalikā and Vaitulyavādin sects with the original Mahāvihāra sect. However the final outcome of all this was that the historical existence of the Sāgalikas as a separate institution ended with this 'unification of the three *nikāyas*'.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1] *Nikāya Sangraha*, ed. Gunawardhana Nanayakkara, M.D. Gunasena and Company, Colombo, 1988,p. 12f.

[2] *Vamsatthappakāsini Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā*, Simhala Translation by Akuratiye Amaravamsa Nayaka Thero and Hemachandra Dissanayaka , Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, Kelaniya University, 2537/1994 p. 123

[3] *ibid.* 16 f.

[4] *ibid.*

[5] eg. Bu-ston, *The History of Buddhism in India & Tibet*, tr. E. Obermiller, Sri Satguru Publlications, Delhi-India, 1999, p. 99

[6] Mudiyanse, Nandasena, *Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon* M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., Colombo, 1967, p. 92 ff.

[7] *Ibid* 90 ff.

[8] *ibid.* 84 ff.

[9] *ibid.* p. 83 f.

[10] *ibid.* p.7

[11] *Schools of Buddhism in Early Ceylon*, The Ceylon Journal of the Humanities Vol.1, No. 2 July 1970 p. 159 ff.

[12] Tr. Bhikkhu Ñanamoli, *The Path of Purification*, R. Semage, Colombo, Ceylon, 1956, p. 474, n. 25

[13] Geiger, Wilhelm, *Culavaṃsa* II p. 105, n.2

[14] Buddhadatta, A.P. *Pali Sahityaya*, Colombo, 1966 p. 255 f

[15] *ibid.* p. 22.

SAGGA See HEAVEN AND HELL

SAHASSAVATTHUPPAKARAṆA, is a text written in Pali. The word '*sahassa*' has been explained as (*sa* + *hassa*) meaning 'connected with joy' or 'pleasure giving'. *Sahassa-vatthu* should mean 'thousand stories' but as there are only 95 stories given in the text, such a meaning cannot be given in this instance. *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā* mentions this text as one of its sources. It is evidently a collection of legends and folk tales which formed the basis of *Rasavāhinī* and *Saddharmālaṅkāra*. It has appeared in Sinhala characters, as edited by Polvatte Buddhadatta Thera (1959). Several manuscripts from Sri Lanka including one from Burma has been made use of in this edition. The three texts, *Sīhalavatthu*, *Sahassavatthu*, and *Rasavāhinī* contain stories connected with Sri Lanka. Of these three texts *Sīhalavatthu* is the oldest. It appears that it was composed even before the time of Buddhaghosa by an Indian elder who lived in the Andhra country. The author of *Rasavāhinī*, Vedeha Thera, says that the author of *Sahassavatthu* was Ven Raṭṭhapāla of the Guttavaṅka-Pariveṇa in Anuradhapura. *Sahassavatthu* and *Rasavāhinī* were both compiled in Sri Lanka. A few names of the stories given in the *Sahassavatthu* are as follows:

Dhammasoṇḍaka, Mahā Abhayatthera, Micchādiṭṭhikassa, Vessānittāya, Saddhātissāna cca, Samaṇagāmapabbata, Suvaṇṇatilakāya, Kākavaṇṇatissa, Veḷusumanassa,

Suranimalassa, Goṭhayimbara, Sāliyarāja kumāra, Phussadevatherassa, Dhammāsoka Mahārāja, Kāvīrapaṭṭana.

The editor of the next says that there are some peculiar words and phrases i.e. *podamkiḥtuṃ* (in the sense of fighting), *pimbaro* (for boa constructor). His view is that these are words which could have got into the text from foreign languages. There are also many different readings concerning proper names. For a long time this text was preserved in Burma. Corruptions could have occurred at the hands of Burmese copyists who were not acquainted with place names in Sri Lanka.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

SAICHŌ Saichō (767-822 A.C.) was the founder of the Tendai (Chinese Tiantai or Tien-t'ai) sect in Japan, who campaigned relentlessly to change the monastic regulations enforced at the time and to introduce a new system of Buddhist monasticism based on Mahāyāna precepts.

Born in 767 A.C. in Omi Province (present Shiga Prefecture) to the Mitsukube clan, he was known as Hirono in his lay life. In 781, at the age of 14, he was ordained under the name Saicho and four years later he received higher ordination in Narā.

His stay in Nārā, however, was short-lived. After three months he left Narā in dissatisfaction as he found that the type of Buddhism practised by the monks, particularly by the Hossō monks in Narā temples was of a debased nature. He was also disgusted with the way of life led by them as they were more inclined towards securing imperial favour and performed rituals for the court rather than adhering to the lofty philosophical ideals of Buddhism.

Erecting a thatched hut on the Mt. Hiei, he shifted there in 785 A.C., and embarked on a solitary life devoted to meditation and prayer. Three years later he built a small temple, which was to become later the headquarters of the Tendai sect, under the name Enryakuji. It earned a reputation as a training centre for most illustrious in the following centuries.

By and by Saichō was able to attract more and more disciples and benefactors to his temple at the Mt. Hiei. In the meantime, he studied scriptures of the Chinese Tiantai sect and delivered lectures on its doctrine. Emperor Kammu (781-806 A.C.) too began to show a keen interest in Saichō's new move. He started to support him as the Emperor determined to chastise the Nārā monks, who were then wielding a strong influence on the imperial court, and also to elevate Buddhism to a more spiritual level. It was also with this intention that he moved his capital from Nārā to Heiankyō (present Kyōto) in 794 A.C. The Emperor also sent him the preachings of the new doctrine of Tiantai school and the expositions of *Hokkekyō (Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sutra)*, on which this new sect was largely founded. Yet Saichō was not satisfied with the contents of those scriptures and yearned to acquire a deeper insight.

Saichō was keen to receive training under a Tiantai master in China to become himself a master. Thus, in 804 A.C., he along with Kūkai (774-835 A.C.), better known as Kobo Daishi, joined the imperial mission dispatched by the Emperor Kammu to the Tang Imperial court in Cheng-an, China. There he received the necessary training and instruction at the Kuo-ching temple, which was the Tiantai sect headquarters located on the Mt. Tiantai. He was re-ordained there according to the Tiantai School and received training under a master of esoteric Buddhism, who initiated him to the esoteric rituals.

In the following year Saichō returned to Japan bringing with him several texts of the Tendai sect and the esoteric Buddhism. He found that the Emperor, who showed a keen interest in esoteric Buddhism, was seriously ill and Saichō performed esoteric rituals for his recovery. In response to Saichō's request that official recognition be granted to his sect, the Emperor consented to it, on condition that esoteric Buddhism constitute a part of the sect. Saichō acceded to it, and consequently Japan's Tendai sect became somewhat different from its Chinese forerunner on account that the former incorporated esoteric Buddhist doctrine and practices into its teachings. Nevertheless Saichō was rather flexible in stipulating the extent the esoteric Buddhism plays within the Tendai Sect and left it to be resolved at the discretion of his disciples.

The Tendai School founded by Saichō preached that the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism was to be found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* Sutra. He emphasised that the Buddha nature is latent in every person and it was on this point that he attacked Hosso monks of Nārā. According to the Hosso monks only a limited few could become Buddha and most men were precluded from attaining Buddhahood. Saichō, on the contrary, emphasised that all men were potential bodhisattvas and the influence of the new sect exerted on the people was tremendous.

In the meantime, Kūkai, who mastered esoteric Buddhism in China, returned to Japan in 809 A.C. He was hailed as the most distinguished Buddhist personality in the capital. Saichō approached him as a disciple and received the *Kanjo* (esoteric Buddhism) from him to learn esoteric Buddhism. Their mutual relationship, however, was restrained in 816 A.C., when Kūkai refused to send back to him one of his favourite disciples. But the real problem Saicho faced was the defection of his novices to the Hossō sect in Nārā. According to the state-controlled system of ordination prevailed at that time, all novices, irrespective of their sectarian differences, had to go to Nārā to receive higher ordination. Most of these novices who went there did not return as they were enchanted by the fascinating surroundings in those temples. Annoyed by this situation, Saichō petitioned the court between 818-819 A.C., in three works collectively known as *Sange gakushō shiki* (Regulations for Student Monks of Mt. Hiei) seeking permission to conduct higher ordination according to Mahāyāna precepts, thus abandoning the traditional ordination system. He also requested to set up an independent ordination hall on Mt. Hiei, where newly ordained Tendai monks were to follow "for 12 years of uninterrupted study, after which the court would appoint them to official posts as teachers of Buddhism" (Kodensha, *Encyclopaedia of Japan*, Vol. 6 , Japan, 1983, p. 365). In 807 A.C. when he of his own, conducted an ordination ceremony (*Ichiyo-tai-kai*) according to Tendai rites, a wave of protests arose from Nārā monks. It was in defence of his stand that he composed, in820 A.C., his most famous treatise, *Kenkairon*. One of his contentions was that his disciples, who were the adherents of the Mahāyāna precepts, should not submit themselves to Hīnayāna rites of ordination prescribed by the Nārā monks. Ultimately the imperial court sanctioned institutional autonomy to the Tendai sect in 822 A.C. seven days after his death.

As a mark of appreciation of the services rendered by him to religion, the *Dengyō Hoshi* was bestowed on him shortly before his death. He was honoured again posthumously in 866 A.C. by the emperor Seiwa, when he conferred on him the title '*Denyō Daishi*, meaning the "Great Teacher who transmits the Teachings".

Saicho is reckoned as one of the two most important Buddhist leaders at the beginning of the Heian period (794-1185 A.C.), the other being Kūkai (s.v.).

C.S. Ranasinghe

SAKADĀGĀMĪ Is one who 'returns' *(āgāmi)* only 'once' *(sakid)* more to this world before reaching final liberation, due to having gained the second out of the four levels of awakening recognized in early Buddhism.

These four levels of awakening stand in a close relationship to the eradication of the fetters (*saṃyojana*) that bind one to continued existence in *saṃsāra*. The stream-enterer, who has gained the first level of awakening, has eradicated the three fetters of personality view (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*), doubt (*vicikicchā*) and dogmatic clinging to rules and vows (*sīlabbata-parāmāsa*). These three fetters are to be eradicated by 'vision' (*Dhs.* 183: *dassanena pahātabba*), namely the first vision of *Nibbāna* gained with stream-entry. The next two fetters to be overcome are sensual lust (*kāma-rāga*) and ill-will (*vyāpāda*), an eradication which takes place by way of 'development' (*Dhs.* 183: *bhāvanāya pahātabba*). In regard to this development, the *sakadāgāmī* or 'once-returner' has already made substantial progress, since he or she has considerably weakened both. Their complete eradication will however only be accomplished with the third level of awakening, the attainment of non-return.

The realisation of once-return requires the development of tranquillity (*samatha*) and insight (*vipassanā*), based on a firm foundation of moral conduct (*M.* I. 33). To proceed from stream-entry to once-return and from there to the higher stages of awakening calls for contemplating the five aggregates

as impermanent, unsatisfactory and devoid of a self (*S.* III. 168). One who takes any formation to be permanent or satisfactory, or else any phenomena to be a self, or else does not look on *Nibbāna* as happiness, will be incapable of gaining once-return or any of the other levels of awakening (*A.* III, 442).

The development of insight for the gain of once-return is necessarily based on having association with superior persons, hearing the *Dhamma*, developing wise attention and practising in accordance with the *Dhamma* (*S.* V, 410). Attaining once-return also requires being free from stinginess in regard to one's lodging, family, gains and reputation, together with having a sense of gratitude (*A.* III, 273). The most important requirement for the gain of once-return, however, is the arising of a *Tathāgata*, since due to his teaching the path to once-return and to the other stages of awakening is revealed to humanity (*A.* I, 23)

Though a once-returner has made substantial progress when compared to a stream-enterer or a worldling, yet he or she has not yet fully penetrated the teaching (*D.* II, 252), a feat only accomplished by those who have gained the highest level of awakening: the *arahants*. An *arahant* has also fully developed the five faculties (*indriya*), while a once-returner has done so only to a lesser degree (*S.* V, 202).

While an *arahant* and a non-returner are endowed with swift wisdom (*javanapaññā*), a once- returner and a stream-enterer still need to develop this quality (*S.* V, 376). This does however not mean that the wisdom of a once-returner and a stream-enterer are of the same level. According to the *Paṭisambhidā-magga*, the wisdom of a once-returner is in effect far beyond the wisdom of a stream-enterer (*Ps.* II, 194). The difference between these two levels of awakening may also be reflected in the fact that the number of once-returners found among the monk disciples of the Buddha was far less than the number of stream-enterers (*S.* V, 406).

The once-returner needs to develop not only wisdom in order to progress further, but also concentration. This becomes evident in the *Cūladukkhakkhanda Sutta* (*M.* I, 91), where the Buddha instructed the *Sakyan Mahānāma* to develop a type of pleasure that is aloof from sensuality in order to go beyond the attraction of sensual pleasures. According to the commentarial explanation (*MA.* II, 61), *Mahānāma* was a once-returner and the expression 'pleasure aloof from sensuality' refers to the pleasure of *jhāna* attainment. On the commentarial explanation this passage then indicates that for the once-returner's progress to the higher stages of awakening, deeper levels of concentration need to be developed. The same is confirmed by other discourses, which highlight that while the non-returner has completed the training in morality and concentration, the once-returner has only completed the training in morality, but not yet in concentration (*A.* I, 232 and *A.* IV, 380).

That a once-returner need not yet have developed concentration to absorption level can also be deduced by examining the once-returner's level of rebirth. A once-returner is so called because he or she will be reborn once again in 'this world' (i.e. the *rūpaloka* comprising the human world and lower celestial spheres). Someone who has developed concentration up to the ability to attain *jhāna* is however not going to return to 'this world' in the next life (*A.* II, 126), but will be reborn in a higher heavenly sphere beyond the sensuous field (i.e. the *rūpaloka* or the *arūpaloka*). This certainly does not imply that all once-returners are bereft of deeper levels of concentration. But if all once-returners were at the same time also *jhāna* attainers, the very concept of a 'once-returner' would be superfluous, since not a single once-returner would ever return 'to this world'. Hence the very expression 'once-return' shows that the development of concentration up to the level of *jhāna* attainment cannot be a necessary requirement for gaining this level of awakening.

Though not all once-returners are at the same time also *jhāna* attainers, some once-returners may however have developed substantial levels of deep concentration and even have gained the immaterial attainments. Such once-returners would then fall into the class of being a 'body-witness' (*kāyasakkhi*). If however the faculty of faith should be predominant, the resulting once-returner will be 'freed by faith' (*saddhāvimutta*), and if wisdom is foremost, then such a type of once-returner will belong to those who have 'attained to view' (*diṭṭhippatta*) (*A.* I, 120).

Not only can once-returners be distinguished according to their predominance in relation to concentration, faith or wisdom, but according to the

commentarial tradition they also fall into five classes related to their progress in different spheres of rebirth (*MA.* I, 163). Two such types of once-returners are those who have attained once-return in the human world and gain the final goal after either being reborn in the human world or else after being reborn in a heavenly world. A complementary set of two types of once-returners are those who have attained once-return while living in a heavenly world and gain the final goal after either being reborn in the human world or else after being reborn in a heavenly world. The fifth case, according to this commentarial explanation, are those who have attained once-return in the human world, followed by a rebirth in a heavenly realm, followed in turn by another rebirth in the human world during which they too gain final liberation.

The circumstance that there are different types of once-returners who may have emphasized different qualities during their progress on the path to this particular level of awakening caused some confusion in the mind of the lay disciple *Migasālā*. Her father *Purāṇa* had lived a celibate life, while her uncle *Isidatta* had not done so, yet the Buddha declared both to have passed away as once-returners (*A.* III, 347 and *A.* V, 138). That both had been able to gain the same level of awakening, the Buddha explained, was because *Isidatta's* stronger wisdom had made up for his comparatively less developed moral conduct.

This passage also shows that the gain of once-return was not the sole domain of monks. The same finds corroboration in other discourses, which report over ninety lay followers from the locality of *Nātika* to have gained once-return (*D.* II, 93) and an unspecified number of lay followers from the district of *Magadha* to have done the same (*D.* II, 218).

Gender also has no say in these matters, the Buddha declared to *Ananda*, since women are most certainly capable of gaining once-return, just as they are able to gain any of the other stages of awakening (*A.* IV, 276). This ability finds its confirmation when the residence of the women of king *Udena* burnt down and a substantial number of women together with queen *Sāmāvatī* were killed. Asked by the monks about their fate, the Buddha proclaimed that several among them had attained once-return, others stream-entry and some even non-return (*Ud.* 79).

The gain of once-return is one of the supreme fruits of living the celibate life (*S.* V, 26) and it is for the sake of such sublime attainments that the holy life is to be lived under the Buddha (*D.* I, 156). A monk who gains once-return is a blue lotus recluse (*A.* II, 89) and will reach the other shore just like a strong young oxen crosses the *Gaṅges* river (*M.* I, 226). Among mankind immersed in water, the once returner is one who comes up and crosses over (*A.* IV, 12). See also ANĀGĀMIN, ARAHANT, ARIYAPUGGALA, SOTĀPATTI.

Anālayo

SAKKA.

Preamble: Sakka is the chief or the king of gods according to Buddhist Mythology. Pali literature always refer to him as "Sakka" the chief/king of gods (*Sakko Devānaṃ Indo*). A comparative study of the Vedic Indra and the Buddhist Sakka shows that the concept did not originate within Buddhism, but was borrowed from the pre-Buddhist society. All scholars agree that it was Indra the most popular god of the Vedic Aryans that Buddhists have adopted as "Sakka" the chief/king of gods.

Indra as depicted in Vedic Literature:

An examination of Vedic mythology shows that the gods of the Vedic Aryans were none other than personified powers of nature such as fire (*agni*), sun (*sūrya*), wind (*marut*), dawn (*ushas*), rain (*parjanya*) etc. The gods they conceived were human in appearance or anthropomorphic on the physical side. The Vedic Aryans composed hymns to invoke the nature gods and the collection of hymns was known as the *Rigveda*, the oldest literary collection of Indo Aryan languages and it contains altogether 1,028 hymns addressed to 33 gods, they conceived out of various aspects of nature.

Out of all the gods of the Vedic Aryans, it was Indra[1] primarily the god of thunderstorms who was the most popular and their national god. It is seen that Indra alone is invoked in one fourth of the hymns contained in the *Rigveda* far more than addressed to any other single god. Further more, Indra is more anthropomorphic on the physical side and more invested with mythological imagery than any other

member of the Vedic pantheon. His physical features such as the body, head, beard are specially mentioned. He is tawny (*hari*) in color and also tawny haired and bearded. He is addicted to the *soma* drink, the intoxicating drink of the Vedic Aryans. It is said that after he has drunk *soma* he agitates his jaws and beard. One of the hymns is a monologue in which Indra, intoxicated with *Soma*, boasts of his greatness and might. His car is golden and is drawn by two tawny steeds.

He is armed with the thunderbolt (*vajra*) mytho logically representing the lightning stroke. Thus he is also called "bearing the bolt in his arms (*Vajrabāhu*). Indra is supposed to have killed Vṛtra, the demon who encompasses water and releases water; hence he is also called the slayer of *Vṛtra* (*Vṛtrahan*). Secondarily he is the god of battle who helped Aryans to overcome their non-Aryan enemies. He protects the Aryan colour and subjugates the black skinned. He is also referred to as the destroyer of cities (*Purbhid*), possibly referring to the destruction of non-Aryan cities by the Aryans. [2]

Indra in the *Rigveda* sometimes appears as immoral in various ways, such as excess in eating and drinking and also cruel in killing his own father Tvstṛa. Yet he is praised as the protector, helper and friend of his worshippers. He is described as bestowing on them wealth which is considered as the result of victories. His liberality is so characteristic that the frequent epithet "Maghavan" "bountiful" was won by him.

It is significant that some cosmic actions are often attributed to him. He is said to have settled the quaking mountains and plains. He stretched out heaven and earth like a hide. He holds asunder heaven and earth, as an axle keeps two wheels apart. However it is observed that in the *Vedas* Indra is not entrusted with upholding of the moral order of the world, which is assigned, to Varuna. With the above primary observations of the character of Indra[3] in the Vedas let us examine his Buddhist counterpart Sakka in Buddhist literature.

Name: In the *Vedas* the epithet Śakra means "able one" (from the root '*Śak*' to be able) is used for Indra[4] to indicate his power especially in helping his worshippers. It is clear that the Pali term "Sakka" is coined from Vedic Śakra. But in the *Vedas* it is an epithet for Indra whereas in Pali Literature it has become the personal name of the god. At the same time the personal name Indra of the Vedic god is given the meaning chief/king in the Pali literature. Thus as already indicated the Buddhist counterpart of Indra is always referred to combining three words (*Sakko Devānaṃ Indo – Sakko the chief/king of gods*).

Indra/Sakka is adjusted so as to be in conformity with the main teachings of the Buddha in Buddhist Literature: Buddhism has exhibited a marvelous capacity to assimilate alien concepts from the environment without violating the main Buddhist principles. The immortal, violent, addicted to intoxicants, merciless (to enemies) Indra of the *Vedas* cannot be ushered to Buddhism as he was, for it would violate the main Buddhist teachings such as impermanency etc. Thus in Buddhist literature we observe an attempt to adjust Vedic Indra's character so that it would not clash with the main principles of Buddhism.

According to Buddhism, living beings in *Samsāra* are subject to birth, decay and death (*jāti, jarā, maraṇa*). Indra/ Sakka is no exception. He too has to yield to this universal law. Accordingly mighty and immortal Indra, who bestows immortality on human beings is made subject to birth, decay and death, once he is accommodated in Buddhism. *Aṅguttaranikāya* testifies to this:

Sakko bhikkhave Devānaṃ Indo, Aparimutto jātiyā, jarāya maraṇena, sokehi paridevehi, dukkhehi upāyāsehi aparimutto dukkhasmāti.

(Brethren Sakka the king of gods has not overcome birth, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, grief suffering etc.

(*Aṅguttaranikāya* I. 144).

Another main teaching of Buddhism is that all living beings have passions (*kilesa*), which bind them to *samsāra* (repeated births). Indra ushered into Buddhism as Sakka is supposed to have all the passions that an ordinary being has. This is clear from the *Dhajagga Sutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* :

Sakko bhikkhave devānamindo, avītarāgo, avīta doso, avīta moho, bhīrucchambi utrāsi palāyi.

(Brethren Sakka the king of gods has not got rid of his lust, anger, and illusion, is timid, given to panic, to fright, to running away *S.*I. 219)

In Buddhism virtue is the criteria that decide the position of a person high or low. Buddha and his disciples who have overcome the passions are considered the highest and those below judged according to the degree of virtues they possess. According to this criterion the position of Sakka is even lower than that of a virtuous lay disciple of the Buddha. As found in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Mātali the charioteer once having seen Sakka worshipping someone was anxious to know the person who receives obeisance of Sakka. Sakka did not hesitate to divulge the person whom he was saluting :

Ye gahaṭṭhā puññakarā sīlavantā upāsakā dhammena dāraṃ posenti te namassāmi Mātali.

(Those virtuous householders (laymen) who commit meritorious acts and support family in the correct way, Matali I salute them. *S.*I. 234).

Thus it is clear that Indra/ Sakka's position has been lowered below the position of a Buddhist *upāsaka* (lay devotee). In the *Vedas* Indra attained to that supreme position by his strength, valour or might. But Sakka in Buddhism attained to the position i.e. chief/king of gods, through his virtues. *Saṃyutta Nikāya* gives seven virtues (*Sattavatapada*) fulfilling which he attained to the position, such as supporting of one's parents, honouring the seniors of the family, gentle conversation and soft toned speech, rejection of slander, subduing greed, truthfulness and controlling of ones temper.[5] It is further said that he fulfilled the above seven virtues when he was born as a youth named Magha. In contrast to Indra who attained to the position through his strength, valour etc., Sakka is described as a person who enjoys the fruits of his good deeds and reigns over the gods of Tāvatimsa :

(sakaṃ puññaphalaṃ Upajīvamāno devānam Tāvatimsānaṃ issariyādhipaccaṃ karoti.) (*S.*I. 222).

In the *Vedas* there is only one Indra. He is unique and supreme. According to Buddhism no unique person exists. All beings are wandering in *Samsāra*. Therefore according to Buddhism there are more than one Sakka in the Universe. This is evident from an episode in the *Kulāwaka Jātaka* (*J.* I. 203). Once Sakka was fleeing, after being defeated by Asuras, his enemies. In the course of his speedy retreat, the bird nests were damaged. When Sakka saw this he immediately ordered the charioteer to stop and turn back and risked his life in the hands of his enemies who were chasing from behind. The Asuras thought that Sakka turned back since he received support from the Sakkas of the other solar systems who would have come to his rescue. Asuras are reported to have given up the chase and returned. This shows that Buddhism accept the existence of more than one Sakka.

According to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A.* IV p. 35) a teacher named Suneeta was born 35 times as Sakka as a result of his merit. Therefore it is clear that in Buddhism Sakka is not a personal name but the name of a position, where any one could attain with appropriate merit, unlike in the *Vedas* where it is considered as a personal name of a supreme god. The purpose behind the multiplication of Sakkas in Buddhism appears to be dilution of his supreme position. The Vedic Indra is said to have had a mother and father. But in Buddhism Sakka appears to have had no parents, for according to Buddhism *Devas* have no parents, since they are of spontaneous origin. Thus we see that the Vedic Indra has been adapted to Buddhism as Sakka with necessary adjustments, so as to conform with the main teachings of the Buddha.

Indra's Vedic epithets given new Buddhistic meanings and attributed to Sakka:

The attempt to give new Buddhist meanings to the epithets of Indra found in the Rigveda is noteworthy. Although some etymologies appear somewhat absurd, it is further proof that it is the Vedic Indra who is ushered to Buddhism as Sakka. The etymological explanation under reference is found in the *Sakka Saṃyutta* (*S.*I. p. 229). It shows that the redactors of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* were quite conversant with *Rig veda* including its commentary. According to the new Buddhistic explanation he is called Maghavā because in a former birth he had been a youth named Magha,[6] quite contrary to the Vedic explanation according to which he was named Maghavan due to his bountifulness. When he was a human being in his former birth he gave gifts in the cities, hence he got the name Purindada a possible adaptation from Indra's Vedic epithet Purbhid the destroyer of cities which has already been discussed. The epithet Sakka (*Skt.*

Śakra) has been applied to Vedic Indra due to his capacity to help his worshippers. But the Buddhist etymologist in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* says that he got the epithet because he gave alms well prepared (*devānaṃ Indo pubbe manussa bhuto samāno sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ adāsi tasmā sakkoti vuccati S.*I. 229). Similarly Sakka is called Sujampati because he had an Asura maiden named Sujā as his wife. The scholars suggest that it could be an adaptation from Vedic Yajñapati (Lord of the Sacrifice), another epithet for Indra. Some more epithets of Indra have been adapted to Sakka with new meanings. With the above preliminary observations let us now examine how Sakka is depicted in the various strata of Pali Literature.

Reference to Sakka in the Pali Canon.

Digha Nikāya: Sakka is mentioned in several suttas of the *Dīgha Nikāya* out of which *Sakka Pañha* (*D.* II 263 ff) is the most important. The *Sutta* itself is named after Sakka i.e. "Questions of Sakka". The information on Sakka embodied in the *Sutta* represents an important phase of the Sakka legend in the canon. As found in the Sutta it was Sakka's first visit to the Buddha. According to the Sutta, Sakka wanted to meet the Buddha urgently, reason for which is not clear. At the time Buddha was residing at the cave Indasāla in the Mount Cetiya, east of Rajagaha. On the request of Sakka, Pañcasikha, his musician too accompanied him with his violin called Beluwapaṇḍu. Sakka accompanied by his celestial retinue and followed by Pañcasikha is said to have arrived at the cave Indasāla in a moment. It is significant that Sakka is said to have been too nervous to meet the Buddha directly. He confessed to Pañcasikha that it is not possible to meet the Buddha for a person like him (*durupasaṅkamo kho tāta Pañcasika Tathāgato Mādisena D.* II p. 265). He requested Pañcasikha to go first and arrange for a meeting with the Buddha. Pañcasikha sang an erotic song, which describes his sincere love to Suriyavaccasā, playing his instrument Beluwapaṇḍu veenā, in order to get the attention of the Buddha and was successful in getting an opportunity for Sakka to see the Buddha.

The Sakka's nervousness referred to above at the very outset hints that Sakka's position was very much less or inferior compared to Buddha. Only when the Buddha gives the opportunity, Sakka proceeds to the presence of the Buddha. The meeting of the two continues in a friendly atmosphere after the exchange of formal greetings, as if between two friends already known to each other.

The Buddha is said to have appreciated Sakka's visit who was supposed to be too busy with various work. The Sakka replied that he wanted to meet the Buddha for a long time, but his duties pertaining to the *Devas* of Tāvatiṃsa delayed his coming. Sakka also refers to an earlier visit to the Buddha where he could not meet the Buddha who was in a certain trance at the time.

After the initial meeting Sakka sought permission of the Buddha to forward his questions. Sakka had fourteen questions of a high philosophical nature for the Buddha. Sakka was highly pleased with the answers given. Though it is said to be the first meeting with the Buddha, the questions he forwarded appear to be those of a person who was already acquainted with the Buddha's teachings, including the teachings of the other religious teachers of the day. The picture of Sakka painted in the *Sakkapañha Sutta* is that of a seeker of truth who went to all the religious teachers in search of truth.

The Sakka legend of an erotic nature at the beginning of the *Sutta* has but little relevance to the philosophical section to follow. Perhaps the early compilers of the canon have made an attempt to present a *Sutta* of high abstract nature coated in a sweet erotic Sakka legend. Further it appears that the commentator Buddhaghosa too has not taken this irrelevant erotic legend seriously. But as far as the Sakka legend itself and its development is concerned it is of great significance in which context the following verse in the *Sutta* deserves attention :

Idheva tiṭṭhamānassa devabhūtassa me sato
Punarāyu ca me laddho evaṃ jānāhi mārisa

" Sir learn that while I was here being a god I got a new lease of life (i.e. I died on the spot and was born again)".[7]

In other words Sakka reveals that he died while he was listening to the Buddha there and was born again. It is seen that even the Buddha did not notice it till Sakka reveals. Perhaps this statement signifies the end of the Vedic Indra/Sakka and the emergence of the Buddhist Sakka. What is meant is that Sakka is not the Vedic Sakka. He died and was born again.

4-CM 05968

The other important information given with regard to Sakka is his attainment to the position of a "*Sotāpanno*". At the conclusion of the Sutta it is said while elucidation was in progress Sakka became a *Sotāpanna* :

(imasmiñca pana veyyākaraṇasmim bhaññamāne sakkassa virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ udapādi).

Thus the *Sakkapañha Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* is of vital importance as regards the Sakka concept. This long Sutta has been named after Sakka. It hints the disappearance of the fore runner (the Vedic Indra) and his re-appearance as the Buddhist Sakka. Further more the *Sutta* states that he attained the position of a *Sotāpanna* which makes him one of the eight noble persons (*aṭṭhāriya puggalā*). It should be clear that Buddhists have accommodated an alien god from its pre-Buddhistic environment, transformed him to be a Buddhist god and given him one of the eight holy positions in the Buddha's dispensation.

The *Kevaḍḍha Sutta* (*D*. I. 211 ff.) of the *Dīgha Nikāya* too, has a relevance to Sakka. It is said in the *Sutta* that a certain monk entertained a doubt as to where the four elements cease to exist (*kattha nu kho ime cattāro mahābhūtā aparisesaṃ nirujjhanti*). He proceeds to the *devaloka* and questions the *Devas* of the four quarters (*Cātummahārājikā Devā*) and they confess that they do not know the answer and refer him to the four great kings (*Cattāro mahārājāno*). They too admit that they do not know the answer and refer him to the gods of the world of 33 (Tāvatimsa devā) who are supposed to be superior to them. The gods of the Tāvatimsa direct the monk Kevaḍḍha to Sakka, admitting their ignorance. Sakka the king of Tāvatimsa could not help Kevaḍḍha. When the gods of particular realms failed, the question was referred to the next higher *Deva* world. Thus the question was referred to Yāmā Devā, to Suyāmadevaputta, Tusitā Devā, to Santhusitadevaputta, Nimmānarati Devā, to Sunimmitadevaputta, Parannimmitavasavatti Devā, to Vasavatti devaputta, Brahmakāyikā Devā and finally to Mahā Brahmā. He is said to have taken the monk to a side and confessed in privacy that he too does not know the answer and advised Kevaḍḍha to go back to the Buddha. Mahābrahmā questioned why he overlooked the Buddha and sought answers elsewhere.

It is ridiculous to state that a Buddha's disciple went to *Deva* worlds by passing the Buddha to get an answer to a question of that nature. But apparently the idea behind this episode is to highlight the fact that all the Devās, Brahmās including Sakka and Mahabrahmā are far backward in respect of their wisdom compared to the Buddha. Moreover according to this *Sutta* only Cātummahārājika Devā and Cattāromahārājāno and Tāvatiṃsadevā are lower in position to Sakka. All the others are higher than Sakka. This shows that Sakka does not enjoy the supreme position in Buddhist mythology. He is only the king of the second lowest heaven, namely Tāvatiṃsa. Sakka is "*parimus inter pares*".

The *Mahāsamaya Sutta* (*D*. II. 253 ff) says that Sakka was present in the great assembly of gods referred to in the *Sutta*. In the *Mahāgovinda Sutta* (*D*. II. 220 ff) Sakka describes eight real virtues (*attha yathābhucca vaṇṇa*) of the Buddha to the Devas of Tāvatiṃsa. The *Mahaparinibbāna Sutta* (*D*. II. p. 157) describes how Sakka uttered the well-known *gāthās* which described the transient nature of all component things, simultaneously with the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha which runs as follows:

Aniccā vata saṅkhārā
Uppāda vaya dhammino
Uppajjhitvā nirujjhanti
Tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho

The reference to Sakka in the *Dīgha Nikāya* are confined to the above four instances.[8]

Majjhima Nikāya: The *Majjhima Nikāya* which contains the most profound *Suttas* contain some references to Sakka, out of which *Cūlataṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* (*M*.I. 251 ff) deserves attention. As in the case of the *Sakkapañha Sutta Cūlataṇhāsaṅkhaya* which deals with the eradication of craving (*Cūlataṇhāsaṅkhaya vimutti*)apparently presented in a more palatable way mixing with the popular Sakka legend. According to the *Sutta*, the Buddha was once staying in the mansion of Migāramātā at Sāvatthi. Sakka came there with the problem above referred to. The Buddha answered the problem to the fullest satisfaction of Sakka. He, having rejoiced with the answers, went away thanking the Buddha.

The *Sutta* further adds that Ven. Moggallāna who happened to be seated not far from the place where the Buddha was seated entertained a doubt whether Sakka[9] understood what the Buddha said. It is possible that Ven. Moggallana did not consider Sakka as an intelligent god. Therefore, in order to verify it, Ven Moggallana proceeded to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. At the time the Thera arrived in Tāvatiṃsa, Sakka was enjoying the five fold music in his park *Ekapuṇḍarīka.* Sakka having seen the Thera saluted him and offered him a seat with due respect and he himself sat on a smaller chair. There Ven. Moggallāna inquired from Sakka whether he too could hear what the Buddha taught in short about *Taṇhāsaṅkhayavimutti* (Freedom by way of destroying craving).

Sakka's reply was that he was too busy with the duties of the Devas of Tāvatiṃsa and his own work. Yet he assured "it (Buddha's analysis on *Taṇhā saṅkhayavimutti*) was properly reflected upon so that it cannot vanish quickly". Sakka at this instance seemingly to divert the attention of the elder elsewhere began to boast about his battle with the Asuras and his victory. He further said that he put up the Vejayantha Palace after the victory over Asuras. Sakka then invited the Elder to see the beauty of the palace and the Elder accepted the invitation. The *Sutta* describes how Sakka along with Vessavana proceeded to show the palace to the Elder. The *Sutta* at this instance provides a short but elegant description of Sakka's palace, for the first time in the canon :

Vejayantassa kho pana Mārisa Moggallāna, Pasādassa ekasataṃ niyyūhaṃ. ekamekasmiṃ niyyūhe satta satta kuṭāgārasatāni ekamekasmim kūṭāgāre satta satta accharāyo ekamekissā accharāya satta satta paricārikāyo..."

"There are a hundred towers to the Vejayanta palace, in each tower there are seven gabled houses, in each gabled house there are seven nymphs and for each nymph there are seven attendants. (*M*.I. p. 253)"

At that moment, as said in the *Sutta*, it occurred to Ven. Moggallāna "This yakka (Sakka) lives much too indolently. Suppose that I were to agitate this yakkha :

atibāḷhaṃ kho ayaṃ yakkho pamatto viharati. Yannūnāhaṃ imaṃ yakkhaṃ saṃvejjeyyanti. (*M*.I. 253).

Thinking so Ven. Moggallāna with his psychic power made the Vejayanta palace tremble, shake and quake using his big toe (*pādaṅguṭṭhakena*). Seeing the miracle the Devas including Sakka were full of wonder and marvel regards the great psychic power of Ven. Moggallāna. Ven. Moggallāna knowing that Sakka was agitated, again questioned about "*Taṇhāsaṅkhayavimutti*". This time Sakka was able to describe the same as the Buddha taught him the other day. The *Sutta* further adds that Ven. Moggallāna returned to the earth and verified from the Buddha what he described to the Yakkha (Sakka) and found Sakka's version correct.

The picture drawn of Sakka in the *Cūlataṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* is quite different from his picture in the *Sakkapañha Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, where he is described as a person who had become a *Sotapaṇṇa*. In the *Cūlataṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* he is depicted as a person who indulged in the sensual pleasures. Even what he learned from the mouth of the Buddha he had forgotten. Ven. Moggallāna was doubtful as regards his capacity to understand a subtle Dhamma. He was so indulged in sensual pleasures that Ven. Moggallāna had to agitate him to bring him back to his normal senses, which caused him to remember what the Buddha had taught him the same day.

In the *Makhādeva Sutta* (*M*.I. 79) it is said that Sakka happened to hear the Devas of the Tāvatiṃsa appreciating the virtues of the pious king Makhādeva of Jambudipa and he sent his charioteer with his chariot to bring the king to be shown to the Devas, who were anxious to see him. There Sakka assumes the character of a person who appreciates morality in the human realm. The references to Sakka in the *Majjhima Nikāya* are less than the references to Sakka in the *Dīgha Nikāya.*

Saṃyutta Nikāya: Among the Pali canonical texts *Saṃyutta Nikāya* occupies the foremost position as regards the concept of Sakka. There Sakka has been given an important place, by naming a *Saṃyutta* (section) as *Sakka Saṃyutta* (*S*.I. 216-240) a collection of 25 short *Suttas* of assorted topics. It is significant that the majority of the data on Sakka which developed later in the commentaries, is already found in the *Sakkasaṃyutta*. It is necessary to survey briefly the contents of some of the *Suttas* to ascertain the position of Sakka in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya.*

Several *Suttas* deal with the war between *Suras* (gods) and *Asuras*, their enemies. The *Suras* headed by Sakka are regarded as righteous and Asuras headed by Vepacitti as non righteous. According to the Susima and Suvīra Suttas, when Asuras were marching forward Sakka instructed the *Deva Puttas* Susima and Suwira[10] to proceed forward praising energy and meet Asuras in war. The *Kulāvaka Sutta* describes how Sakka stopped his chariot while fleeing, being defeated by Asuras to save the birds nests, that were being crushed by the wheels of his chariot and thereby risked his life in the hands of the Asuras who were chasing. In the *Dhajaggha Sutta* Sakka advised Devas to look at his banner in case any fear occurs to them in the battle field. In the *Isayo Araññaka Sutta* it is said that Sakka visited sages respectfully taking off his sandles, sword etc. whereas Vepacitti went to the sages with all his paraphernalia. The good conduct and virtues of Sakka are discussed in the *Sakka Saṃyutta* against the background of Vepacitti's misconduct.

It is of vital significance that in the *Mahālisutta* the Buddha is reported to have admitted that he has seen Sakka in his discussion he had with Mahālisakka. It is in the *Sakka Samyutta* that contains the seven virtues that makes a Sakka. Buddhist meanings for Sakka's vedic epithets etc. that have been already discussed are also found in the *Sakka Saṃyutta* for the first time.

The contents of 25 short *Suttas* contained in the *Sakka Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* uphold the virtues such as forbearance, patience, energy, soft speech, mercy even to enemies, respect to religious teachers, controlling of one's anger etc. Sakka is described as the epitome of those virtues. Thus in the *Sakka Saṃyutta* the concept of Sakka has been used as a media to propagate Buddhist ethics. As far as the legendary part of the *Sakka Saṃyutta* is concerned all the ingredients of the legend later narrated in details in the commentaries are found in brief, in the *Sakka Saṃyutta*

Aṅguttara Nikāya: Aṅguttara Nikāya too refers to Sakka the god of the *Devās*. But comparatively, references to Sakka in the Aṅguttara Nikāya are lesser. According to the *Uttara Sutta* of the *Aṭṭhaka Vagga* (*A.* IV. 162) Sakka once having heard from Vessavana that Ven. Uttara was preaching at the monastery of Dvajālakka in the Sāṅkheyya mountain at Mahisavatthu rushed to the place. Sakka questioned the thera whether what he preached was his own doctrines or that of the Buddha. The thera replied that what he was preaching was that of the Buddha. At the end Sakka came out with the truth that once the Buddha preached the same on account of Devadatta and confirmed that what Ven. Uttara was preaching the same as what the Buddha preached. Apparently this refers to a period after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha as Sakka is presented as supervising what the monks were preaching.

Further more according to the *Puññakiriya Vatthu Sutta* of the *Aṭṭhaka Nipāta* of the *Anguttara Nikāya* (*A.* IV. 242), Sakka having practiced *Dāna* and *Sīla* over and above (*atirekaṅkatvā*), surpassed the *Devas* of the Tāvatiṃsa heaven in ten areas such as age, complexion, happiness, fame, leadership, personality, hearing, smell, taste, and touch.

Khuddaka Nikāya: Sakka is found referred to in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* too. It is significant that the Sakka is found referred to not only in the later stratum of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* but also in the older stratum which are considered oldest, not only in the *Nikāya* but also among the oldest in the canon. Thus references to Sakka have gone into the *gāthās* of the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka, Sivi Jātaka, Sirimanda Jātaka, Kumbha Jātaka, Unmadaniya Jātaka* etc.

Theragathā, another old text of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* contains references to Sakka. Whenever a *bhikkhu* attains arahantship Sakka (Inda) was there to congratulate and worship him. When Ven. Sunīta attained arahantship Inda (Sakka) came to honour him with Brahmā in the morning :

Tato rattiyāvivasāne suriyuggamanaṃ pati
Indo Brahmā ca āgantva maṃ namassiṃsu
pañjali (Thag. p. 64)

The other oldest text *Suttanipāta* of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* makes reference to Sakka, but under the name Inda, not as Sakka (*Nālaka Sutta* verse 679).

Vinayapiṭaka: Sakka's presence is found in the *Vinayapiṭaka* too. According to the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (*Vin.* I. 26) Sakka paid a visit to the Buddha when the latter was staying in the hermitage of Jaṭilas, Uruvelakassapa, Nadikassapa and Gayākassapa (illuminating the whole forest). The following morning

when the Jaṭilas were anxious to know the visitor who came the previous night, the Buddha revealed that it was Sakka the king of gods. *Mahāvagga* further states (*ibid*. p. 28) while the Buddha was still with the Jaṭilas, Buddha received a "*Paṃsukūla*" robe (soiled cloth) and as he had no place to wash it he is said to have been wondering where to wash it. Sakka immediately knew the Buddha's dilemma and dug a pond with his own hands. Similarly Sakka provided a stone to rub the cloth and bent a branch of a tree so that the Buddha could hold it to descend to the pond. *Mahāvagga* again (*ibid* p. 38) describes how Sakka in the guise of a youth went in front reciting *gāthās* in praise of the Buddha, when the Buddha entered the kingdom of Magadha with a large retinue of monks.

Sakka's position in the canon: Thus it should be clear that Sakka is well characterized and the concept of Sakka is well established in the canon, especially in the first four *Nikāyas*. Since it is found in the earliest strata of the canon it is reasonable to presume that it has gone into the canon at an early stage of the canon. Unlike in the commentaries and the late Pali literature, Sakka had been involved with the Buddha and his dispensation with utmost care in the first four *Nikāyas*. As evident from the *Nikāyas* Sakka has not been involved in ordinary or mundane affairs. Sakka is seen as mainly interested in the Dhamma. Often he comes to the Buddha to get a problem pertaining to the Dhamma solved. Those are not ordinary questions but subtle questions, which the Buddha himself could only solve. Sakka is intelligent enough to understand them. He is very happy with the answers given by the Buddha.In certain instances, it was the Sakka's question that prompted the Buddha to preach a particular *Dhamma*. In some instances some of the Buddha's teachings are divulged through Sakka's mouth. In the case of the *Subhāsita Sutta* (*S*. I. 222) what Sakka recounts is Buddha's own teachings.

It is significant that in the *Nikāyas* Sakka is not brought into contact with the ordinary people. He is dealing only with the Buddha or his chief disciples like Moggallāna etc. He is supposed to come to the Buddha late at night with his problems on the *Dhamma*, sometimes accompanied by Brahmā Sahampati and others and vanishes before dawn.

The picture of Sakka as depicted in the Nikāyas is that of a god who leads a luxurious life in the Tāvatiṃsa Heaven, as a result of his good deeds in his previous lives. He happened to meet the Buddha and became a great admirer of the Buddha and his teachings. He often visited the Buddha at night with his problems on the Dhamma. After having learnt from the Buddha he goes away. He was able to attain the status of a *Sotāpanna* the first step in the path that leads to Nibbāna, the highest position a layman can achieve. Unlike in the commentaries where Sakka has been assigned numerous duties, as we will see later, Sakka has not been involved in too many tasks in the canon, except the propagation of the dhamma. He is not yet the upholder of the moral order or the savior of the pious in distress.

Sakka in the commentarial literature: In the Pali commentarial literature, we see the climax of the development of the Sakka legend and it is here we see the climax of Sakka's popularity as well. The isolated episodes connected with Sakka found in the various parts of the canon are woven into a systematic and continuous account/narrative providing additional information. Thus a complete Sakka legend is found in the *Mahāli Pañhavatthu* (*DhA*. Vol. I Part II p. 263 – 281) of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. Sakka who visited the Buddha or his chief disciples late at night to listen to the Dhamma and vanished before the dawn in the Nikāyas is made to play an active role in human affairs in the commentaries.

Sakka and the Buddhacarita: Sakka has been involved in the life of the Buddha found in the introduction of the *Jātaka* commentary, several occasions[11]. On the day Prince Siddhatta renounced worldly life and became an ascetic, he cut his hair and threw away. Sakka received the hair in a golden receptacle, took it away and deposited them in the *Cūlamani cetiya* in the Tāvatiṃsa Deva world (*J*. I p. 65). When Sujātā was cooking milk rice which the Bodhisatta consumed on the day he attained Buddhahood, Sakka came to kindle the fire keeping the fire brands together (*ibid*. p. 68) .

On the day of the Buddha's Enlightenment Sakka was at the Bodhi premises blowing his conch shell :

Sakko Deva rājāvijayuttara Saṅkhaṃ dhamamāno aṭṭhāsi (*ibid* 72).

But Sakka could not stand Māra the Evil One, when Māra came with all his forces to obstruct the Bodhisattva who was about to attain Enlightenment and fled along with the others to the boundary of the solar system with his conch shell hanging from behind.

When the Buddha was performing the twin miracles (*yamakappāṭihāra*) Sakka built a pavilion for the Buddha (*DhA*. III 206) and ordered Vātavalāhaka Devaputta to blow up the pavilion of the heretics (*ibid*). When the Buddha descended from Tāvatimsa after preaching the Abhidhamma to gods, Sakka built three ladders of jewels, gold and silver. When the Buddha visited the city of Vesāli that was affected by a famine, plague and evil spirits Sakka too accompanied the Buddha (*DhA*. III 441)

When the Buddha accepted the invitation of Cullasubhadda to visit Ugganagara for alms, Sakka ordered Vissakamma to provide pavilions for the Buddha and the disciples to travel by air (*DhA*. III 470). Sakka intervened and safeguarded the Buddha from false accusations of Ciñcamānavikā (*ibid*. III 180). Sakka has been made so humble that during the last illness of the Buddha Sakka who came to attend on the Buddha did not hesitate to carry the Buddha's vessel of excrement on his head (*ibid* III 270).

Sakka the Upholder of the Moral order: In the commentaries Sakka is assigned with another function, the upholding of the moral order which his vedic counterpart Indra did not have (it was Varuṇa who is supposed to have looked after the moral order according to the Rigveda). When the numbers who take birth in the heaven decrease Sakka knows that the morality on the earth has declined and takes necessary steps to remedy the situation. According to the *Mahakaṇha Jātaka* (*J*.IV p. 181), after the *Parinibbāna* of Kassapa Buddha, morality in the human world reached its low ebb which Sakka realized by the poor number of new arrivals in Tāvatimsa. He immediately descended to the human realm with Mātali who was made to take the form of a ferocious dog. Frightening the king and the people with the help of the dog Sakka was able to re-establish the moral order in the country.

According to the *Mahāgovinda Sutta* commentary (*DA*. II. 650) Sakka is supposed to keep a record of various meritorious acts performed by the people in the human realm. On behalf of Sakka the four great kings (*Cattāro Mahārājāno*) visit the human world taking with them a golden sheet and vermilion. They are supposed to visit villages and towns on full moon days and enter in the book the good work done by various individuals. The book is finally shown to Sakka and he is said to be happy if the book is large.

Sakka the Savior of the virtuous: Similarly, during the commentarial period Sakka assumes the position of the saviour of those in distress specially the virtuous. When ever a virtuous person is in trouble Sakka is there to rescue him. It is said that the Sakka's seat *Paṇḍukambalasilā* (light red stone) gets automatically heated up whenever a virtuous person faces a problem which stimulates Sakka to look around to ascertain the reason. The *Jātaka* commentary and the *Dhammapada* commentary are full of instances where Sakka came forward to assist or rescue virtuous persons who needed help :

Sakkassa devarañño nisinnāsanaṃ uṇhākāram dassesi. Sakko "ko nukho maṃ sakkattato cāvetu kāmo" ti āvajjanto ...

The seat of Sakka, the king of the gods heated up. Sakka conjectures "who is that person who wants to eject me from the position of Sakka" (*J*. II. 123-24).

It is said that Sakka used to disguise himself in another form before proceeding to offer his help. Sakka assisted Guttila, the Great Musician against his own pupil Mūsila and made him win the contest *J*. II. 248). In the *Candakinnara Jātaka* (*J*. IV. 282) Sakka gave life to the Kinnara who was killed by the king of Bārānasi. He helped king Kusa to get rid of his ugly face in the *Kusajātaka* (*J*. V. 277). As per *Sambulā Jātaka* (*J*. V. 88) he rescued Queen Sambulā from Danava the demon. The *Jātaka* commentary is abundant with similar instances where Sakka descended from Tāvatimsa to help those in need of help such as *Ambacora Jātaka* (*J*. III. 137) *Ayakūṭa Jātaka* (*J*. III 145), *Kāma Jātaka* (*J*. IV. p. 167) *Kelisilā Jātaka* (*J*. III 142), *Kharaputta Jātaka* (*J*. III. 275), *Culladhanuggaha Jātaka* (*J*. III. 219), *Dhajaviheṭha Jātaka* (*J*. III. 303), *Bilārikosiya Jātaka* (*J*. IV. 62) *Manicora Jātaka* (*J*. 121) etc. Similarly *Dhammapada* commentary contains many episodes where Sakka played "Good Samaritan" such as *Cakkhupāla Therassa Vatthu*,

Sukhasāmanera Vatthu (*DhA.* III. 96) *Rohiṇikhattiyakaññāya Vatthu* (*DhA.* III. 298). *Cūlasubhaddavatthu* (*DhA.* III. 465) etc.

Sakka Tests Virtues of others : Sakka sometimes comes to test the virtues of various persons in the human world. He came to test the *sīla* of the Bodhisatta who was born as a hare in the *Sasa Jātaka* (*J.* II. 51). In the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (*J.*II. 365) he comes to test a courtesan. In the *Dhammasonda Jātaka* he comes to test the king Dhamma Sonda in the form of a demon. The *Vighāsa Jātaka* (*J.* III. 310) and *Somadatta Jātaka* (J.II. 164) describes how, when the ascetics are not diligently practising their virtues Sakka used to frighten them and put them on the correct path.

Sakka is afraid of Ascetics: Yet Sakka is supposed to be afraid of genuine ascetics. He fears that if the ascetics severely practise penance and succeed they would eject him from the position of Sakka. According to *Abbantara Jātaka* (*J.* II. 392) Sakka hatched a plot to eject ascetics who were meditating in the king's park and thereby disturb their concentration and prevent them from achieving their objective. There appears to be some inconsistency between this and the above statement that says that Sakka used to correct the ascetics who transgress the prescribed path. Sakka sends his chariot with Mātali to transport virtuous persons to Tāvatiṃsa as he has done in the case of *Guttila*, *Mandhātu Sādhina* and *Nimi Jātakas*. Though he moved with the Buddha and his chief disciples he had the time to devote even for small *Sāmaṇeras* . He came to rescue four seven year old novices Saṅkicca, Paṇḍita, Sopāka and Sobhita. He patronized even a virtuous lay man, as in the case of Jotika for whom he built a grand palace.

Sakka's glorious life: The glory of Sakka's life briefly touched upon in the canon is seen described in detail in the commentaries, providing additional information. His seat *Paṇḍukambalasilā* is described as "of sixty leagues in height, five leagues in breadth, fifteen leagues thick ....
when sitting and getting up it sinks and comes up."

The *Jātaka* commentary gives a fascinating description of his city Devanagara, Vejayanta palace and Sudhammā Hall.

"Devanagara is 10,000 leagues in length, its golden streets sixty thousand leagues long. Vejayanta Mansion is thousand leagues. Sudhammā hall is of five hundred leagues............"

The following extract from the *Saratthappakāsini* (*SA.* I. 341), the commentary of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* provides a detailed description of his chariot. It also provides a beautiful description of his banner that is supposed to give the sound of a five-fold musical instrument when slowly moved by the wind :

Sakkassa kira diyaḍḍha–yojano- sat' āyāmo ratho. Tassa hi pacchim'anto paṇṇāsa yojano, majjhe rathapañjaro paṇṇāsayojano rathasandhito yāva rathasisā paṇṇāsayojanāni. Tad eva pamāṇaṃ diguṇaṃ katva tiyojana –satāyāme ti vadanti yeva. Tasmiṃ yojanika pallaṅko atthato; tiyojanikaṃ setacchattaṃ matthake ṭhapitaṃ. Ekasmiṃ yeva yuge sahassa –ājaññā yuttā. Sesālaṅkārassa pamāṇaṃ n'atthi. Ḍhajopan'assa aḍḍha-tiyāni yojanasatān, uggato. Vāt'āhatassa pañcāṅgika turiyasseva saddo niccharati.

Sakka's Sensuality:[12]. The commentators have not left his weak points untouched. This is clear from the *Rohiniyavatthu* (*DhA.* III. 295 ff) of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. According to this story Rohini an ailing sister of Ven. Anuruddha who led a religious life as instructed by the thera was born in Tāvatiṃsa and as a result of her merits she was extremely beautiful. But she was born in the boundary of two Devas. Enticed by her beauty both Devas claimed her. As they could not come to a settlement they went to Sakka, their king seeking a settlement. It was at this moment that Sakka revealed that he too needs her and went to the extent of declaring that he could not live any longer without her. The two Devas had no alternative but to concede Rohini to Sakka. It is said that Sakka had 25 million handmaids and 500 dove footed (*kakuṭapādiniyo*) nymphs.

Sakka in the Commentaries Compared with Sakka in the Canon: A careful comparison would show that the Sakka in the commentaries is quite different from the Sakka that we encounter in the canon. As already seen Sakka in the canon, specially in the first four *Nikāyas*, is interested only in the Dhamma. He comes to meet the Buddha or one of his chief disciples in order to listen to the Dhamma or to

get a problem regarding the Dhamma solved. That also not very often. He has no connection with the ordinary human beings, though it is said that he honours virtuous men, but not in their presence. As seen in the canon Sakka is a very reserved person, not easily approachable, resident far away in the Tāvatimsa, rarely seen on the earth, that too to see the Buddha or one of his chief disciples. The Sakka legend has been used by the early compilers of the canon carefully and economically. They have been careful not to involve Sakka in any thing other than the Dhamma.

But the commentators have involved Sakka excessively in human activities. Reserved and rarely seen Sakka in the canon has become a very popular figure who often involves[13] himself in the human activities in the commentaries. As already seen, in the commentaries, Sakka is the upholder of the moral order. At times he is the saviour of virtuous men in distress. He is also entrusted with the protection of the Buddhasāsana and involved in several other responsibilities as already discussed. The compilers of the *Jātaka* commentary and the *Dhammapada* commentary have made the best use of the Sakka legend. The *Jātaka* commentary testifies that the Sakka legend has been a boon to the story teller. In the *Jātaka* tales, whenever the chief character, who happens to be the Bodhisatta in most of the cases, is in trouble Sakka was there to help him or to punish the villain. The purpose of the *Jātaka* tales was to inculcate the Buddhist morals among the ordinary folk. Thus it is obvious that the *Jātaka* commentator has made the optimum use of the popular Sakka legend to teach Buddhist morals to the ordinary folk, in the way they could understand easily.

At the same time Sakka's position appears to have been diluted during the commentarial period .The king of gods who reigns over the celestial realm Tāvatimsa who comes to the Buddha occasionally to listen to the Dhamma has been brought down to the position of an ordinary Buddhist king who lives among the people, ever ready to come and help the virtuous and is easily approachable.

Sakka and Sri Lanka: Sri Lanka tradition has connected Sakka with Sri Lanka[14]. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter 7 verse 4), Buddha while lying in the death bed (*Parinibbāna mañcamhi*) requested Sakka who was there, to protect Vijaya and his retinue who would be landing in the island of Lanka on the same day, as his *sāsana* would be established in Sri Lanka :

> *Patiṭṭhissati devinda lankāyam mama sāsanaṃ*
> *Tasmā saparivāraṃ taṃ rakkha lankañ ca*
> *sādhukaṃ* Mhv. VIII. verse 4)

Sakka in turn delegated the responsibility to god Uppalavaṇṇa. The god Uppalavaṇṇa is said to have tied treads in the hands of Vijaya and his retinue in the guise of a Paribbājaka, for their protection (*loc.cit.*). However there is no mention of Sakka in the *Mahāvaṃsa* till the reign of the king Devanampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.) during whose reign Buddhism was introduced to the island. In the introduction of Buddhism to Lanka, Sakka is supposed to have played an important role. As per *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter xiii verse 15) when Maha Mahinda Thera was staying at Vedisagiri watching the situation in Lanka, prior to his departure to the island of Thambapanni it was Sakka who requested the Thera to proceed to Lanka for the conversion. Again after the introduction of Buddhism to Lanka, on the request made by Maha Mahinda Thera, it was Sakka who gave the relics, namely the Right Collar Bone (*Dakkhiṇakkhadhātu*) of the Buddha, through the Sāmanera Sumana to be brought and enshrined in the Thūpārāma Cetiya that was being built by King Devanampiyatissa, as recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

Again till the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmani (101-77 B.C.) Sakka does not appear in the Lankan scene. The *Mahāvaṃsa* states (*Mhv.* xxxviii verse 5 ff) how King Duṭṭhagāmani was in a dilemma to collect bricks for the Mahā Thūpa, as he has already given enough trouble to the people by way of his war campaign against Tamils. It is said that Sakka learnt the king's problem through the deity residing in the king's parasol and ordered Vissakamma to create all the bricks needed and Vissakamma carried out the order :

> *Māpehi iṭṭhikā tattha*
> *Iti sakkena bhāsito*
> *Vissakammo idhāgamma*
> *Māpesi tattha iṭṭhikā*
> (*loc.cit*)

On the day of the relic enshrinement of the Mahā Thūpa Sakka was there with his conch shell filled with water (*Mkv.* xxxi verse 78). He further got Vissakamma to decorate whole of Lanka.

Sahassavathu a collection of pious stories written during the Anuradhapura period, too, contains some stories where Sakka is involved.[15] As per *Sahassavatthu* Sakka comes to assist the virtuous persons or to test their virtues, as he used to do in Jambudīpa. He came to test the faith of Ariyagala Tissa [16] of Rohana. He also visited Kundisanghā, daughter of a Minister of Anuradhapura, in the guise of a young man to test her virtues. It is also stated that Sakka used to visit Mahā Maliyadeva Thera [17] of Piyangudipa occasionally. It is significant that Sakka is supposed to have honoured Dantakutumbika [18] the virtuous layman, offering him garlands of flowers which reminds of an episode in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* how Sakka worshipped virtuous laymen who supported wife and children the correct way. *Vamsatthapakāsini* the commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Circa 8-9 th century A.C.) makes a reference to Sakka which might be considered as the last reference to Sakka in Lanka before he went to oblivion. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. xxxiv verse 49 f) king Bhāthikābhaya (38-66 A.C.), one of the most pious among the kings, while worshipping Mahathūpa, heard monks chanting but did not see those chanters. After ascertaining that the sound was coming from the interior of the Thūpa, he resolved that he would not rise up unless he sees those who were chanting within. He was lying without food. The Theras discussed among them, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* and took the king inside the Thūpa and showed him everything. But the *Vaṃsatthapakāsini* (Vol. II. p. 554) says that Sakka's seat got heated up as a result of the king's virtue and consequently he came down to persuade the theras to show the king the interior of the *Thūpa*.

It is not possible to find references to Sakka after this except in the Sinhala translations of the original Pali works. This is probably due to the spread of Mahāyana in Sri Lanka which uphold the Bodhisattva concept. The functions earlier assigned to Sakka, such as guarding of the moral order, rescuing those in distress etc. appear to have been taken over by the Bodhisattas.

Conclusion: The legend of Sakka was not composed during a specific period of time by a single person. It is a product of a long period of time extending to several centuries. In course of time numerous persons have added on to it. Further the story of Sakka is not recorded in a particular text but found scattered in Pali literature comprising of texts commentaries and treatises. Under the above circumstances few discrepancies found are admissible. Yet in spite of the long period of its formation at the hands of various individuals it has maintained a marvelous homogeneity.

Buddhism was born in a society where the concept of god/gods was strong and what is connected to gods only were acceptable to them. Buddha never claim to be a god or his incarnation. The ordinary people could not understand the Buddha's Enlightenment. The best way to present a new doctrine to them was to connect it with the gods near and dear to them. Therefore the Buddha's teachings were presented to them using Sakka as a tool in a manner more acceptable to them, without violating the main Buddhist principles.

The admission of the Sakka concept to Buddhism has benefited Buddhism in another way. The belief in an almighty Creator God was strong in the society where Buddhism emerged, which Buddha totally rejected creating a big vacuum in the minds of the adherents. In spite of the fact that Sakka is not accepted as an almighty god in Buddhism, his admission to Buddhism appear to have filled the vacuum created by the rejection of the almighty god to a certain extent in the minds of the adherents and satisfied their sentiments. Therefore the concept of Sakka has helped Buddhism in several ways especially in taking the Buddha's message to the ordinary people.

K. Arunasiri.

Refrences

[1] It is observed that the name Indra is pre Indian since it is found in the *Avesta* as that of a demon. The term "Verethraghna" (Vṛtrahan) is also found in the *Avesta* as the designation of the god of victory, though not connected with Indra. Thus it seems likely that there was already in the Indo Iranian period a god resembling the "Vṛtra"- slaying Indra of Rigveda.

The etymology of the term is doubtful but appear to have connected to "indu" drop of rain.

[2] Some are of the opinion that it refers to Indra's shattering of mountains (*Parvata, giri*) the clouds and releasing of waters (*A Vedic reader* A.A. MacDonell, Oxford University Press 1917 p. 43).

[3] In the later Hindu Mythology Indra has fallen into the second rank. He is inferior to the triad (Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesvara). But he is the chief of all the other gods (*Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, John Dowson, 1879, p. 125.

[4] It is seen that the epithet Śakra has been used for the other gods also in the *Rigveda*. But it has been used for Indra many more times as an epithet. i.e. forty times for Indra and five times only for the other gods.

[5] *Mātāpetti bharaṃ jantuṃ kule jeṭṭhāpacāyanaṃ Saṇhaṃ sakhilasambhāsaṃ Pesuneyya ppahāyinaṃ Maccheravinaye yuttaṃ Saccaṃkodhābhibhūnaraṃ Taṃvedevā Tāvatiṃsā āhu sappuriso iti.* (*S. I.* p. 228)

[6] *Sakko bhikkhave devānam Indo pubbe manussa bhūto samāno Magho nāma māṇavo ahosi* (*S.* I. 229)

[7] It is conjectured whether Rhys Davids translation (Dialogue of the Buddha part ii page 318) which runs as : "I who have merely as a god exist have (by my acts) incurred the destiny to live again once more" gives the correct meaning as explained in the commentary (*DA.* III 739)

[8] According to the commentary *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikaya* too refers to Sakka (*Ambaṭṭha Sutta D.I.* 95)describes how a yakkha named Vajirapāni came armed with a thunderbolt (*mahantaṃ aya kūṭaṃ*) and threatened the Brahmin youth *Ambaṭṭha* who was refusing to answer the Buddha's questions. The commentary *Sumangala Vilāsini* (*DA* I 264) says that it was Sakka who came as Vajirapāni. Similarly Vajirapāni who came to frighten Saccaka (*M.I* 227 Cūlasaccaka Sutta) is also identified in the commentary (*M.A.* II 277) as Sakka.

[9] Here Ven. Moggallāna is supposed to have referred to Sakka as " *ayaṃ yakkho*" (this yakkha), an honourary epithet found used for the Buddha in the canon.

[10] The commentary (*SA.* I p. 340-341) identifies Susīma and Suwīra as Sakka's sons. Further the commentary says Sakka has one thousand sons.

[11] *Jātaka* commentary record many occasions where Sakka helped Bodhisatta also to fulfill perfections (*pāramitās*), as seen in the case of the *Vessantara Jātaka* etc.

[12]. Sakka's amorous character is observed even in the Pre-Buddhist literature. According to *Mahābhārata*, he seduced or endeavored to seduce Ahalyā the wife of sage Gautama and the sage's curse impressed upon him thousand marks resembling the female organ. Consequently he got the name Sayoni. But afterwards those marks were changed to eyes and he is called Netrayoni and Sahasraksha the thousand eyed. (Classical Dictionary of Hindu mythology , John Dowson London 1879 p. 124ff)

[13] It has been witnessed that Sakka does not play a vital part in the commentaries such as those of the first *Nikāyas* where the Buddhagosa's authorship is uncontested. It is in the *Jātaka* Commentary and the *Dhammapada* Commentary that Sakka plays a vital role.

[14] Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana*, an Indian Epic, records a pre Buddhistic connection of Indra or Sakka with Lanka. *Rāmāyana* relates how Rāvana the king of Lanka warred with Indra in his own heaven and defeated him. Rāvana's son Meghanada brought Indra to Lanka as a prisoner. For this gallantry act he received the name Indrajit, one who defeated Indra (Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology- John Dowson London 1879 p. 121)

[15] *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* (Sinhala Script) edited by Agga Maha Pandita Buddhadatta Thera . Colombo 1959

[16] *Ibid.* p. 56

[17] *ibid.* p. 192

[18] *loc. cit*

SAKKĀYADIṬṬHI. Is usually translated as 'personality view'. The term *sakkāya* is made up of *sat* 'existing' and *kāya*, 'body'. *Kāya* in the present context has a more general sense and goes beyond its usual meaning as the physical body, so that the entire term *sakkāya* stands for 'embodiment', 'identity' or 'personality.

According to the *Sakkāya Sutta* (*S.* III, 159), the five aggregates of clinging are what make up *sakkāya*. Such *sakkāya*, shows the same discourse, arises due to craving and will cease if craving is overcome. Hence the path leading to the cessation of *sakkāya* is none other than the noble eightfold path.

The same definition of *sakkāya* recurs in the *Cūlavedalla Sutta* (*M.* I, 299), which elaborates this definition by pointing out that clinging (*upādāna*) is not identical with the five aggregates, nor something apart from them, but simply refers to desire and lust in regard to them. Since the five aggregates of clinging feature as the summary statement of the nature of *dukkha* found in the standard definitions of the first noble truth[1] *sakkāya* is closely related to *dukkha* and thereby of eminent importance in early Buddhism. Thus it comes as no surprise when another discourse identifies the way leading to the cessation of *sakkāya* as the way leading to the cessation of *dukkha* (*S.* III, 44).

The *Āneñjasappāya Sutta* offers a complementary definition, taking *sakkāya* to cover present and future sensual pleasures and material forms, together with experiences of deep concentrative absorption (*M.* II, 265). This passage is a restatement of the above definition, undertaken from the perspective of different types of experiences.

Such *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* involves a conversion of the instinctive sense of an 'I' at the core of subjective experience into a substantial and possibly even metaphysical entity, an act of 'embodiment' or 'personification' yielding the notion of a self and from this notion evolving into a full fledged view. According to the standard definition of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, the genesis of such a full fledged personality view operates based on one or the other of altogether twenty possible modes, arrived at by considering any of the five aggregates to either correspond to the self, or else taking the self to be endowed with the aggregate, or else by presuming the aggregate to be part of the self, or else by taking the self to be within the aggregate (*M.* I, 300). This twenty-fold matrix sets the paradigm for whatever manifestations of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* can be found.

Instances of these twenty modes of personality view make their appearance in several discourses, a short selection of which will help to illustrate the implications of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*. The *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta* reports the monk *Sāti* assuming that the selfsame consciousness continues through the round of rebirths, this consciousness being what speaks and feels and experiences karmic retribution (*M.* I, 256). In reply to this thorough misunderstanding, the Buddha spoke of the dependent arising of consciousness, thereby indicating that *Sāti's* mistaken view implied a causally independent self. Such notions of causal independence and mastery are the soil in which *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* grows. Yet neither body nor feelings, perceptions, volitions or consciousness are in the final account amenable to full control, (*M.* I, 231 and *S.* III, 66), so that to take any of these to be an independent self turns out to be a thorough illusion.

The monk *Sāti* was not the only monk falling prey to erroneous self notions. The *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta* reports another monk wondering who will be affected by karmic retribution, as all five aggregates are not self (*M.* III, 19). Just as the monk *Sāti* had fallen into the error of not taking the dependent origination of consciousness into account, this monk mistakenly believed the denial of self to imply a denial of karmic retribution and empirical continuity. Both these mistaken conceptions are off springs of the same *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*.

Another discourse depicts *Māra* challenging the nun *Vajirā* by asking her who had created the 'being' and where the 'being' had come from (*S.* I, 135). Unlike the two monks mentioned above, the nun *Vajirā* had developed a deeper understanding of the *Dhamma* and was thus quick to point out that *Māra* was under the sway of views, a reference indicating that his notion of a 'being' was an instance of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*. Just as a chariot is merely a functional assemblage of parts, she explained, so too the expression 'being' refers merely to the functional assemblage of the five aggregates.

Just as the term 'chariot' is simply a convention, so too the superimposition of the notion of an 'I' on

experience is nothing but a convention. Yet, the above example from the *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta* shows that disclosing the merely conventional nature of 'I' notions can lead to misunderstandings. In terms of the chariot simile: to reject the existence of an independent, substantial chariot does not render it impossible to ride in the functional assemblage of conditioned and impermanent parts to which the concept 'chariot' refers. In a similar way, to deny the existence of a self does not imply a denial of the individual person, being but the conditioned and impermanent interaction of the five aggregates.

The question posed above by *Māra* forms part of a whole set of confused types of thinking under the influence of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, described in the *Sabbāsava Sutta* (*M.* I, 8). According to this discourse, a worldling is prone to wonder: 'Did I exist in the past or not, and if I existed, what was I in the past?' 'Will I exist in the future or will I not exist?', Am I at present or am I not?' 'Where did this being come from, where will it go to?' Reflecting unwisely in this way, so the *Sabbāsava Sutta* explains, causes the arising of various types of views about a self. Among these views, one finds not only the view proposed by the monk *Sāti*, presuming that the self speaks and feels and experiences karmic retribution, but also the view 'no self exists for me' , corresponding to the type of thinking occurring in the monk from the *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta*. Leaving behind such unwise reflections, the *Sabbāsava Sutta* continues, and wisely attending to the four noble truths one will abandon the fetter of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*.

The *Mahānidāna Sutta* takes up three modes of postulating a self in relation to feeling for closer examination. These three modes proceed by either identifying feeling as the self, or else taking the self to be without feeling, or by presuming that the self feels (*D.* II, 66). Yet to identify with feelings is unacceptable due to the impermanent nature of feelings, the Buddha explained, while to dissociate self from feelings is contradictory , since in the absence of any feeling, the notion 'I' would not arise in the first place.

Another set of three self notions, this time arisen due to speculating on the nature of perception, can be found in the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* (*D.* I, 186): a coarse self (*oḷarika*), a mind-made self (*manomaya*) and an immaterial self (*arūpa*). To identify with perception in any of these three ways is however untenable, the Buddha pointed out, as all perceptions arise and pass away.

The altogether twenty possible modes of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* form the basic matrix for the arising of all kinds of views. As the monk *Isidatta* explained to the householder *Citta* (*S.* IV, 287), the different types of views described in the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*D.* I, 12) are but the outcome of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*. If it were not for *Micchādiṭṭhi*, such views would not arise.

The same finds confirmation in another discourse, where the Buddha explained why he did not make a pronouncement concerning a set of current philosophical propositions about the nature of the world (eternal or not, boundless or not), the relationship of the soul to the body (identity or not) and the destiny of a *tathāgata* after death (exists, does not exist, both, neither). According to his explanation, such propositions only arise when one takes the aggregates to be a self in any of the above-mentioned twenty modes (*S.* IV, 395).

Though *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* as the root of all views is certainly wrong, it is not necessarily a 'wrong view' (*micchādiṭṭhi*) in the technical sense of the term. 'Wrong view', so the Buddha declared, necessarily leads to an evil rebirth, either in the animal realm or in hell (*A.* I, 60). The same cannot be said of all types of *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*.

One who falls prey to *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, and thereby to the erroneous presumption of a self, might still be one who performs wholesome deeds and believes in karmic retribution. Though the mistaken belief in a self would prevent him or her from awakening, it will not prevent a favourable rebirth. It may well be for this reason that the discourses do not explicitly identify *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* as a *micchādiṭṭhi* and in one instance even list *micchādiṭṭhi* side by side with *attānudiṭṭhi* (a synonym of *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) as different types of views (*A.* III, 447). Similarly, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi's* definition of *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* employs a number of qualifying epithets, among them 'false path', 'wrong road' and 'wrongness'[2] but is careful to avoid the expression 'wrong view' (*micchādiṭṭhi*), quite probably because the implications of this expression do not allow including it as a synonym for *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi*.

Even though from a Buddhist perspective *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* is certainly incorrect, as long as its practical implications are to encourage moral and wholesome conduct, *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* will not have the same evil consequence as *micchādiṭṭhi*, with its denial of karmic retribution and of the validity of ethical values. *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* is a fetter binding to continuous *samsāric* existence, but not a fetter that inevitably results in such future existence taking place in the lower realms.

Sakkāyadiṭṭhi as a fetter binding to continuous existence in *saṃsāra* is the first of the three fetters to be overcome with stream-entry (*A*. I, 242). Since *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* in its twenty modes boils down to 'I'-dentifying with the five aggregates, the cure required to gain freedom from *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* is to contemplate the five aggregates as devoid of 'mine', 'I am', and 'my self' (*S*. III, 68). Such contemplation not only covers the last mentioned view 'my self', the *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* proper, but also its foundations: the sense of 'I am' as a manifestation of conceit and the mode of craving underlying the attribution of 'mine' to phenomena.[3]

Concerning the notion 'mine', the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* explains that this notion arises out of a basic pattern of conceiving (*maññanā*) in relation to experienced phenomena (*M*. I, 1). In the case of earth, for example, based on perceiving earth the process of conceiving typical for a worldling proceeds from forming the conception 'earth', via the creation of a subject-object relationship as 'in earth' and 'from earth', to the notion 'mine' in relation to earth and there- with to the arising of delight in regard to earth. That is, the sensory input of what is perceived first receives real object status and then is appropriated. With this act of appropriation, 'self'- ishness comes into being. To appropriate is to control, so that this act of appropriation as 'mine' enhances and confirms the sense of a substantial subject able to exert control.

Due to this sense of a substantial subject able to exert control, the five aggregates are experienced as embodiments of the notion 'I am'. From the worldling's point of view, the material body is 'where I am', feelings are 'how I am', perceptions are 'what I am' (perceiving), volitions are 'why I am' (acting), and consciousness is 'whereby I am' (experiencing). In this way, each aggregate offers its own contribution to enacting the reassuring illusion 'I am'. Such 'I am' notions are but erroneous superimpositions on experience, conveying the sense of an autonomous and independent subject reaching out to acquire or reject discrete substantial objects.

It is this basic fundamental notion of an 'I' which in its rationalised form becomes the full- fledged *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* as 'my self' and therewith the basis for all kinds of views. Even a new born baby, though not yet having even a sense of being an individual, nevertheless is already in the possession of the underlying tendency to such *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* (*M*. I,432).

This passage indicates that the problem posed by *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* is not merely a matter of verbally articulating self notions. Expressions such as 'I' and 'mine' will still be used by an *arahant*, for conventional purposes (*S*. I, 14). Hence to go beyond *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* is not a matter of rhetoric, but of overcoming and eradicating the craving, conceit and view forming process that in the case of the ordinary worldling accompany the use of such expressions.

With the attainment of stream-entry, the fetter of *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* and therewith the view 'my self' are forever eradicated. The notion 'I am' as an expression of conceit, however, still lingers on and will only be abandoned with full awakening (*S*.III, 130). For this same reason, the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* advises the *sekha* to avoid taking experienced phenomena as 'mine' and delighting in them (*M*. I,4)

The notion 'I am' can only occur when there is clinging, so Puṇṇa Mantāniputta once explained to Ananda (*S*.III, 105) just as only when holding up a mirror will one be able to see one's reflection. Similarly only when clinging to any of the five aggregates will the notion 'I am' arise.

According to the early Buddhist analysis, clinging can be of altogether four types (*D*. III, 230): clinging to sensuality, to views, to rules and vows and to a doctrine of a self. The last of these four, clinging to a doctrine of self *(attavādupādāna)*, is a type of clinging which according to the Buddha's analysis in the *Cūlasīhanāda Sutta* is beyond the understanding of other religious teachers (*M*. I, 66). This fourth type of clinging is none other than a manifestation of *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* (*Vbh*. 375).

On one occasion the Buddha humorously invited his monks to cling to a self doctrine, if they were able to find a self doctrine which would not result in the arising of *dukkha* (*M.* I, 137). Since however no self can be found, such clinging and its corresponding views and doctrines are but the prattle of fools.

Nevertheless, the many folk delight in *sakkāya* and thus remain in the bondage of *Māra* (*It.* 92). Fettered, obsessed and enslaved by *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, the worldling is unaware of the possibility to escape from it (*M.* I, 433). 'See this world with its gods' the Buddha proclaimed, 'conceiving what is not self to be a self' (*Sn.* 756). In fact, not only men are under the sway of *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, but even gods. Among gods endowed with a long life span the mistaken belief in a permanent self can easily arise. On hearing the Buddha proclaim the impermanent nature of *sakkāya*, such gods are struck with fear, realizing that they too are caught up in the predicament of *sakkāya* (*A.* II, 33).

A monk whose mind does not feel inspired to give up *sakkāya* is like a weak man who attempts to swim across the *Ganges* river but is unable to do so (*M.* I, 435). Lack of inspiration for the relinquishment of *sakkāya* may sometimes be due to attachment to deeper stages of concentration (*A.* II, 165). More mundane reasons for delighting in *sakkāya* can be taking pleasure in activity, in chattering, in sleeping, in company and in conceptual proliferation (*A.* III, 292).

Once the mind has however gained the inspiration to relinquish *sakkāya*, it can be reckoned as a mind that is well developed and free, gone beyond the underlying tendency to delight in *sakkāya* (*A.* III, 246). The giving up of *sakkāya* is happiness indeed, so the noble ones proclaim. What the many folk take to be happiness, they see as misery, but what the many folk call misery, the noble ones know to be happiness.[4]

Once *Nibbāna* is experienced, the Buddha explained in the *Māgandiya Sutta* (*M.* I, 511), the much cherished 'I' is seen for what it is: an act of cheating and deluding oneself. Such cheating and deluding oneself through clinging to *sakkāya* is like being on the near shore of a water expanse (*S.* IV, 175), a shore beset by danger and fearful, while the other shore, safe and free from danger, is *Nibbāna*, the cessation of *sakkāya*.

See also ANATTĀ, ĀTMAN, ATTADIṬṬHI, ATTAVĀDA, UPĀDĀNA

Anālayo

References

1. *D.* II, 305: *saṅkhittena pañcupādānakkhandhā dukkhā*
2. *Dhs.* 182: *kummaggo, micchāpatho, micchatta.*
3. *SA.* II, 98: *etam mamāti taṇhāgāho... esoham-asmīti mānagāho...eso me attā ti diṭṭhigāho.*
4. *S.* IV, 127: *Sukhaṃ diṭṭhaṃ ariyehi, sakkāyassa nirodhanaṃ... yaṃ pare sukhato āhu, tad ariyā āhu dukkhato, yaṃ pare dukkhato āhu, tadariyā sukhato vidū.*

ŚAKRA See SAKKA

SAKYA. The clan name of the Buddha Gotama with the alternative form Sākiya is found in canonical and post-canonical Pāli works. Individuals of the Sakya clan are generally referred to by the name Sakka. In Buddhist Sanskrit the terms used are Śākya and at times Śākiya. The form Śākiyāni with the alternatives Śākyayāni, Śākyāyanī are used in referring to Sakya females. Sakyaputtiyā, 'Sons of the Sakya' in Pāli and Śākyaputriya in Buddhist Sanskrit are commonly used with reference to the disciples of the Buddha. The Buddha also came to be referred to as Śākyamuni (Pāli Sakyamuni) 'the Sakya Sage' and also as Sakyasimha, 'the Sakya Lion'. The Buddha was commonly referred to as Samaṇo Gotamo by non-Buddhists. In introducing himself to the king Bimbisāra of Magadha, the recluse Gotama says-

On Himavant's snow –slopes
Yon dwells a people, king
Of wealth and energy
Settlers in Kosala
Lineal kin of the Sun (Ādiccagotta)
Sakyans (Sākiyā) by birth (*jātiyā*) gone forth
Have I, king, from that clan[1]

From this it is clear that the Sakya territory was on the foothills of the Himalayas and, at least in the time of the Buddha, they were included within the Kosala kingdom. In one instance the king Pasenadi Kosala claims both himself and the Buddha to be Kosalas (*Bhagavāpi Kosaliko ahampi Kosaliko M.*).

In yet another place the Buddha says that Sakyas held themselves to be vassals of Pesenadi Kosala (*D.* III 83).

Oldenberg has tried to identify the territory of the Sakyas between the Nepalese lower range of the Himalayas and the middle part of the course of the river Rapti. I quote, "Between the Nepalese lower range of the Himalaya and the middle part of the course the Rapti (Achiravati of Buddhist literature) which runs through the north-eastern part of the province of Oudh, there stretches a strip of level, fruitful land, some thirty English miles broad, well-watered by the numerous streams that issue from the Himalayas. Here lay the not so extensive territory over which the Sakyas claimed supremacy and dominion. On the east the Rohini separated their lands from their neighbours; to this day this stream has preserved the name which it bore more than two thousand years ago. On the west and south the rule of the Sakyas extended quite up, or nearly so, to the Rapti."[2]

He thinks that this fertile and well-watered area must have been extensively cultivated during the time of the Sakya occupation. Placed among the rich rice fields and *sāla* forests must have been many Sakya villages and behind them were the snow-capped summits of the Himalayas.

The Sakya territory must have been a small state with an aristocratic government like the few similar states on the borders of the great monarchies like the Kosala and Magadha states. It is claimed in later works that the Kosala kings, who earlier had a nominal overlordship over the Sakya territory, finally annexed the state and exterminated the Sakya clan. (*DhA.* I. 357ff). However the historicity of this story of the extermination of the Sakya clan becomes questionable as the *MahāParinibbāna Sutta* (*D.* II. 165) claims that Sakyas also requested for and received a share of the bodily relics of the Buddha after the cremation of his body. The Sakya territory was separated from that of their related clan, Koliyas, by the river Rohinī (*DhA.* III. p. 254, *Thag.* 529). Pāli commentaries speak of disputes between these two clans on sharing the water of this river. Once the Buddha himself intervened to stop an ensuing battle between the two clans on the same problem (*J.* V. 412f; *SnA.* I. 357f.).

In Pāli canonical texts are references to a number of Sakya settlements, viz. Kapilavatthu, Devadaha, Khomadussa, Cātumā, Sāmagāma, Silāvati, Nagaraka, Medatalumpa, Sakkhara, and Ulumpa. Of these Kapilavatthu, sometimes also called Kapilapura, is generally accepted as the chief city of the Sakyas. It was the Elder Kāludāyi who invited the Buddha to visit his kinsmen in the Sakya country (*Thg.* 527ff). The *Mahavastu* (III. 91ff.) also carries the same story but with variations. At Kapilavatthu the Buddha received the Nigrodhārāma from the Sakyas. While he was at the Nigrodhārāma Rāhula was ordained by Sāriputta at the Buddha's request (*Vin.* I. 82f.). It is possible he visited his native city several times during his lifetime. On one occasion he is mentioned as convalescing after a grave illness at the Nigrodhārāma (*A.* I. 219). On another accasion he requested his kinsman Mahānāma, a devout follower, to find a suitable place for him to put up for one night. But Mahānāma could not find a suitable place and finally requested the Buddha to spend the night at the hermitage of Bharandu Kālāma, which the Buddha did (*ibid.* 276f). This would probably reflect the social conditions of Kapilavatthu at the time. Possibly the houses were small and two crowded with no spare room suitable for a recluse like the Buddha who needed a quiet and peaceful place for the night.

However Sakyas are called a rich and energetic people (*Sn.* 422). The Buddha is said to have left a great clan of relations when he left home life to become a recluse. He also left much money and gold, and treasure both buried and above the ground. He left a distinguished family of the Kshastriya caste, a family, prosperous, well to do and rich (*D.* I. 115f.). This is the type of things that distinguished people who came to meet the Buddha used to say of him. In one place the Buddha himself describes the comforts and facilities he enjoyed as a youth in his father's house. There he is said to have had three mansions suitable for the three seasons (*A.* I. 145). These facts show that Sakyas, although insignificant politically and militarily, were a quite prosperous people who were also described as a haughty people, very much proud of their ancestry.

There are a number of instances in canonical and post-canonical Pāli literature where this Sakya haughtiness and racial pride is demonstrated. When a group of Sakya youth, who were on an outing one

day, decided to join the Buddhist Saṅgha they handed over all their ornaments and valuables to their barber named Upāli, who was also with them, to take them back to his home. But after a while Upāli reflected on the consequences he would have to face if he goes back home with the valuables "These Sakyas are fierce. Thinking, 'this one has made the young men come forth', they may even kill me". He hung up all the ornaments on a tree to be taken by any one and himself joined the Sakya youth to renounce home life. When they went to the Buddha the Sakyas requested the Buddha to admit Upāli, their barber, first into the Order and, admit them subsequently. They said, "We, Lord, are Sakyans, we are proud; Lord this barber, Upāli, has been our attendant for a long time. May the Lord let him go forth the first". They wished to respect and honour Upāli as a senior colleague so that they can humble their Sakya pride (*Vin*. II. 181f.). Another instance demonstrating this Sakya haughtiness is the meeting the Buddha had with the brahamin youth Ambaṭṭha. In the presence of the Buddha Ambaṭṭha condemned and abused the Sakyas as "rough and rude, touchy and violent" for, he said, these menials neither venerate nor pay homage to brahamins. He said that, when he once visited Kapilavatthu on some business or other and went to their assembly hall, the young and old Sakyas assembled there did not show any respect for him or even offered him a seat. Sakyans, apparently had no much regard for the brahamins (*D*. I. 90f).

Another interesting episode to illustrate the pride of the Sakyas was the manner they acted, when their overlord, King Pasenadī Kosala, wished to make a Sakya maiden his wife. Wishing to get a wife from the Sakya clan to win the confidence of Buddhist monks, Pasenadi requested for a maiden from the Buddha's own Sakya kinsmen. Sakyas who discussed this thought that, since Pasenadī is not of equal caste, they cannot give a daughter of theirs to him. On the other hand "the king is our enemy (*pakkhantaro*) and if we do not fulfill his wish he will destroy us" they thought. To overcome the problem they decided to give the king of Kosala a daughter of Sakya Mahānāma born of a slave woman. (*DhA*. I. 345). It is however intriguing to conjecture why Sakyas, however great their racial pride was, considered their overlord and the great Buddhist devotee an enemy of theirs.

Sakya System of Administration

The sakya territory seems to have had a republican form of administration carried out with the participation of both the elders and the young members of the clan. In the main cities of the territory there were assembly halls (*santhāgāra sālā*) where clan members, both the young and the old, met to discuss various matters concerned with the state. Such assembly halls were found in other republican states like that of the Vajjis and the Mallas. The Buddha instructed the Vajjis of the importance of frequent meetings, meeting in unity and adjourning in unity (*D*. II. 73). When Ven. Ananda went to inform the Mallas of the Buddha's passing away they were already in conclave in the assembly hall discussing the same matter (*ibid*. 159). Above we saw how Ambaṭṭha came to the assembly hall of the Sakyas when they were at a meeting discussing certain matters. The request of Pasenadī for a Sakya maiden was discussed by them at a meeting and the decision was taken there. These show that the Sakyas had a collective administration.

It is very rarely that the early texts refer to a Sakya king (*rājā*). Although certain late discourses, showing Buddhological developments, refer to the Buddha's father, Suddhodana, as rājā and mother Māyā, as queen (*devi*, eg. *ibid*.p.52), early texts refer to Suddhodana simply as Suddhodano Sakko or Pitusakko (i.e. Sakyan, the father) (eg. *M*. 1. 246, *Vin*. I. 82f). This is the same designation used in these texts with reference to other Sakya males as eg. Mahānāmo Sakko, Anuruddho Sakko etc.

But a problem arises when we find that among these Sakya men there is one, viz. Bhaddiya, referred to as Sakyarājā. What his position and duties in this republican administration is not known. Was he a sort of president who chaired the Sakya state administration? Yet that his position was hereditary and that he enjoyed certain privileges is also shown by the texts. When Anuruddha invited Bhaddiya, who was a close friend of his, to join him in renouncing home life and joining the Saṅgha, Bhaddhiya wanted at least seven days to entrust the kingdom to his sons and brothers (*yāvāhaṃ putte ca bhātare ca rajjaṃ niyyādemīti Vin*. II. 180ff.). But why did he put sons and brothers in the plural? Why didn't he entrust it to a single person? No answers to these questions are forthcoming. In this place another interesting fact that comes out is that Bhaddiya was not even a nephew of

Suddhodana who is called a king of the Sakyas by later works. He was the son of the Sakya lady Kāligodhā (*Ud.* 19) who is called a Sakya-queen of the Sakyas by the commentator (*sākiyānam Sakka-rāja-devi UdA.* 161). If so his father also should have been a *rājā*. That Bhaddiya enjoyed certain royal privileges is also shown by the texts. He told the Buddha that, while he was enjoying kingly pleasures or engaged in royal duties, he was guarded and protected on all sides at all times, when he was at home or outside. Yet he then lived in constant fear and trepidation (*Ud.* 19). No other Sakya monk has ever revealed any experiences like this about themselves. Thus the position of Bhaddiya is special and most intriguing.

Myth of Sakya Origin

The earliest report of the myth of Sakya origin is given in the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (*D.* 1.92f.). Here the Buddha relates to the brahamin youth Ambaṭṭha the myths of the origin of the Sakya clan and, linked to it, myth of origin of the Kaṇhāyana lineage of Ambaoṭṭha. Accordingly Sakyas regard King Okkāka as their progenitor while the progenitor of the Kanhāyanas was a son born to Okkāka by a slave girl. On the instigation of his young and vivacious queen, who wished her own son to succeed the king, Okkāka banished from the kingdom his four elder sons. They were named Okkāmukha, Karaṇḍu, Hatthiniya and Sinipura. Going to the Himalayan region they took up residence on the bank of a beautiful lake in a thick Sāka forest. Fearing harming the purity of caste they lived together with their sisters, who had followed them out of the country. One day, on finding all these details about his sons from the ministers, Okkāka exclaimed in glee, "capable (*sakyā*) indeed are these princes, highly capable indeed are these princes". On that account have they come to be known as Sakyas. Okkāka himself was the progenitor of the Sakyas.

Buddhaghosa, the Pāli commentator, has given a much detailed version of this brief canonical story. Accordingly King Okkāka's lineage, starting with Mahāsammata, the first King of the present world-cycle, is given in detail. The relevant Okkāka, in fact belonged to the third dynasty by that name. When he banished his four elder sons, their five sisters and many hundreds of people and ministers followed them into exile with the blessings of the king. In the Himalayan forest they met a seer named Kapila who had his hermitage in a Sāka forest. It is said to be a place where the weakest could overcome even the strongest. Kapila is also said to be the Buddha in a former life. He gave his land to the princes to build their city and moved to a spot near by. The city was named Kapilavatthu, literally "Land of Kapila', after the seer. For fear of harming the purity of caste they married their own sisters, but kept the eldest of them in the position of their mother. As in the canonical story, the remark of Okkāka on hearing the activities of his sons, earned them the designation Sakyā (*DA.* 1. 258f).

The Mahāsaṅghika tradition, probably based on a parallel canonical version from the Buddhist Sanskrit *Āgamas*, agrees with the Pāli account regarding the main points but have many variations with regard to details. Of the direct lineage of Mahāsammata was Mandātar who had many thousands of sons, grand-sons and great grand–sons who were all kings. Last of them was Ikshvāku, styled Sujāta, who ruled from Saketa. He had five sons, Opura, Nipura, Karakaṇḍaka, Ulkāmukha and Hastikasiras and five daughters. The sons were sent into exile on the instigation of his queen Jentī. Many of their countrymen followed the princes. First they befriended the king of Kāsi-Kosala but had to leave soon. Reaching the Himalayan slopes they lived in a Śakoṭa forest. In it also was the hermitage of the seer Kapila possessed of the five super knowledges. Fearing corruption of caste they married their half–sisters from different mothers (*svakasvakā yeva bhaginiyo parasparasya vivāhitā*). When they built the city, the royal palace was sited on the spot where the hermitage of Kapila stood. The city was named Kapilavastu. When Sujāta heard about the activities of his sons he exclaimed that the princes are able (*Śakyā*) and from their ability (*śakyam*) arose the name Śākiyā. (*Mvu.* 1. 347ff).

The Mūla Sarvāstivāda tradition of the myth is found in the Tibetan Dulva[3]. Here the myth of origin of the Śākyas is preceded by that of the formation of the first human society in the present world-cycle and the origin of the Solar Dynasty (*Sūryavaṃsa*) also called the Gautama Lineage (*gotra*). A kshatriya prince named Gautama, son of king Kamika of the denasty of Mahasammata, the first king of the present aeon, had become a recluse under the seer Krshṇavarṇa. His wicked brother Bāradvaja had succeeded their father as the king. Falsely accused of murduring a prostitute, Gautama was condemned to be executed

by impaling. To his teacher who came to him Gautama declared his innocence and made an asseveration of truth that the teacher's dark-hued body should turn golden in colour if he is innocent. This came to pass then and there and Krishṇavarṇa came to be known as Kaṇakavarṇa. With his psychic power the seer caused a mighty wind to blow which soothed the impaled man's pains and revived his senses so that two drops of semen mixed with blood fell from his body. They soon turned into two eggs, which were hatched by the warmth of the rising sun giving birth to two boys who went into a nearby sugar-cane plantation. Increasing heat of the sun dried up the impaled man to death. The seer Kaṇakavarṇa brought up the two boys as sons of Gautama. The two children came to be designated 'of the Sun family' (*Sūryavamsa*) as they were born at sunrise and were brought forth by the rays of the sun. As sons of Gautama they were designated Gautamas, but as they were born from the loins of Gautama they were also designated Aṅgirasas. Further, since they were found in the Sugar-cane plantation, they received the appellation Ikshvāku. Later, when Gautama's brother Bāradvaja died without issue, the seer presented the two boys as Gautama's sons to succeed their uncle. The first one to become king died without issue and the second succeeded him as Ikṣhvāku. All his descendants also came to be designated Ikshvākus of the Solar Dynasty belonging to the Gautama, Aṅgirasa lineage.

The one hundredth descendant of Ikṣhvāku who ruled from Potala was Ikshvāku Virudhaka. His four sons were Ulkāmukha, Karakarna, Hastināјaka and Nūpura. From here the story flows somewhat close to the Pāli version. The hermitage of the seer Kapila, was on the Bhagīrathi (is this the same as Rohini?) where the banished princes built huts of leaves for themselves and lived on hunting. They married their own half sisters on the advice of Kapila. When their progeny increased the seer instructed them on how to build a city and, since it was built on land gifted by Kapila, the city came to be called Kapilavastu. Later they also built another city called Devadaha on a spot pointed out by a *deva*. As already stated the designation Śakya arose on the exclamation made by Virudhaka, father of the exciled princes. Rockhill translates it as "the daring young men".

These accounts show that the myth and legends of the origin of the Sakyas have passed through several stages of developments but yet retained some of the salient points in the original versions. Anyhow it is not easy to discern how much history can be deduced from them. It is clear that Buddhists have tried their best to link the origin of the race of their founder to the first ever Kshatriya dynasty of the present world-cycle. Attempts at giving fanciful etymologies and interpretations to family or caste names is already seen in the *Aggañña Sutta* and, as seen above, also in the *Mūla Sarvastivāda Vinaya* version of the origin of the human society. Any how, Buddhists seem to have decided quite early that the clan name of the Buddha was derived from the root *śak* 'to be able' and that it was illustrated by the capability of the first Sakyas to preserve their caste purity. But probably more relevant to the meaning of the term Sakya or Śakya may be the reference to the *Sāka* or *Śāka* forest (*Sākavanasaṇḍa*) in Pāli and, *Śākoṭa* wood in the *Mahavastu*, as the place where the Kapilavatthu city was founded. Edward J. Thomas[4] thinks there is a pun on the word as *Sakya* also means 'belonging to the *Sāka* tree? Dr. Hoey has also shown that this interpretation may be correct. They would be 'the people of the *Sāl* forest tracts? The *Sāka* is the sal-tree, says Thomas, the *Shorea robusta*. But Śakota, according to Jones, is an unidentified tree[5]. Could it be the same as *Sāka*?

The main city in the Sakya territory is generally agreed to be Kapilavatthu (*Skt*. Kapilavastu) said to have been named after the seer Kapila by all Buddhist traditions. It is quite possible that this seer Kapila is the same as the famous founder of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. But the name Kapilavatthu has been interpreted by some modern scholars as the 'red place' or 'red earth'. In Sanskṛit the word kapila also carries the meaning 'brown', 'tawny' or 'reddish' colour. Montag Martin, speaking about the Gorakhpur district says, that no red earth is observable on the surface but could be obtained by digging. This, Oldenberg[6] thinks is sufficient to explain the name Kapilavatthu when one consider the changes on the surface caused by two thousand years of inundations. Swinton also mentions red spots resembling carbonate of iron in the sandy beds under the surface of the yellow earth.

Although, in later works, Kapilavatthu is mentioned as a great city fitting to be a capital of a Universal Monarch (*Cakkavatti rājā*), the older texts do not bear witness to anything like that. In a list of

great cities given by Ananda as fitting places for the passing away of the Buddha, Kapilavatthu is not included. (*D.* II. 146). Yet sometimes, in older texts, Kapilavatthu is called a prosperous city densely populated and with streets thronged with elephants, horses, chariots and men (*S.* V. 369). In one place the Buddha speaks of the three mansions, for the three seasons, he had in his father's residence and the opulent life he led there as a layman with all comforts of a rich nobleman (*A.* 1. 145).

The Sakyas belong to the Gotama (*Skt.* Gautama) lineage (*gotta*; *Skt. gotra*). *Gotra*, literally a 'cow-stall', is a community of people who all claim to descend from a common ancestor. Hence all the Sakyas were Gotamas or Gautamas by lineage. The myth of origin of the names Gautama, Aṅgiras and Ikshvāku, even prior to the origin of the Śakya, as given in the Mūla Sarvāstivāda tradition, was given above. Yet modern scholarship[7] has other views about it. Some scholars point out that Gautama who has lent his name to the Sakya clan was a brahamin seer and not a kshastriya prince become a recluse, as the Buddhist myth claims. Explaining how a ksastriya clan got the name of a brahamin seer, they point to the *pravara* ceremony at the beginning of a Vedic sacrifice. Here it is the custom for a *hotar* priest to enumerate the names of the seer ancestors of the sacrificer, in a formula addressed to Agni. But if the sacrificer is not a brahamin the names of the ancestors of the family priest of the sacrificer are enumerated in it. This could be a possible explanation of the brahmanic *gotra* name of the Sakyas. However, in that case, the family priests of the Sakyas should have claimed descent from the seer Gautama. We do not have any confirming evidence for this. Not all agree on the *pravara* ceremony as the origin of the Gautama name of the Sakyas (s.v. Gotama (2) on this and other views). But we also know that there were other contemporary Kṣastriya clans who used brahmanic *gotra* names. For instance Mallas used the name of Vāseṭṭha (*Skt.* Vasiṣtha), another ancient brahmanic seer, as their *gotra* name. The first three of the six former Buddhas were said to be *khattiyas* of the Koṇḍañña (*Skt.* Kauṇḍinya) lineage. We also know that the name Angirasa also was used for the Buddha along with the better known Gotama. Aṅgirasa also was one of the three ancestors of the Gautama clan whose name was enumerated along with that of Gautama in the *pravara* ceremony. This could be a confirming piece of evidence for the *pravara* origin of the name Gotama and Aṅgirasa.

Pāli sources name Okkāka as the direct ancestor of the Sakyas. But the *Mahavastu* and the *Tibetan Vinaya*, texts replace this with the name Ikshvāku, more popular in Vedic literature. In Vedic literature Ikshvāku is the son of the Solar-born Manu Vaivasvata, the first king of the world. Probably this relationship of Ikshvāku with the Solar-born Manu may have prompted the adoption of this name by Buddhists who wanted to explain the relationship of the Buddha with the sun. But they have created their own origin myth to explain this solar-connection of the Sakyas. However Pāli sources do not seem to have paid much attention to this aspect. The *Niddesa* (*Nd.* 1, 347) merely says that the sun (Suriya) is a Gotama by lineage. The Blessed One also is a Gotama by lineage. Hence the Blessed One is related to the sun by lineage, a kinsman by lineage. Therefore the Buddha is a Kinsman of the Sun (Ādicca-bandhu). There is no explanation as to why Suriya (the sun) is called a Gotama. Once the Buddha has called the sun his offspring (*pajaṃ mama S.*1.51). The commentator explains this as " this one is my son". He further adds that Suriya was a Stream–Winner which makes him a son of the Buddha (*SA.* 1. 109).

E.J. Thomas[8], however points out that the form Okkāka cannot be treated as a derivative of the form Ikshvāku. Okkāka, he thinks, should be the more primitive form and the adoption of Ikshvāku could be a deliberate accommodation to the Purānic named. The fact that one of the sons of Okkāka is name Okkāmukha or 'Torch-faced' which is found in the Buddhist Sanskṛit versions as Ulkāmukha, also shows that Buddhist Sanskṛit authors have deliberately left out the name Okkāka in favour of Ikshvāku.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1]. Woven Cadences , (tr. of *Sutta Nipāta*) vv. 422-25

[2]. Oldenberg, Herman, *Buddha, His Life, his Doctrines, His Order*, tr. by William Hoey, Aravali Book International, New Delhi, 1997,p.95f.

3. Rockhill, W. Woodville, *The Life of the Buddha*, Kegon Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Ltd., London, p. 9ff.
4. *The Life of Buddha* , Barnes and Noble, Inc. New York, 1956, p. 7 n. 3.
5. Jones, J.J., The *Mahāvastu*, Pāli Text Society, London, 1973, Vol. I p. 296 n. 1.
6. *ibid.* p. 99f.
7. Thomas, Edward J., *ibid.* p. 22f.
8. *ibid.* p. 6.

SAKYAMUNI See EPITHETS, SAKYA

SĀLISTHAMBA SŪTRA: A Mahāyāna Sūtra written in Sanskrit containing a discourse giving a detailed exposition of the formula of causal genesis (*pratītya-samutpāda*). Here it is presented as a discourse by Bodhisattva Maitreya to Venerable Sāriputra at a great assembly of monks and Bodhisattvas held on the mountain Gṛdhrakūṭa in Rājagṛha, presided over by the Buddha.

Venerable Sāriputra opens the dialogue by referring to a terse statement made by the Buddha on that day at this assembly regarding the formula of conditioned genesis. The statement runs as follows:

"He who sees conditioned genesis sees the Dharma
He who sees the Dharma sees the Buddha".

This statement is actually an elaboration by one additional line of the statement made by the Buddha to Venerable Vakkali who was in the habit of admiring the physical form of the Buddha as recorded in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* III, 120) that "he who sees me sees the Dharma". (*Yo dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati*). This statement contains the Buddha's advice to Venerable Vakkali that he should try to understand the *dhamma* and see the Buddha through the *dhamma* without developing an attachment to and concentrating on his physical form. It is the Buddha's teaching that is really significant and helpful and not his physical form, he was told. Here the *dhamma* referred to by the Buddha is his fundamental teaching of human suffering and its eradication, as synoptically presented by the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths.

Traditionally speaking the doctrine of the *Pratītya Samutpāda* is assigned a place secondary to the Four Noble Truths because the former is the detailed explanation of the latter in a general sense. However in the *Sālisthamba Sūtra* this main teaching is given a slightly different treatment in that the doctrine of conditioned genesis is equated with the *dharma* which in turn is equated with the Noble Eightfold Path. The text then goes into explain and elucidate these doctrines in detail. This shifting of emphasis, however, does not violate the spirit of the Pali tradition in that the *Pratītya Samutpāda* actually covers the first two Noble Truths of suffering and its origin, while the third and the fourth truths are covered by the Noble Eightfold Path which has been incorporated into it in the present *Sūtra*. Thus this is only a different presentation in greater detail. Accordingly, the text goes on elaborating on these doctrines in great detail after the style of the usual Mahāyāna Sūtras.

The name of the compiler of the *Sūtra* is not recorded. As regards the designation given to the *Sūtra* it seems to be based on the simile of the sheaf of rice-plants (*Sāli-stamba*) which the Buddha here introduces as an illustration when he makes the afore mentioned terse statement leading to the preaching of the discourse. The implication seems to be that in the two-fold application of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* as internal and external as explained in the text, the latter application is symbolised by the causal activity operational in the seed in its process of transformation into a full-fledged plant with flowers, fruits etc. The rice plant is chosen as the illustration.

The text is edited as *Ārya Sālisthamba Sutra* by N. Ariyaswami Sastri in the Adyar Library Series number 76, Adyar Library, 1950.

A.G.S. Kariyawasam

SAMĀDHI is usually translated as 'concentration' and represents a mental quality or a state of mind that is quite literally 'put together' or 'collected' (*saṃ + ā + dhā*).

In the Pali discourses the term *samādhi* occurs in a variety of contexts, covering not only the realm of tranquility (*samatha*) proper, but also the development of insight. Thus *samādhi* can refer to the practice of walking meditation (*A.* III, 30), for example.

or to contemplating the arising and passing away of the five aggregates (*A.* II, 45). A passage from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* treats even the four *satipaṭṭhānas* as a form of *samādhi* (A. IV, 300).

The breadth of meaning of the term *samādhi* becomes evident in the fact that the discourses distinguish between various types of concentration. Thus the *Saṅgīti Sutta* (*D.* III, 222) differentiates between *samādhi* leading to a pleasant abiding by attaining the *jhānas*; *samādhi* leading to knowledge and vision by developing the perception of light or clarity (*ālokasaññā*); *samādhi* leading to mindfulness and clear comprehension by contemplating the arising and passing away of feelings, perceptions, and thoughts; and *samādhi* leading to the destruction of the influxes by contemplating the arising and passing away of the five aggregates.

The same *Saṅgīti Sutta* (*D.* III, 219) presents another set of three *samādhis* by distinguishing between concentration that is empty (*suññata*), signless (*animitta*) or desireless (*appaṇihita*). The commentary relates these three to the attainment of path and fruit. The difference between them, so the commentary, is due to different modes of developing insight, depending on whether not-self (*anattā*), or impermanence (*anicca*), or unsatisfactoriness (*dukkha*) has been particularly emphasized.

Out of these three types of *samādhi*, the signless concentration (*animitta samādhi*) occurs frequently in the discourses on its own. To develop such signless concentration is to direct attention away from any possible 'sign' (*M.* I, 298). In the present context, 'sign' stands for those aspects or marks of phenomena with the help of which one is able to recognize.

The *Saṅgīti Sutta* (*D.* III, 219) has still another threefold distinction of *samādhi* to offer, concerned with concentration with initial and sustained application of the mind (*savitakka savicāra*), without initial but still with sustained application of the mind (*avitakka vicāramatta*), and finally without both (*avitakka avicāra*)[1]. The first of these represents levels of *samādhi* up to and including the first *jhāna* and the last the other three *jhānas*, while concentration without initial but still with sustained application of the mind occupies a position between the first and the second *jhāna*.

This intermediate level of absorption has found its way into the *Abhidhammic* scheme for listing the *jhānas*, which treats this level of *samādhi* as second *jhāna* and the three remaining levels as third to fifth *jhāna* (*Dhs.* 20). In this way, the *Abhidhammic* scheme counts up to altogether five *jhānas*, whereas the discourses cover the same range of concentration with a scheme of only four *jhānas*.

Not only the discourses, but also the commentaries distinguish between several types of concentration. Thus the *Visuddhimagga* differentiates between the type of concentration present during awakening, the 'supramundane' (*lokuttara*) *samādhi*, and its 'mundane' (*lokiya*) counterpart (*Vism.* 85). Another distinction found in the same work is between access (*upacāra*) concentration, an expression referring to levels of *samādhi* bordering on but not yet corresponding to the level of *jhāna*, and absorption proper (*appanā samādhi*). The difference between these two, so the *Visuddhimagga* explains (*Vism.* 126), is that though with access concentration the hindrances are already left behind, the *jhāna* factors are still weak. With absorption proper the *jhāna* factors will be strong and firmly established, resulting in an experience during which the mind process is no longer interrupted by occurrences of the life continuum (*bhavaṅga*), but consists entirely of moments of active cognition (*javana*).

The later part of this explanation is based on the commentarial model of the cognitive process (*citta-vīthi*), according to which during everyday sensory experience such moments of active cognition count up to a maximum of seven mind moments, followed sooner or later by a relapse into the stream of the Life continuum. Once this relapse has taken place, several intermediate mind moments are required before another series of active cognitions can take place. Thus the above explanation from the *Visuddhimagga* indicates that the attainment of absorption concentration is markedly different from other types of mental experience, since it consists of outstandingly long periods of pure active cognition.

In addition to access and absorption concentration, the *Visuddhimagga* introduces a third type of *samādhi* (*Vism.* 144). This is the so-called 'momentary concentration' (*khaṇika samādhi*), a type of concentration that lasts only for a short fraction of

time. The Pali *Abhidhamma* (cf. e.g. *Abhs.* II, 2) goes a step further by suggesting that unification (*ekaggatā*) of the mind belongs to those seven mental factors present in any state of consciousness (*sabbacittasādhāraṇa*). When evaluating this suggestion it needs to be taken into account that the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* (*M.* I, 301) defines *samādhi* to be 'unification of the mind' (*cittassa ekaggatā*), while the *Atthasālinī* (*DhsA.* 118) defines 'unification of the mind' to be *samādhi*. Taken together this indicates that the two terms are near synonyms, both from the perspective of the discourses and from the perspective of the commentaries. Thus the *Abhidhammic* proposition concerning *ekaggatā* would imply that some form of *samādhi* is present in any state of mind.

The point made with this presentation could be that the seeds out of which real *samādhi* grows can be found even in the most ordinary state of mind. Nevertheless, this presentation is not unproblematic and the *Kathāvatthu* has recorded a critique of this position, which argues that if unification of the mind were indeed present in all states of mind, then it would follow that *jhāna* could be attained for a brief moment during normal sense-cognition or even when lust or hatred are present in the mind (*Kvu.* 458). Though this criticism may seem a little overdrawn, it does draw attention to the fact that the *Abhidhammic* usage of *ekaggatā* differs from the usage of this term in the early discourses, where both *samādhi* and *ekaggatā* represent specific mental qualities that require development, rather than being the given constituents of any state of mind.

Returning to the discourse, the *Dasuttara Sutta* (*D.* III, 277) presents another set of four types of concentration by distinguishing between concentration that is conducive to decline (*hānabhāgiyo*), to stability (*ṭhitibhāgiyo*), to distinction (*visesabhāgiyo*) and to penetration (*nibbedhabhāgiyo*). According to the explanation found in the commentary and the subcommentary to this passage, the first three are related to the development of *jhāna*: If someone has gained the first *jhāna*, for example, but slight traces of sensuality should arise, then such *samādhi* is 'conducive to decline', in the sense that the first *jhāna* will be lost. If no sensuality arose and the *jhāna* can be maintained, such *samādhi* is 'conducive to stability', and if concentration deepens and the second *jhāna* can be developed, such *samādhi* is 'conducive to distinction'. The fourth type of *samādhi*, then, pertains to the development of insight, when on emerging from a *jhāna* one develops detachment in regard to it.

Another set of four *samādhis* forms part of the standard presentations of the four roads to power (*iddhipāda*) in the discourses (*S.* V, 268). These four roads to power share in common the need for effort and will power (*padhānasaṅkhārā*), while the difference between them is due to the type of concentration employed. Such concentration can be based upon (wholesome) desire (*chandasamādhi*), upon energy (*viriyasamādhi*), upon (inclining) the mind (*cittasamādhi*), or upon investigation (*vimaṃsā samādhi*).

The notion of *iddhi* underlying these four roads to power points to one of the manifold benefits of deeper levels of *samādhi*, namely the possibility to develop supernormal powers. Before however turning to such possible fruits of *samādhi*, first those factors required for its development need to be treated. These factors can conveniently be covered by examining central aspects of the gradual path of training, whose dynamics are closely related to the development of *samādhi*.

The foundation for any mental culture is morality (*sīla*), and its relevance for *samādhi* finds expression in a standard qualification of moral conduct as *samādhisaṃvattanika*, 'conducive to concentration' (e.g. *M.* I, 322). The development of morality covers also the area of speech, in relation to which friendly forms of communication are expressly related to concentration, since harsh speech is *asamādhisaṃvattanika*, 'not conducive to concentration' (*M.* I, 286). Not only harsh speech, but also quarrelsome speech will obstruct *samādhi* (*A.* IV, 87).

An important aspect of the gradual path of training is restraint of the sense-doors (*indriya saṃvara*), a practice especially aimed at overcoming sensory distraction and thereby constituting an important condition of developing *samādhi*. Another step in the gradual path of training is contentment (*santuṭṭhi*), significant in the present context since one who is not content with external circumstances will not be able to gain concentration (*Dhp.* 249). A related feature is moderation in regard to food (*bhojane mattaññu*), given

that overeating will cause drowsiness (*bhattasammada*) and thereby obstruct concentration (*S.* V, 64).

With these basics put into practice, the gradual path of training moves into those areas of the noble eightfold path which fall into the category of the *samādhikkhandha* or 'aggregate of concentration' proper. This *samādhikkhandha* comprises, besides right concentration itself, right effort and right mindfulness.

As the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* (*M.* I, 301) clarifies, *samādhi* requires the development of the four right efforts, which are its 'requisites' (*parikkhāra*), and of right mindfulness in form of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, which are the 'signs' (*nimitta*) of *samādhi*[2]. The close relationship between mindfulness and concentration can be inferred from a statement by *Anuruddha* (*S.* V, 298), in which he attributed his outstanding concentrative abilities to his development of *satipaṭṭhāna*.

In the context of the gradual path of training, right effort finds its expression in the practice of wakefulness (*jāgariyaṃ anuyutta*), which according to the standard descriptions is to clean the mind from obstructive states (*āvaraṇiyehi dhammehi cittaṃ parisodheti*), a necessary condition for being able to gain *samādhi*. Concomitant with such overcoming of obstructive states is the cultivation of mindfulness, exemplified in the gradual path scheme through the development of clear comprehension in regard to any bodily activity (*satisampajañña*). Out of the various bodily activities to be conducted with mindfulness, the walking posture is particularly capable of leading to a stable form of *samādhi* (*A.* III, 30)

With a mind endowed with wakefulness and mindfulness the five hindrances can be overcome. To develop the mental collectedness and composure of *samādhi* is equivalent to overcoming these hindrances, which scatter and agitate the mind. Once they are overcome, delight (*pāmojja*) and joy (*pīti*) arise, followed by tranquility (*passaddhi*) and happiness (*sukha*), four factors whose arising naturally leads to *samādhi* (cf. e.g. *D.* I, 73).

For the purpose of overcoming the five hindrances and developing deeper levels of *samādhi*, the discourses often recommend that one withdraw into seclusion. The standard descriptions of the type of environment conducive to the development of *samādhi* recommend places such as the root of a tree or an empty place. The relationship between seclusion and *samādhi* is reciprocal, since not only does seclusion facilitate *samādhi*, but one who is bereft of *samādhi* will also not be able to derive benefit from living in seclusion (*A.* V, 202).

For those intent on the development of absorption concentration, the *Upakkilesa Sutta* (*M.* III, 158) offers a detailed list of those mental obstructions that may prevent the deepening of one's *samādhi*. The obstructions (*Upakkilesa*) mentioned in this discourse are a set not encountered elsewhere in the discourses and specifically related to the development of *samādhi*. The mental obstructions listed are doubt, inattention, sloth-and-torpor, consternation, elation, unease, excessive energy, deficient energy, longing, diversified perceptions and excessive meditation on forms. A closer examination of this list reveals that this set of mental obstructions are various manifestations of the last three hindrances. This indicates that even before attempting to develop *samādhi*, the first two hindrances of sensual desire and ill-will have to be removed, while the overcoming of the remaining three hindrances is what leads to a gradual deepening of concentration until the first *Jhāna* can be gained.

In regard to the first *jhāna*, the meditator has to develop skill in attaining (*samāpattikusalo*), in maintaining (*ṭhitikusalo*) and in emerging (*vuṭṭhānakusalo*) from *samādhi* (*A.* IV, 34). This much accomplished, the second *jhāna* comes into view, a mental experience qualified in the standard descriptions as being 'born' of *samādhi* (*samādhija*). This qualification points to the fact that with the attainment of the second *jhāna* the meditator has moved beyond the subtle mental ripple caused by the presence of initial (*vitakka*) and sustained application of the mind (*vicāra*), two factors of the first *jhāna* that need to be left behind in order to gain the second *jhāna*.

Further deepening of *samādhi* leads via overcoming of joy (*pīti*) to the third *jhāna* and by gaining perfect equanimity to the fourth *jhāna*, with the attainment of which the acme of the development of *samādhi* has been reached. With the imperturbable (*āneñja*) level of *samādhi* gained in this way the possibility of gaining

the immaterial attainments comes into view, refined mental experiences that employ the concentrative strength gained with the fourth *jhāna* to develop increasingly subtle types of perceptions.

With the experience of the deep levels of *samādhi* gained through the *jhānas* not only the common world of experience is left behind, but also potential powers and abilities of the mind can be accessed that go beyond the confines of common experience. Once *samādhi* has reached the depth of the fourth absorption, the possibility to develop supernormal abilities and knowledges opens up. The discourses mention a standard set of six such supernormal knowledges (*abhiññā*), which include various magical powers of transformation, supernormal audition and vision, telepathy and powers of recollection beyond one's present life. The last and supreme of these supernormal knowledges is the destruction of the influxes, and it is in order to develop this insight which leads up to the gain of this particular knowledge that *samādhi* has such a central place in the Buddhist path scheme.

The role of *samādhi* as a crucial factor for the gaining of insight is a frequent theme in the discourses, which reiterate again and again that no insight can be gained without concentration. *Samādhi* precedes knowledge (*A.* I, 219) and it is only with a concentrated mind that things can be seen as they really are[3]. The role of *samādhi* in this respect also underlies its inclusion among the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*).

As a factor of awakening, levels of *samādhi* with and without initial and sustained application of the mind can be employed (*S.* V, 111). The awakening factor of *samādhi* is the result of tranquility and happiness and in turn leads to equanimity, a balanced state of mind resulting from concentration (*S.* V, 69). The two factors especially related to *samādhi* as a factor of awakening (*S.* V, 105) are the 'sign of tranquility' (*samathanimitta*) and the 'sign of non-distraction' (*avyagganimitta*). Following an explanation found in the *Visuddhimagga* (*Vism.* 134), both can be understood to represent the same, namely the need to develop mental tranquility and avoid distraction.

The *Visuddhimagga* offers a survey of those factors that help to develop the awakening factor of *samādhi*. These range from cleanliness and avoiding distracted people, to knowing the right time for inciting, restraining, gladdening and not interfering with the mind. In addition to these, the *Visuddhimagga* recommends to cultivate a keen interest in and to repeatedly reflect on the development of concentration, to acquire skill in developing the 'sign' of concentration and to balance the five faculties (*Vism.* 134).

Balance among the five faculties as an aid in developing the awakening factor of *samādhi* reminds of another important set of mental factors where *samādhi* also plays its part: the five faculties (*indriya*) or powers (*bala*). A definition found frequently for *samādhi* as a faculty (e.g. *S.* V, 197) speaks of gaining concentration by "making relinquishment the object" (*vossaggārammaṇa*). In the context of the five faculties, the role of *samādhi* is to counterbalance the faculty of energy (*viriya*), thereby avoiding the arising of agitation and excitement.

Samādhi is not only of relevance to the roads to power, the awakening factors and the faculties, but it also has a crucial role to perform in the context of the noble eightfold path, of which it forms the last and culminating factor. The discourses define 'right concentration' (*sammā samādhi*) in two complementary ways. The definition found most frequently enumerates the four absorptions (*jhānas*). Since the development of the noble eightfold path, and with it of the path factor 'right concentration', is a prerequisite for awakening, this definition clearly accords a central role to the development of absorption concentration in the early Buddhist scheme of deliverance.

Since some discourses describe the gaining of full awakening based on the first absorption[4], it would seem that probably not all four *jhānas* have to be developed to win full awakening. All four *jhānas* would however be needed to gain the threefold higher knowledge (*tevijjā*).

Another definition of right concentration, found in a few discourses, does not mention the absorptions[5]. One of these discourses is the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*, a discourse which defines right concentration as unification of the mind (*cittassekaggatā*) developed in interdependence with the other seven path-factors[6]. This definition highlights the fact that in order for

concentration to become 'right' concentration, it needs to be developed as part of the noble eightfold path.

Judging from other discourses, the expression 'unification of the mind' is not confined to absorption concentration since the same expression occurs in relation to walking and standing (*A.* II, 14) or to listening to the *Dhamma* (*A.*III, 175), activities which would not be compatible with *jhāna* attainment. This suggests that this second definition of 'right concentration' would also include levels of *samādhi* that have not yet reached the depth of absorption concentration. In fact, this second definition makes it clear that the decisive factor qualifying *samādhi* as 'right' is not merely the depth of concentration achieved, but the purpose for which concentration is employed.

A similar nuance underlies the qualification *sammā*, 'right', which literally means 'togetherness', or to be 'connected in one'. This thus indicates that the decisive criterion for describing *samādhi* as *sammā*, as 'right', is whether it is developed 'together' with the other factors of the noble eightfold path.

According to numerous discourses (e.g. *A.* III, 423), the development of the path factor of 'right concentration' is indispensable for eradicating the fetters and gaining awakening. This brings up the question whether it is necessary to develop *samādhi* to the level of absorption in order to win stream-entry, once-return, non-return or to become an *arahant*.

Concerning stream-entry, the qualities mentioned in the discourses as essential for the realisation of stream-entry do not stipulate the ability to attain absorption (cf. *S.* V, 410). Nor is such an ability included among the qualities that are characteristic of a stream-enterer subsequent to realisation (cf. e.g. *S.* V, 357). A necessary condition for winning stream-entry is a state of mind completely free from the five hindrances (*A.* III, 63). Such a removal, however, can take place during walking meditation (*It.* 118) or while listening to the *Dhamma* (*S.* V, 95), activities which are not compatible with *jhāna* attainment. This indicates that the ability to gain absorption concentration may not be required for stream-entry.

The same seems to apply to the realisation of once-return. Once-returners are so called because they will be reborn only once again in 'this world' (i.e. the *kāmaloka*). On the other hand those who have developed the ability to attain absorption are not going to return to 'this world' in their next life (*A.* II, 126), but will be reborn in a higher heavenly sphere (i.e. the *rūpaloka* or the *arūpaloka*). This certainly does not imply that a once-returner cannot have absorption attainments. But if all once-returners were absorption attainers, the very concept of a 'once-returner' would be superfluous, since not a single once-returner would ever return 'to this world'.

When considering the realisation of non-return however, the situation seems to be different. Some discourses point out that the non-returner, in contrast to the once-returner, has fulfilled the development of concentration, thereby indicating that the difference between the two is related to differing levels of concentrative ability (*A.* I, 232 and *A.* IV, 380). Other discourses relate progress towards the higher two stages of the path, non-returning and *arahant*-ship, to having had the experience of the first or higher absorptions[7]. Judging from this, the development of concentration up to the level of absorption appears to be required for the realisation of non-return and thereby also of *arahant*-ship.

The development of deeper states of *samādhi* is thus indeed an important aspect of the meditative training of the mind in early Buddhism. This importance is expressed vividly in some discourses, which explain that one who has respect for the Buddha and his teaching will automatically hold *samādhi* in high regard (*A.* IV, 123). On the other hand, one who looks down on the development of *samādhi* thereby only approves of those who have an unsteady mind (*A.* II, 31). Lack of regard for the development of concentration, so another discourse explains, constitutes one of the causes for the disappearance of the true *Dhamma* (*S.* II, 225). In short, as the Buddha once said: *samādhi* is the path and its absence is the wrong path[8].

See also APPANĀ, CONCENTRATION, EKAGGATĀ, EKOTIBHĀVA, JHĀNA, SAMATHA.

Anālayo.

References

[1] The same fivefold presentation recurs at *D.* III, 274; *M.* III, 162; *S.* IV, 360; *S.* IV, 363 and *A.* IV, 300.

[2] 'Sign' in the present context has a predominantly causal nuance, in the sense that *satipaṭṭhāna* is a basis for *samādhi*.

[3] *S.* IV, 80: *samāhito yathāabhūtaṃ pajānāti.*

[4] *M.* I, 350; *M.* I, 435; *A.* IV, 422 and *A.* V, 343.

[5] *D.* II, 217; *M.* III, 71; *S.* V, 21 and *A.* IV, 40.

[6] M. II, 71: *sammādiṭṭhi sammā saṅkappo sammā vācā sammā kammanto sammā ājīvo sammā vāyāmo sammā sati...imehi satta aṅgehi cittassekaggatā parikkhatā, ayaṃ vuccati... ariyo sammā samādhi sa-upaniso iti pi saparikkhāro iti pi.*

[7] cf. footnote 3 above.

[8] *A.* III, 420: *samādhi maggo, asamādhi kummaggo.*

SAMĀDHIRĀJA-SŪTRA. One of the nine *Dharmas* or the most authoritative canonical texts of the Mahāyāna School. It belongs to that group of Mahāyāna texts called *Vyākaraṇas* or expository literature. The title *Samādhirāja* (The King of *Samādhis*) given to the work is rather a misnomer; for it is not a manual dealing with the technical methods of meditation as such, but treats of *samādhi* as the subject of concentration, a verbal formula to be meditated upon. The text is written in the main in Sanskrit prose but contains occasional verse passages. The prose sections are in a relatively correct Sanskrit while the *slokas* are couched in the so-called 'mixed Sanskrit'.

Among the nine *Dharmas* this is the least known work and not yet completely edited. But Candrakirti and Śāntideva considered it as one of the most authoritative works of Mahāyāna Buddhism, for the two writers have very often quoted from the *Sūtra* in their works, the *Prasannapada* of the former and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of the latter, in particular. In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* the *Samādhirāja -sūtra* is always quoted under the title *Candrapradīpa* which most probably relates to the fact that Bodhisattva Candraprabha is the chief interlocutor of the Buddha, in the present text. Three chapters of the work (i.e. Chapters VIII, XIX & XXII) were edited and translated into English by Constantin Regamey (1907-1982), musical composer and orientalist, for his doctoral thesis which was submitted to the University of Warsaw in 1936.

The *Samādhirāja-sūtra* presents an early form of the doctrine of the void (or *Śūnyavāda*), the central philosophical doctrine of the Madhyamika School. Its philosophical importance to the study of the *Śūnyavāda* cannot, therefore, be underrated. The *Sūtra* mentions only two bodies of the Buddha, the *Dharmakāya* and the *Rūpakāya*. The concept of the three bodies, the *Dharmakāya*, the *Sambhogakāya* and the *Nirmāṇakāya*, has not still developed. This fact points to the early date of the work.

Constantin Regamey has used four MSS of the *Samādhirāja -sūtra*, all written in Nepalese characters, the first three now kept in the Bibliotheque Nationale and the last in the Cambridge University Library. There exists a commentary on the *Samādhirāja* titled *Kīrtimālā* by Manjusrikirti and preserved in Tibetan version only.

There is one Tibetan version of the *Sūtra* bearing the title *Ārya-sarva-dharma- svabhāva-samata-vipancita-samādhirāja*. This agrees very closely with the Sanskrit text, but gives better readings, sometimes filling the gaps. However, there are differences with regard to the division into chapters and their numbering. There are also three Chinese translations of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, one complete and two partial. The complete version was made by Narendrayasas in 557 A. C. One of the two partial versions belong to the earlier Sung dynasty period (420- 479 A. C.). This version bearing the title *Candrapradīpa-sūtra* contains some chapters which agree with those of the *Samādhirāja -sūtra*. This fact helps us to place the original text, probably not yet fully developed, at least in the 5th century A. C. The passages quoted from the *Samādhirāja -sūtra* in the *Prasannapada* and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* agree very closely with the original Sanskrit text, which fact suggests that the text of the *Sūtra* had attained its present form by the 7th century A. C. and it appears that between the 6th and the 9th century new elements, partly ancient glosses and commentaries, were added increasing the bulk of the work to the present size. We may, therefore, conclude that the *Samādhirāja -sūtra* was originally composed not later than the 4th century A. C., and that it attained the present size probably in the 7th century and certainly before the end of the 9th century A. C.

In this *sūtra* the word *samādhi* denotes 'the subject of concentration', a verbal formula to be meditated upon as a *dhāraṇī*. This *sūtra* is one of the most authoritative texts of the Madhyamikas, and not of the Yogācārins. It teaches about the absence of a real essence of all the *dharmas*, which is expounded in Chapter VIII of the work. As for its theory of the bodies of the Buddha, it closely agrees with the conceptions discussed in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras*. For instance, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* mentions only the *Rūpakāya* and the *Dharmakāya*. The *Samādhirāja -sūtra* lays emphasis not so much upon the fact that there are two bodies of the Buddha but upon the contrast between the *Dharmakāya*. and the *Rūpakāya*. The former refers to the Absolute, and the latter to the imaginary and illusory body created by the magical power of the Buddha.

The same distinction of the two bodies has been made by Nagarjuna in his *Mahā Prajnāpāramitā-sāstra*. In the *Samādhirāja -sū tra* the *Rūpakāya* is not exactly the *Nirmānakāya* which is described in later texts as 'the phantom having no real existence, but possessing all the qualities of an ordinary man, born of parents and subject to human frailties', but rather a blend of the *Nirmānakāya* and the *Sambhogakāya* of the later Mahāyāna texts. The *Rūpakāya* is not the real body of the Buddha, but one created by the Buddha in order to be visible for gods and men. It possesses the thirty-two auspicious marks of a Great Being *(Mahāpurusa)*, thus is far from resembling an ordinary man. It is born of immeasurable merits and it is radiant. These characteristics bring the *Rūpakāya* closer to the *Sambhogakāya* of the later Mahayana. The *Dharmakāya*. stands in opposition to the *Rūpakāya* in that the former is inconceivable in its very essence, has no marks at all, is undifferentiated, immeasurable, unknowable and can be recognized only by means of the *samādhi*. It possesses all the features of the Mahāyānistic Absolute.

It should be borne in mind that 'that the *Samādhirāja -sūtra* does not represent a radical *Śūnyavāda* or a developed *vijñānavāda*'. The contents of the *Sūtra* and other literature belonging to the same category such as the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* and the *Srimāladevi-siṃhānanda-sūtra*, lead us to assume that the early Mahāyāna was characterized by a metaphysical standpoint common to all Mahāyāna schools.

According to the *Mañjusri-mūlakalpa*, among the many complicated rites to be performed before a *maṇḍala* is formed, is the recitation of the four *sūtras*, the *Prajnā-pāramitā*, the *Candrapradīpa-samādhi*, the *Gaṇḍavyuha* and the *Suvarna- prabhāsa*, before the four doors symbolizing the four cardinal points, South, West, North and East respectively.

(The writer is greatly indebted to the edition and translation of the *Samādhirāja -sūtra* containing Chapters VIII, XIX and XXII, by Constantin Regamey and published in 1938).

E. W. Marasinghe.

SAMAN (the God of Adam's Peak). In the *Mahāvaṁsa* is to be found the earliest account of Adam's Peak. The name that occurs there is Sumana-Kūṭa. The commentary to the *Mahāvaṇsa* says that Sumana-Kūṭa is so called because it is the abode of a *devarāja* (King of Gods) called Sumana. This deity is mentioned in the account of the first visit of the Buddha to Sri Lanka. The *Mahāvaṃsa* refers to him as Mahāsumana of the Sumana-Kūṭa mountain. The epithet *devinda* (Skt. Devendra, the chief of the gods) is applied to him there. This means that he was no mere godling but one of importance. The minister Devapatirāja of the 13th century installed an image of God Sumana on the Peak. Even at the present day there is to be seen a small shrine dedicated to this deity on the summit of the mountain on a somewhat lower level than that of the Sacred Footprint.

Less than nine miles in a direct line from the foot of the Peak, near the town of Ratnapura, at a place called Sabaragamu, there is a shrine dedicated to God Sumana (or Saman) which has been in existence from very early days. Donations were made to this shrine by the royalty in the 15th century for its maintenance. In the 16th century the shrine was razed to the ground by the Portuguese while they were in occupation of the territory for several decades. Later when the district was regained by the Sinhalese, Rājasiṁha II (1635-1687) built a new shrine, not exactly where the shrine stood earlier but where the Portuguese fort stood. This shrine is now called Saman-Devāle of Sabaragamu. A shrine dedicated to God Saman also exists at Alutnuwara, by the side of Mahiyangana-stūpa,

which (according to tradition) was built on the initiative of God Saman. There are also several other shrines associated with this deity in less important religious centers. In many Buddhist temples, the image of Saman is to be found together with the other three gods, who are considered as the guardian deities of this island.

In the *Haṁsa-sandesa* (v. 198) Saman is invoked to shower blessings on the reigning monarch Parakramabāhu VI (1410-1467). *Sävul-sandesa* of the 16[th] century is a poem in the form of a message sent to God Saman of Sabaragamu with a prayer to give every protection to the poet's patron Rājasiṁha I and to grant him victories in his campaigns.

A suggestion has also been made that Saman/Sumana is the same as the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In the Nevill collection in the British Museum, London, there is a bronze sculpture of a standing deity (Regd. No. 1898-7-2-141) about six inches in height. Its maximum width is 2 ½ inches (from hand to hand). It was called "Bodhisattva" probably on the ground that it resembles other sculptures of Mahāyāna deities in the same collection. The figure has now been identified as that of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. The right hand shows the *vitarka-mudrā* while the left shows *kaṭaka-hasta-mudrā*. (*JRAS*. Ceylon Branch, N.S. Vol. XIV, 1970).

Nandasena Mudiyanse

SAMAṆA: The word is derived from *śram* as well as *śam*. While *śram* gives the meaning of an ascetic (or a wanderer, religieux, recluse), *śam* (*sammati*) indicates one whose defilements are appeased or calmed.

The *Dhammapada* states:

"He who wholly subdues evil deeds both small and great is called a monk (*samaṇa*) because he has overcome all evil."

" *Yo ca sameti pāpāni anumthulāni sabbaso*
Samitatā hi pāpamsamaṇo iti pavuccati." (*Dhp*. v. 265)

The *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, commentary on the *Dhammapada*, reiterates this meaning of *samaṇa* in the words "*Samitapāpattā samaṇo*. (*DhpA*. II. 84)

The *samaṇas* had their origin in pre-Ariyan times. Their roots have been traced to the Indus valley civilization evidenced by a miniature seal found in the region which has a carving of an ascetic figure on it. The proto-Śiva figure depicted on the seal is in the posture of an ascetic in meditation. That cult of asceticism has an undeniable connection to *samaṇas* in the Buddha's time and continues even up to the present day.

The *Keśi Sutkta* of the *Ṛgveda* (*RV*. X. 136) refers to ascetics in terms that convey their alienation from Ariyan culture and the religion of the *Ṛgveda*. However, the *samaṇa* phenomenon became a prominent feature in Indian religious life by the time the Aryan settlers had established themselves in the eastern tract of the Gangetic valley. They were very much a part of the scenario presented in the Buddhist canon.

The wandering tradition of the *samaṇas* enabled them to propound their own philosophies and to interact with others who held different doctrines. There would have been a great deal of cross fertilization of ideologies and philosophic speculations among them and also defections from one sect to another as is recorded in the Buddhist texts.

Samaṇas were distinguished by certain modes of behavior which characterized their conduct. They practised austerities, were celebate, lived on alms and were people who had given up household life (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito*) in order to pursue the goal of emancipation. The stricter the austerities they practised, the more they were held in esteem as saintly beings by the Indian society of that time. Samaṇa Gotama (the Buddha) however, did not believe in practising extreme forms of asceticism which he referred to as *attakilamatānuyoga* (self mortification). Such practices, he said, were unprofitable, ignoble and causes *dukkha* (*Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta Vin*. IV. p. 420). But the Buddha thought a certain degree of austerities and recluse-ship were necessary for the living of the higher religious life for the purpose of attaining ultimate liberation from *samsāra*.

In the *Udumbarika Sīhanādasutta* (*D*. III, 38) Sandhāna, the white clad disciple of the Buddha, tells the wanderer, Nigrodha, and his followers that the

Buddha "haunts the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, where the breezes from the pastures blow, yet which are hidden from the eyes of men, in solitary contemplation of the unsubstantial self."

"... so Bhagavā araññe vanapatthāni pantāni senāsanāni paṭisevati, appasaddāni appa-nigghosāni vijana-vātāni manussarahaseyyakāni paṭisallānā – saruppāniti."

The reference is to an aspect of recluse-ship which formed an essential feature of a true *samaṇa*'s conduct.

The Buddha is said to have advised Kassapa, son of the gods, as to how he may conduct himself like a *bhikkhu*, i.e. training to live the life of a recluse, in secluded recesses in a forest and in calming the heart's unrest.

"Subhāsitassa sikkhetha Samaṇupāsanassa ca ekāsanassa ca raho cittavūpasamassa cā ti."(S. I. 46)

Samaṇas were ascetics who do not accept the mainstream Brahmaṇa religion. They rejected the *Vedas*, Vedic Sacrifice and Brahmaṇa claims to supremacy in society with their hierarchical structuring of society.

The word covered many types of recluses who professed a variety of philosophies. Six leading *samaṇa* teachers referred to as *aññatitthiyā* have been mentioned in the Buddhist texts. They were *samaṇa* teachers other than the Buddha. Together with the Buddha, they were the most renowned of the *samaṇa* teachers of the time,

In the *Brāhmaṇavagga* of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* is found the following reference to the Buddha's teaching as the most excellent among those of the *samaṇa-brahmaṇa*:

"Just sir, as a man, well satisfied with some choice savour, longs not for other savours that are mean; even so, Sir, whenever one hears his honour Gotama's Dhamma, whether in the sayings, the psalms, the catechisms or the marvels – none longs for the talks of others: the many- folk, recluses or Brāhmanas."

"Seyyathāpi bho puriso aggarasaparititto na aññesaṁ hīnānaṃrasānaṃpiheti, evaṁeva kho bho yato yato tassa bhoto Gotamassa dhammaṃ suṇāti yadi suttaso yadi geyyaso yadi veyyākaraṇaso yadi abbhutadhammaso tato tato na aññesaṃ puthusamaṇabrāhmana-ppavādānaṃ piheti." (A.III. p. 237)

The *Mahāparinibbānasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, among many *suttas* in the canon, mentions by name the six *aññatitthiyas*. They are described by Subaddha, the *paribbājaka*, to the Buddha as,

"The leaders in religious life (*samaṇa-brahmanā*) who are heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude – to wit, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali of the cow pen, Ajita of the garment of hair, Kaccāyana of the Pakuddha tree, Sañjaya, the son of the Bellatthi slave girl, and Nigaṇṭha of the Nātha clan..."

"Ye' me bho Gotama Samaṇa-brahmaṇā saṁghino gaṇino gaṇācariyā ñātā yasassino titthakarā sādhu-sammatā ca bahu-janassa, seyyathidaṁ Pūraṇo Kassapo, Makkhali Gosālo.... (*D.* II. 150)

Though the compound term *Samaṇa-brahmaṇa* includes all religieux generally, here in this passage, only the *samaṇa* teachers are singled out and mentioned specifically by that collective compound term. Perhaps these teachers posed the most provocative challenge to the traditional mainstream Brahmaṇa teachers. Rhys Davids (see foot note to the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II,) argues sometimes *brahmaṇa* in the compound term may be used in a different sense like *brahmaṇo* as an epithet for an arahant. He cites the instance of the usage in this sense in the term *Ksatriya-brahmaṇo*, a *Ksatriya* who offers sacrifice or a 'soldier priest'.

Generally, the term *Samaṇa-brahmaṇa* refers to ascetics who are holders of heterodox views and mainstream *Brahmaṇa* religieux.

The *Dīghanikāya* commentary of Buddhaghosa, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (p. 73, *SHB*, 1918) gives a very clear-cut unambiguous meaning to the compound term. It states:

"Paribbājupagatabhāvena samaṇā jātiyā brahmaṇā lokena va samaṇātibrahmaṇāti ca. Evaṁ sammatā".

According to this explanation, *samaṇas* are those who become *samaṇas* by virtue of their renunciation of household life and *Brahmaṇas* are those who are *Brahmaṇas* by birth.

The *Dīghanikāyaṭīkā*, the sub –commentary by Dhammapāla (p. 12, Somāvatī Hewavitarana Trust Publication, 1967) reiterates this meaning:

Yaṃkiñci pabbajaṃ upagatā samaṇā, Jātimattena Brāhmaṇā."

However, this explanation does not exclude the possibility of *brāhmaṇas* by birth joining the *samaṇa* camp. *Samaṇas* no doubt, had in their fold recluses drawn from all ranks, castes and strata in society who had rejected the *Vedas*, Vedic Sacrifice and *brāhmaṇa* created hierarchies. *Samaṇas* were egalitarian. Mahā Kassapa, one of the Buddha's chief disciples, who was the President of the First Buddhist Council, was a *brāhmaṇa* by birth. So were the three brothers, Uruvela Kassapa , Nadī Kassapa and Gayā Kassapa. When they abandoned Vedic doctrines and rituals and became Buddhist bhikkhus, they were regarded as belonging to the *samaṇa* community. The criterion, therefore, to be included in the *brāhmaṇa* component of the compound term was not only birth in the *brāhmaṇa* caste but the total acceptance of the *brāhmaṇa* religion. The two components were mutually antagonistic, but they formed a unity as against ordinary society.

By the practice of austerities, the *samaṇas* came to be a highly respected category on a par with the mainstream brāhmaṇa religieux. The latter may have included not only brāhmaṇa priests and teachers of the *Vedas* but also the Sannyāsins of the fourth *āśrama* which kept itself separate from the *samaṇas*.

The opinion held by some scholars (see Haripada Chakraborty, *Asceticism in Indian Culture* p. 216, and B.M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*) is that the fourth *āśrama* of the Sannyāsins came into existence only at a date much later than the *Ṛgveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* for originally asceticism was an anathema to Vedic religion. The *samaṇas* on the other hand held that emancipation could be attained only by a complete separation from lay life, that is, practising life long asceticism, not merely confining recluseship to the evening of one's life. Therefore, *samaṇas* believed in complete renunciation whereas the *āśrama* doctrine was a notion of progress in stages which became part of Hindu *dharma*. The word *śram* first appears in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* but in later Upaniṣads and the *Dharmasūtras* it is conspicuously absent. It came to be monopolized by Buddhists and Jains and used as a generic term for *titthiyas*. The word Sannyāsin became a term applied exclusively to *brahmaṇa* renouncers of the household life who were practising their fourth *āśrama*.

If one were to equate the practices of a true *samaṇa* with that of Samana Gotama, then one would have to go by a very long list of moralities mentioned in the *Brahmajālasutta* (*D*. I.). That list is too long and detailed to reproduce here but the following gives a general idea.

The first list of short *sīlas* (moralities) includes the observance of *pañcasīla* with additions such as abstaining from slander (*pisuṇā-vācā*), harsh speech (*pharusā-vācā*) and frivolous talk (*samphappalāpā*), causing injury to plants (*bījagāma-bhūtagāma-samārambhā paṭivirato...*) ; the true *samaṇa* takes only one meal a day, he refrains from being a spectator at shows, at fairs, with nautch dances, singing music, abstains from wearing, adorning or ornamenting himself with garlands, scents and unguents, abstains from the use of large and lofty beds, abstains from accepting silver or gold , uncooked grain, raw meat, women or girls, bondmen or bond women, wealth in kind or in the form of money, immoveable or moveable property, abstains from money transactions i.e. buying and selling, cheating (in trading activities) bribery, fraud; he abstains from maiming, committing murder, putting in bonds, highway robbery, dacoity, violence.

The list of longer *sīlas* include refraining from injuring seedlings, or growing plants, abstains from storing up foods, drinks, clothing, equipages, bedding, perfumes, curry stuffs, also abstains from viewing shows. Here a comprehensive list is given of the kinds of shows, the viewing of which should be avoided. These include singing, dancing, hand-music, acrobatic feats, combats of animals, boxing, wrestling and the like, sham fights, reviews and manoeuvres of (armies). Other abstinences include recreational activities like

games and here also a detailed list is supplied. Further, abstinences include the use of luxurious couches, expensive coverlets, rugs, carpets, etc., and abstinences from using various means of adorning and beautifying oneself. Also, participating in the relating of entertaining tales and debating in a bellicose manner are to be avoided. Performing servile duties such as acting as a go-between and carrying messages from kings, Ministers of State are also to be avoided. A true *samaṇa* is not a trickster, droning out holy words for pay. Nor is a true *samaṇa* an exorcist or diviner.

The long *sīlas* include the avoidance of wrong means of livelihood. They include the abstaining from practising the lower arts such as palmistry, divinating by means of omens and signs, auguries, prognostications such as interpreting dreams, fortune telling from marks on the body, having to do with charms and portents from the cries of birds, etc., abstaining from soothsaying, foretelling from various phenomena such as eclipses of the moon, rains, fall of meteors, composing ballads, poetizing, arranging lucky days for marriages, fixing lucky times for the conclusion of treaties, using charms for both good and evil, incantations for evil purposes, administering drugs and medication. The above is only a general idea of the very lengthy list of abstinences supplied in the *Brahmajālasutta* .

The rest of the *sutta* concerns itself with the various sixty-two philosophies and doctrines propounded by *samaṇas* and *brahmaṇas*. Although it is stated that all these sixty two philosophies (which did not include the Buddha's doctrine) are incorrect, for they are propounded by deluded or partly deluded people. The act of debating and arguing out and professing a doctrine is not condemned. It can therefore be conjectured that *samaṇas* were recluses as well as sophists and philosophers.

The *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (*D.* I.) not only re-asserts the detailed account of the desired moral conduct of a true *samaṇa* but gives as well the psychological content of his mind. In short, the effect of leading the moral life along with meditation which transforms his perception. What the *sutta* underscores is restraint of the senses with regard to the *samaṇa's* actions, keeping the main objective of his endeavour always before his mind.

Suvimalee Karunaratna

SAMĀNATTATĀ. *Samānattatā* is one of the four *Saṅgahavatthūs* (Bdst. Skt. *Saṅgrahavastu*) mentioned in Buddhist literature as recommended by the Buddha for kings, rulers, employers, parents etc. The term *Saṅgahavatthu* is rendered into English in a number of ways. The Pāli English Dictionary has objects (characteristics) of sympathy? (*PED.* s. v. *saṅgaha*). F. L. Woodward renders it as 'four bases of sympathy'[1] whereas Rhys Davids renders it 'four bases of popularity'.[2] Ven. Nyānatiloka translates the term as the 'four ways of showing favour' (*BD*. p. 190). But Edgerton, in his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, basing on its use in the *Lalitavistara*, has rendered it 'article of attraction' (*BHS*. s. v. *Samgrahavastu*). Edgerton states that the literal meaning of the term is much disputed, but it is clarified by the *Lalitavistara* where the Buddha's cleverness in drawing in creatures (*sattvasaṃgrahakauśalyam*) by the net of the four *saṃgrahavastu*. This interpretation of Edgerton is, quite significantly confirmed by a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV. 219) where Hatthaka Ālavaka explains to the Buddha that he was able to win over a large following by practising the four *Saṅgavatthus* judiciously (*infra* for more details). *Saṅgahavattus*, therefore, are a means of winning over and attracting people to oneself. Edgerton also notes that in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit it is used more with reference to Bodhisattvas than to Buddha's. In Pāli it is hardly used with reference to the Buddha. But he is said to have practised these four articles of attraction in his former lives and as a result became endowed with two marks of a Superman, viz soft and tender hands and feet and hands and feet like a net (*jālahattapādā D.* III. 152f). All that is said concerning the four *saṅgavatthus ipso facto* applies to *samānattatā*.

What is Sāmānattatā?

In the *Vedic* language as well as in Pāli *sama* means 'equal'. Derived from it, the adjective *samāna* means similar, equal, even and same. An abstract noun from this is *samānatta* which is analysed in the *Pāli English Dictionary* as *samāna +attam* and translated as 'equanimous or even-mind. An abstract from *samānatta* is *samānattatā* which could be rendered equanimity impartiality or even equality i.e. the state of being equal or the state of being even-minded. There is also the possibility that *samānatta* is derived from Sanskrit *samānattva*, 'equality'.

But what does *Samānattatā* signify as an article of attraction in the Buddha's teachings? In one of the discourses of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV. 364f) the Buddha refers to the highest manifestation of these four articles. Gift of the Dhamma is the highest gift (*dāna*); teaching the Dhamma repeatedly to the good and attentive is the most pleasing of words (*peyya-vajja*); inciting, instilling, establishing confidence in one who lacks confidence, discipline in the undisciplined, generosity in the miserly and wisdom in those who lacks in wisdom, is the best of useful activities (*atthacariyā*). But the best of equality is the equality of one stream-winner with another stream-winner, that of one Once Returner with another, that of one Non-Returner with another and of one Arahant with another Arahant. This appears to be an attempt at sublimation and giving a spiritual interpretation to the four articles with a mundane applicability. Yet, it does not provide us with the clarification of the meaning of the term *samānattatā*.

Possibly the text of the discourses itself could supply us a clue to clear the point. In the metrical portions of some of the discourses dealing with the four articles of attraction is found the phrase *samānattatā ca dhammesu* (*D.* III. 192; *A.* II. 32), which may be rendered into English as 'sameness under all conditions'. Here too, we have to clarify the term *dhamma* before coming to a conclusion regarding *samānattatā*. The *Jātaka* commentary (V. 330) has taken the word as the custom of honouring the elders (*jeṭṭhāpacāyana dhammesu*). May be the attempt is to make it fit into the context of the story.

The commentator Buddhaghosa has in several places in his commentaries explained *samānattatā* as *samāna-sukha-dukkhabhāva* (*DA.* III. 928, *AA.* III. 65), i.e. 'the state of being the same in happiness and adversity'. It is significant that the Buddhist Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* (Vol. 1. 3) substitutes *Samānārthatā*, found in some texts, with *samānasukhadukkhatā*. Therefore using this phrase with reference to *samānatthatā* is common to both traditions.

Explaining this further Buddhaghosa says that some do not expect anything like generosity and other articles of attraction. They rather desire sitting on equal seats, sleeping on the same or equal beds, and eating together. This is what the commentator takes to be the equality of treatment desired by some. If he is, in the case of a householder, equal in birth, and in the case of a home-leaver (*pabbajjita*) equal in virtue (*sīla*), he should be accorded such equality in treatment. (*AA.* III. 65). So what Buddhaghosa has taken as *dhammas* are these acts of sitting, sleeping and eating etc. taken in the context of birth (*jāti*) and virtue (*sīla*) etc. of the persons concerned. In another place the commentator states "He should be treated or won over through eating, drinking, sitting together etc. as equal to oneself (*AA.* IV. 114).

In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* (*DA.* III. 928) Buddhaghosa goes into further details as to why different people have to be treated separately in one's dealings. Showing how *samānattatā* should operate he says that as shown above, some people are not desirous of favours under the other three articles of attraction but expect equality in seating, sleeping and taking meals. Then he explains that a rich person of low birth is difficult to be well disposed with. Enjoyment in common with them is not possible. They are angered when not treated in that manner. A poor person of high birth is also difficult to be well disposed with. He desires enjoyment in common with one with high means, thinking that he is of good birth. He is angered when not treated in this manner. One lacking in both riches and high birth is easy to be well disposed with. He does not desire enjoyment in common with the other and is not angered when not treated in that manner. One equally possessed of both also is easy to be well disposed with. Among the monks, one lacking in moral virtue is difficult to be well disposed with. One cannot have enjoyment in common with him but he is angered when not treated in that manner. One possessing moral virtue is also difficult to be well disposed with (*dussaṅgaho* but *SHB.* Vol. XIX. p. 676 has *susaṅgaho* which suits the context better). A virtuous person is not angered in not receiving gifts or not being served. He does not look with evil thoughts at another with evil thoughts who does not enjoy in common with him (*attanāsaddhiṃ paribhogaṃ akarontaṃ*). It is easy to have enjoyment in common with him. This long disquisition of Buddhagosa was undoubtedly necessitated by his wish to show the difficulty in dealing with people of different mindsets and the difficulty faced by kings and others who use the four articles of attraction to win over people. They have to be quite deft in using the means, especially of equality in treatment, if they want to be successful in their effort to win over people.

This phrase *samāna-sukha-dukkha* used in Buddhaghosa's explanation of the term *samanattatā* is also found used in the *Singālovāda Sutta* (*D.* III. 187) used to designate one of the four types of noble friends. It could provide us with a clue to the understanding of the term *samānattatā* in the discourses. By character the *samāna-sukha- dukkha* friend remains the same in both happiness and adversity. He does not forsake his friend in calamity and would sacrifice even his life for the sake of his friend. In more than one place in canonical texts are found references to this human weakness of the tendency to forsake one's loved ones in adversity. In the *Petavatthu* (36.4) it is emphatically stated that, knowing them to be disabled, friends abandon their associates. Such a practice cannot operate under *samānattatā* for one has to remain even under all conditions.

Happiness (*sukha*) and pain (*dukkha*) are two of the eight world conditions *aṭṭhaloka-dhammā* (*A.* IV. 156f). The other six enumerated in the discourse are gain and loss, fame and ill-fame, censure and praise. The word *dhamma* in the phrase *samānattatā ca dhammesu* also may be taken in the sense of the eight world conditions enumerated above. Since two of them *sukha* and *dukkha* are already linked to *samāna* in the *Singālovāda Sutta*, it is not difficult to link the other six with it. Thus to remain steadfast in one's dealings with others, without forsaking them in adversity, could win the faith and confidence of people. One who associates a person only in prosperity but abandons him under negative conditions would naturally lose his faith in him. This, however, does not fully agree with the commentator's interpretation for whom *dhamma* seems to mean social conventions (*samāja-dhamma*?).

F. L. Woodward has translated *samāna-sukha-dukkhabhāva* of the commentator as "imperturbability"[3]. This could be a good rendering if taken in the sense of equanimity (*upekkhā*) in which a person remains undisturbed under all conditions. But this highly spiritual state cannot be expected from kings, parents etc. who have to work under very mundane conditions. Nor could they be expected to become very popular with their subjects or children if they remain undisturbed, especially under adverse conditions. That this was not what the commentator expected also is seen clearly from his explanations given. Modern scholars who translated the Pāli texts into English and others who have written on the four *Saṅgaha-vatthus* seem to have missed the real significance of the term *samānattatā*. They seem to have taken the term to signify a virtue to be universally applied indiscriminately to every one. But it is clear from the text that not only *samānattatā* but all the four articles of attraction ... to be applied "hear and there as the case deserves" (*tattha tattha yathārahaṃ*). They are not meant to be applied every where like, for instance, the four 'sublime abodes' (*brahma-vihāra*) described as 'boundless states' (*appamaññā*). Rhys Davids transtates the term as 'impartiality to one as to another'[4] and, F. L. Woodward renders it, 'And treating all alike'.[5] Both of them also seem to have linked "hear and there as the case deserves" to this article alone. P. D. Premasiri states that "*samānattatā*, the fourth *Saṅgahavatthu* stands for equal respect for all or non-discriminatory behaviour" Expanding his views he states "it is a virtue which calls upon us to respect the rights of other living beings" (s.v. Ethics, *Ency. Bsm.* Vol. V p. 154). He also has completely ignored the phrase *tattha tattha yathāraham*. All these scholars have not considered the importance of the discussion the Buddha had with Hattthaka Ālavaka on the latter's practice of the four articles of attraction. In fact it is also note worthy that Hattaka Ālavaka has been called by the Buddha foremost among his lay disciples who "gathered a following by these four articles of attraction" (*A.* 1. 26). If so his views on the topic should be the first to be considered in trying to unravel the meaning of *samānattatā*.

Hatthaka was a petty ruler of probably a forest tribe and a devout follower of the Buddha. Once he visited the Buddha with a large following of five hundred lay devotees. The Buddha inquired from him how he managed to win over such a large following. He answered that he did it by practising the four articles of attraction taught by the Buddha. He tells the Buddha, "Lord when I realize that this man may be enlisted (*sangahetabbo*) by a gift I enlist him in this way; when by a kindly word, then in that way; when by a good turn (*atthacariyāya*), then so; or when I know that he must be treated as an equal, if he is to be enlisted, then I enlist him by equality of treatment".[6] The Buddha praised Hatthaka for his course of action taken to gather a large following and said that in the past, present and the future any one who gathers a

following it is always done on the basis of these four articles.

This discussion makes it quite clear that the four *saṅgahavatthus* as enunciated by the Buddha have the limited purpose of winning over to oneself the allegiance of other people. This is done by using one or other of the four articles of attraction as each case deserves. Those who can be pleased with gifts are won over by generosity; those who can be pleased with kind words are thus won over; those who can be satisfied by helping to overcome a problem when arisen are won over in that manner and those who can be satisfied be treating with equality are won over in that manner (*AA.* 1.392). Winning friendship of others is also possible by the use of the four articles (*SnA.* 236). In the case of kings, rulers and leaders they can be used to increase their following. In the case of parents, strengthening of bonds of love with their children and other members of the family, and in case of members of any society stabilizing bonds of social fellowship can be achieved by these principles. Thus *samānattatā* as a *saṅghavatthu* is not a principle to be applied universally but meant to be applied only where necessary as it deserves to be used.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1]. Gradual Sayings II. p. 36.
[2]. Dialogues of the Buddha III. p. 145.
[3]. Gradual Sayings II. p. 36 n. 2
[4]. Dialogues of the Buddha III p. 184.
[5]. Gradual Sayings VI p. 36.
[6]. *Ibid.* IV p. 148.

SĀMAṆERA is a new recruit (novice) from the laity, to the Buddhist Order of Bhikkhūs. In a Buddhist Bhikkhū's life there are two distinct periods, one is the period from the Ordination (*pabbajjā*) to the Higher Ordination (*upasampadā*). The novice who is in the period from the Ordination to the Higher Ordination is called a *sāmaṇera*. Children or young men who are admitted as aspirants (novices) to the Sangha are called *sāmaṇeras*. After receiving the Ordination (*pabbajjā*) or the going forth from home to homeless state, a *sāmaṇera* becomes a junior member of the temple. He has a tutor (*ācariya*) to whom he is obliged to attend on (*upaṭṭhāpetabbo*). He has a preceptor or a spiritual teacher (*upajjhāya*) too. The (*ācariya*) is only the deputy or substitute of the *upajjhāya*. Although the terms *antevāsika* – one who lives with his master or teacher (*Vin.* 1.60) and *saddhivihārika* – co-resident, fellow bhikkhu, pupil (*Vin.* 1.45) have been used very often instead of the term *sāmaṇera* in many Buddhist texts, we find the word *sāmaṇera* has been used for novices in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga*. The Buddha advised Venerable Sāriputta to ordain Rāhula by making him to take refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. This was the first time that the Buddha allowed the monks to ordain novices by making them to take refuge in the *ratanattaya (anujānāmi bhikkhave tīhi saraṇāgamanehi sāmanera pabbajjam* – *Vin.* 1.82). In the context of Rahula's Ordination the Buddha instructed the bhikkhus regarding the procedure to be adopted when giving ordination to a new recruit. It runs as follows: A senior monk should shave the head of the *sāmaṇera* to be, to start with. Then he should be made to cover himself with a grey coloured robe so as to cover only one shoulder. He should then be made to worship at the feet of the bhikkhu congregation, kneel down before them with his hands in the posture of worshipping and he should be told to say : "I take refuge in the Buddha. I take refuge in the Dhamma. I take refuge in the Sangha". He should be told to repeat them thrice.

The age limit to become a *sāmaṇera* is at variance. The first recruits to the Buddhist community of bhikkhus were mature males. The Buddha himself enrolled his first disciples who had undergone religious training under some religious teachers who were contemporaries of the Buddha himself. When those mature men listened to the preaching of the Buddha and became convinced of the truthfulness of the Buddha's teachings and expressed their willingness to practise the Dhamma under the Buddha, the Buddha addressed them "Come O Bhikkhu" and that pronouncement itself became their Ordination and the Higher Ordination. Rāhula, the Buddha's son as a layman, was the first youngster to join the community of Buddha's disciples as a novice. Rāhula was seven years old when the Buddha visited his father Suddhodana and other kinsmen at Kapilavatthu after the attainment of Buddhahood. When the Buddha returned to the *vihāra*, Rāhula accompanied him asking for his inheritance. Subsequently the Buddha entrusted

Rāhula to Venerable Sāriputta to be ordained as a *sāmaṇera* (*Vin.* 1.82).

The *Vinaya Mahāvagga* (*Vin.* 1.78) records the story of a father and his young son who was below the age of fifteen joining the order of monks due to some calamity in the family. The young *sāmaṇera*'s childish behaviour in the *vihāra* annoyed some of the other bhikkhus in the *vihāra* and they complained the matter to the Buddha. The Buddha thereupon set down the rule that a child who was below the age of fifteen should not be ordained. But this rule had been subsequently set aside by the Buddha himself on account of different circumstances. It is said that a family who were benefactors of elder Ananda and were great supporters of the Order were stricken with a deadly disease and the parents and other elders of the family had succumbed to the disease, only two young children of the family were surviving, Elder Ananda reported to the Buddha that the two children who were under 15 years of age cannot be recruited as *sāmaṇeras* to the Order to save them from peril as the Buddha himself had laid down the injunction that children below the age of fifteen should not be recruited to the Order as *sāmaṇeras*. The Buddha at this situation relaxed the previous injunction to accommodate even very young children in the Order as *sāmaṇeras* (*Vin.* 1. 79).

New recruits or *sāmaṇeras* in the community of bhikkhus are to practise ten precepts constantly. (*A.*1.83). They are : to refrain from killing or injuring living beings (*pāṇātipātā viramaṇa*), to refrain from theft (*adinnādānā viramaṇa*), to refrain from sexual behaviour (*kāmesu micchācārā viramaṇa*), to refrain from falsehood (*musāvādā viramaṇa*), to refrain from taking intoxicating drinks (*surāmeraya majjhapamādaṭṭhānā viramaṇa*), to refrain from eating at improper times (*vikāla bhojanā viramaṇa*),to refrain from seeing shows of dancing, singing and music and using garlands scents, unguents and wearing finery (*naccagītavādita visūka dassana mālā ghanda vilepana dhāranamaṇḍana vibhūsanaṭṭhānā viramaṇa*), to refrain from using high and luxurious beds (*uccāsayana mahāsayana viramaṇa*) and to refrain from accepting gold and silver (*jātarūpa rajata paṭiggahanā viramaṇa*).

Persons with physical defects (cripples, eunuchs and hermaphrodites etc.) were not allowed to become *sāmaṇeras*. Also persons with serious moral defects (patricides, matricides, murderers of arahants, persons guilty of raping women etc.) were also not recruited as *sāmaṇeras* (*Vin.* 1. 73f). It is prohibited to admit children as *sāmaṇeras* to the Order without the consent of their parents or elders (*Vin.* 1. 82-83).

D. Saddhasena

SĀMAÑÑAPHALA SUTTA, the 'discourse on the fruits of recluse-ship', is the second discourse in the *Digha Nikāya* (*D.* I, 47). Two versions of this discourse have been preserved in the Chinese *Āgamas*, occurring as the twenty-seventh discourse in the *Dīrgha Āgama* (Taishō I. 107) and as the seventh discourse in the forty-third chapter of the *Ekottara Āgama* (Taisho II. 762)[1]. The same discourse has also found its way into the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, where it occurs in the context of Devadatta's attempt at creating a schism in the *Saṅgha*, included probably in order to document how Devadatta lost his main supporter king *Ajātasattu* through a change of heart of the latter after the present discourse[2].

The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* reports the patricide Ajatasattu, king of *Magadha*, visiting the Buddha and inquiring after visible fruits of living the life of a recluse, a question he had on an earlier occasion posed to several other renowned religious teachers. Beneath the king's inquiry into the purpose of living the life of a recluse, in contrast to the productive life of a craftsman, two underlying aspects can be discerned. One aspect, related to king Ajātasattu being an active part of a growing tendency towards political centralization in ancient India, would seem to be a wish to inquire into the rationale and to some extent also the right of the growing number of wandering ascetics roaming his kingdom and demanding support. The other aspect, on a more personal level, could be related to his feeling of guilt at having murdered his father, being to some extent a question about the fruit of action in general and thereby implicitly also about the fruits of his patricide.

The other teachers he had approached earlier had not been able to give a full answer to all aspects of this question. Quite probably being aware of his patricide, they had to some extent addressed the question of action and its fruit, with Pūraṇa Kassapa pointing out

that there is not evil in killing, Makkhali Gosāla telling the king that there is no cause for the moral purity or impurity of beings, Ajita Kesakambali explaining that there is no retribution for good and bad deeds, Pakudha Kaccāyana even proclaiming that there is no such thing as 'killing' at all, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta advocating the restraint of action and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhaputta presenting what could be a form of scepticism as to the possibility of stating anything definitely. None of these answers was able to satisfy the king, since they did not respond to the evident and practical aspect of his question after a visible fruit of the life of a recluse, a failure the king compared to discoursing on mango when being asked about breadfruit. Their replies also did not tackle the political implications of his question, nor were they able to allay his feelings of guilt.

In contrast to the other teachers, the Buddha directly replied to the king's question by bringing up the practical example of a servant of the king who, on going forth as a monk, will no longer have to obey the king's commands but rather receive the king's worship. With this example the Buddha succeeded not only in showing a practical and visible benefit of the life of a recluse to the king, but also made the king right away reaffirm the right of a recluse to be independent of the king, thereby addressing the political aspect of the king's question.

This much achieved, the Buddha turned to a detailed description of the gradual path of training that comes into being once a *Tathāgata* arises in the world and proclaims the *Dhamma*, a description recurring in several other discourses in the *Dīgha Nikāya*. During his description of the gradual path, the Buddha highlighted the different types of happiness gained with progressive mental purification, 'fruits' of the life style of a recluse standing in stark contrast to the guilt ridden conscience of the king. This description of gradual mental purification thus directly addressed the third and more personal aspect of king Ajātasattu's question.

The Buddha's reply did satisfy the king, with the result that he expressed his regret at having murdered his own father in order to gain the throne and moreover proclaimed himself a lay follower of the Buddha.

The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* takes its importance not only from the successful conversion of king Ajātasattu, but also as a source for the philosophical positions taken by the other contemporary religious teachers to whom the king had posed his question. The various versions of this discourse do however differ in regard to the positions assumed by these teachers[3]. In relation to the account found in the Pāli version of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, two points can be made:

Concerning the position taken by Makkhali Gosāla, all versions agree with the Pāli discourse on attributing to him the denial of causality in relation to the purification of beings. The Pāli discourse stands however alone in also having him teach a fixed *saṃsāric* process through which all beings have to pass before going beyond suffering, a doctrine which according to some other versions should rather be attributed to Pakudha Kaccāyana. Such a fixed *saṃsāric* process would seem to fit well with Pakudha's other propositions, which were based on a set of firmly fixed principles, while it would seem to be to some extent at odds with Makkhali's earlier denial of any causal principle[4].

Concerning Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, the Pāli discourse stands alone in having him teach a fourfold restraint[5]. Some of the other versions have him explain that one's present condition is the result of past action, through penance previous karma is eradicated and through refraining from doing new deeds one puts an end to suffering, a view which does seem to accord well with what is known about the *Jaina* teachings from other sources and as such also recurs in the Pāli discourses (e.g. at *M*. I, 93).

These two points are not the only instances where the various versions differ on what doctrine should be attributed to which teacher, a more detailed discussion of which would however go beyond the scope of the present article. Such differences can also be found in the Pāli discourses, which sometimes attribute aspects of Makkhali Gosāla's view to Pūraṇa Kassapa (*S*. III, 69 and *A*. III, 383). Similarly, while according to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*'s account Makkhali Gosāla proclaimed various types of *kamma*, another discourse attributes the denial of *kamma* to him (*A*. I, 286). Since this discourse begins with a reference to the custom of wearing a blanket made of human hair (*keskambala*), it could be referring to Ajita Kesakambalī instead. In relation to the same Ajita Kesakambali it could be noted that even though according to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* he explicitly denied rebirth, another Pāli discourse includes him among a list of teachers making a pronouncement on the rebirth of their disciples (*S*. IV, 398).

Despite these differences, the general picture to be gained from an examination of these various philosophical propositions recorded in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* remains the same, namely that at the time of the Buddha various teachings denying causality, action and *karma* were in vogue. These form the philosophical background for the Buddha's affirmation of karmic retribution and his teaching of dependent origination (*paṭicca samuppāda*).

Anālayo

References

1 In addition to these two,an individual Chinese translation of this discourse can be found as discourse number 22 at Taishō I, 270.

2 The Sanskrit version of this account has been edited by Gnoli, R.: *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, Rome 1978, vol. II p 216-253;a translation of the corresponding Tibetan version can be found in Rockhill, W.W.: *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order,* London 1907 (1883).pp 95-106.

3 Comparative studies of the different versions of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* have been undertaken by *Bapat*, P.V. : "The *Śrāmaṇyaphala-Sūtra* and its different versions in Buddhist Literature", in *Indian Culture* 1948, vol XV, pp 107-114; Macqueen, G.: A Study of the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-Sūtra*, Wiesbaden 1988; Meisig, K: *Das Śrāmaṇyaphala-Sūtra*, Wiesbaden 1987; and Vogel, C.: *The Teachings of the Six Heretics*, Wiesbaden 1970.

4 On this inner contradiction see also Jayawardhana: "Determinism" in *Ency. Bsm.* Vol IV p 399.

5 On this fourfold restraint see Guruge: "Mahāvira" in *Ency. Bsm.* Vol VI p 512.

SAMANTAKŪṬA. From the central highlands of Sri Lanka rises Adam's Peak which is one of the highest peaks in the land. It is also called Sri Pāda (in common parlance) which means " the sacred footprint". It is also called Samanala-kanda (Peak of god Saman). This peak is also regarded as the water shed of Sri Lanka for the reason that four of the principal rivers in the island have their source in this mountain. These rivers fall to the sea on eastern, western and south eastern coasts. Sri Lanka has also been given the name Ratnadvipa which means ' the island of gems'. Districts lying in the neighborhood of Adam's Peak produce gems such as rubies, sapphires and emeralds etc. Therefore the ancient appellation 'Ratnadvipa' is justifiable.

This mountain has become sacred for religious reasons. The indentation on its summit in the form of a footprint has been a place of worship by Buddhists, Hindus as well as Muslims. The Buddhists regard the footprint as of the Buddha. The Muslims believe that it is of Adam and Hindus regard it as of god Śiva. Every year devotees belonging to these faiths perform the difficult ascent to the summit of the mountain for purposes of veneration. There is also the belief among Buddhists that this mountain is the abode of God Saman (P. Sumana). He is regarded as one of the four guardian deities of Sri Lanka. The other three are Uppalavaṇṇa, Skanda and Vibhiṣaṇa. The Pāli word Uppalavaṇṇa is the same as Upulvan.

The Pāli chronicle named *Mahāvaṃsa* which deals with the traditional history of Sri Lanka narrates how the Buddha visited Sri Lanka on three occasions and placed his footprint on its summit on the third occasion. When the Buddha arrived in Sri Lanka, a prominent deity who greeted Him was Mahā Sumana of the Sumanakūṭa mountain. When he begged for an object of worship, the Buddha gave him a lock of hair from his head. This was enshrined in a *stūpa* at Mahiyaṅgana. Later, when the Buddha visited Sri Lanka for the third time, he arrived at Sumanakūta and placed his footprint there.

It is in the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1111) that a village named Gilimale was dedicated for purposes of providing facilities for the pilgrims proceeding to Sumanakūṭa. He also granted villages on two routes to the peak for the same purpose and recorded the donation in a stone inscription. He also caused to be constructed rest houses on the way. These inscriptions are from Gilimale and Ambagamuva. The king himself is said to have ascended the peak and worshipped the footprint. Nissankamalla who ascended the throne in 1187 A. C. is also said to have gone up the peak and worshipped the footprint with great devotion.

Nissankamalla's inscription at Bhagavālena confirms this visit to the sacred mountain. It is apparent that by about the 12th century, much importance was attached to the cult of the footprint. During this period, a Pāli poem of 802 stanzas named

Samantakūṭa- vaṇṇanā (q.v.) was composed by an Elder named Vedeha-thera. It is of very little importance to a student of history of religions because it deals more with the career of the Buddha according to tradition. The description of the mountain itself is on conventional lines. Parākramabāhu II (1225-1269) also went on a pilgrimage to this spot followed by a large army. His minister Devapatirāja, in accordance with the king's wishes improved the road leading to the sacred mountain, and installed an image of god Saman on the terrace at the summit. Vijayabāhu, son of Parākramabāhu (II), also went on a pilgrimage to the same place, before he ascended the throne. Vikramabāhu of Kandy (also called Viravikrama) is on record as having gone to the sacred spot in one day. Rājasimha II (1581-1593) who became a convert to Saivism, granted the revenues from the Peak to the priests of Saivism. Vimaladharmasurya II (1687-1707) and Narendrasimha (1707-1730) are also on record as having gone on pilgrimage to the sacred mountain. The Nāyakkar kings Sri Vijaya Rājasimha and Kirtti Sri Rājasimha have also performed the same pilgrimage and made donations for its upkeep. The Buddhists of Further India such as Cambodia and Burma have also gone on record as having performed pilgrimages to the sacred mountain.

Although there is scanty information in the chronicles with regard to the history of the sacred mountain up to the 11th century, foreign sources are helpful in bridging the gap. The Tamil poem *Maṇimekalai* (6 cent.) in Canto XI makes a reference to it. Canto No. 28 narrates the story of spiritual beings worshipping Samanol in the island of Lanka. The Chinese traveller Fa-Hien of the 5th Cent. A.C. (who spent some time in the island) planted an impression of his foot in a place to the north of the city of Anuradhapura and on the top of a mountain. Hieuen-Tsiang who visited South India in the 7th century (A.C.) does not mention the footprint but refers ot Mount Lanka in the south east of the island where the Buddha delivered the *Lankāvatāra-sutra*. The inscription of Mahānāma at Bodh Gayā has recorded that the early members of his school had their abode at the foot of Mount Lanka. Vajrabodhi (7th Cent.) who lived in Anurādhapura for 6 months also visited the sacred mountain and Marco Polo speaks of the place as one of religious importance and that it was known in China in the 13th century. A Chinese inscription from Galle gives a long list of offerings sent in 1410 A.C. by the first Ming Emperor Yung Lo to the Buddhist temple on the mountain of Sri Lanka.

In Sanskrit writings, Adam's Peak is referred to as Rohana. Kalhāna's *Rājataraṅgaṇi* calls Adam's Peak by the name ' Mountain of Lanka' as Hieuen Tsiang and Vajrabodhi have done. The earliest Arab writer who refers to the Footprint on the sacred mountain as that of Adam (the first parent of the human race according to Judaism,, Christianity and Islam) was Soleyman (851 A.C.). Soleyman refers to the montain by the name of 'Al-Rohoun ' (i.e. Rohana). Ibn Batuta (1340 A.C.) has given an account of the pilgrimage he undertook to the peak. Mau Huan, a Chinese pilgrim of the 15th century refers to a holy mountain in this island, on the top of which there is an impression of a man's foot. There is hardly any early work which refers to the footprint as that of god Śiva. Śivanoli-Pādam is the name by which it is known among the Hindus. Ibn Batuta states that Hindus were in the habit of going on pilgrimage to this mountain in the 14th century. Like Marco Polo, Marignoli (an early European traveller) refers to this mountain as one mostly venerated by Muslims. Portuguese historians like Joao Ribeiro and Ferneo de Queyroz have given accounts of Adam's Peak. A German visitor named Daniel Pathy is said to have climbed the mountain in 1684 A.C. and has included a brief account of it in his book (*JRAS*., Ceylon Branch, vol. XXII, p.197).

There is a Pāli stanza which refers to 4 places where the Buddha is said to have placed foot impressions. This stanza is often heard to be recited aloud at times of worship in Buddhist temples by the average Buddhist devotee.

Yaṁ Nammadāya nadiyā puline ca tīre
Yaṁ Saccabaddha-girike Sumanācalagge
Yaṁ tattha Yonaka pure Munino ca pādaṁ
Taṁ Pādalāñcanamahaṁ sirasā namāmi

(I worship with my head held low, the foot impression of the Sage which has been placed on the sandy bank of the River Nammadā, on the Mount of Saccabaddha on the summit of Sumanakūṭa and in that place in the town of the Yonakas)

Nandasena Mudiyanse

SAMANTAKŪṬA-VAṆṆANĀ This is a poem in Pāli, the authorship of which has been attributed to one Vedeha-thera. It was composed in accordance with a request made by Rāhula- thera of the forest dwelling sect (*araññа-vāsi*). Nearly half the poem is devoted to an account of the life of the Buddha. The contents can be generally classified as follows: (1) *Māravijaya-kathā* (defeat of Mara's forces) (2) *Abhisambodhi-kathā* (attainment of Buddhahood) (3) *Sattasattāha-kathā* (the seven weeks after Enlightenment) (4) *Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā* (description of Sanantakūṭa) – the mount named Adam's Peak (in common parlance). The title of the poem suggests that its contents should be mainly concerned with a poetic account of the mount but in the first instance the author has considered it necessary to deal with the early part of the life of the Buddha. Thereafter the three visits of the Buddha to Sri Lanka and the eight places of significance where the Lord spent some time in the attitude of *samāpatti* are next dealt with.

The date of the poem is believed to be the period of King Parākramabāhu II (1236-1271 of Dambadeniya. A convocation of the Saṅgha was held in the 30th year of the reign of the monarch (i.e. 1266 A.C.), and it is very likely that the text came to be written some time after this date. Vedeha-thera was a Brahmin by birth and was a pupil of Araññaka Ratanānanda Mahāthera who was the author of *Abhidamma-mūla-ṭikā*. Vedeha-thera was also the author of two other works namely *Sadda-lakkhaṇa* and *Rasavāhinī*. In the *Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā* there are altogether 796 verses. There are six other verses which have been added as concluding remarks in respect of the authorship.

The poem can be divided into 25 sections as follows:

1-11 (*Paṭhamo vijayo-ekādasamo vijayo*)
First victory up to Enlightenment (*vv.* 1 –386)

12 *Abhisambodhi-kathā* (Enlightenment) (*vv.* 387-402)

13-20 (*Paṭhama sattāhaṃ–sattama sattāhaṃ*) (*vv.* 403-469)
First week afterEnlightenment- seventh week After Enlightenment (*vv.* 403-469)

21 *Laṅkāya paṭhamāgamanaṃ* (*vv.* 470-552)
First visit to Laṅkā

22 *Laṅkāya dutiyāgamanaṃ* (*vv.*553-594)
Second visit to Laṃka

23 *Laṅkāya tatiyāgamanaṃ* (*vv.* 595-717)
Third visit to Laṃkā (which includes the visit to Kelaniya) (*Kalyāṇi desāgamanaṃ*)

24 *Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā* (*vv.* 718-796)
(A poetic account of the Mount)

25 End of the poem (*Grantha samāpti*) (*vv.* 797-802)

Nandasena Mudiyanse

SAMANTAPĀSĀDIKĀ: *Samantapāsādikā* is the name given to the voluminous commentary of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Theravāda School of Buddhism, which comprises of the *Pārājikā Pāli*, the *Pācittiya Pāli*, the *Mahāvagga*, the *Cullavagga* and the *Parivāra*. Explaining the name *Samantapāsādikā* the colophon states, "as nothing unpleasant is visible to the learned people who see (read), it is called *Samantapāsādikā*[1] It's sub commentary (*ṭikā*) says "as it creates pleasantness in entirety and in every respect it is called *Samantapāsādikā*.[2] As regards the volume of the work its colophon further adds that it contains 27000 "ganthas" (and one gantha contains thirty two letters).

It was the inaccessability of the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathās* to the international monks (*Dīpantare bhikkhujanassa*) that need their rendering into Pali; supposed to be the original language of Buddhism. Therefore in the prologue to the *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa declares:

From those commentaries (Sihala commentaries), after casting off the language, condensing the detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions, without over-stepping the Pali idiom (I will proceed with the composition).

Tato ca bhāsantarameva hitvā
Vitthāra maggañca samāsayitvā
Vinicchayaṃ sabbamasesayitvā
Tantikkamañca avokkamitvā (*Vin.A* I.p.3)

Thus the *Samantapāsādikā* is by no means an original exegesis, but a re-statement of the materials available to him in the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathās*, for, in his own words it is "*Navasaṅgahita Vaṇṇanā* - re-compiled commentary (*Vin.A.* VII p. 1414).

Author: There exists no dispute over the authorship of the *Samantapāsādikā*. The colophon very clearly says that the Great Commentator Buddhaghosa composed it. The author also records that he composed it on a formal request made by a Thera named Buddhasiri. As usual Buddhaghosa also tells us the place where he was residing at the time of the composition. Accordingly he was residing at Padhānaghara, surrounded by a wall, covered with trees providing cooling shade etc. put up by Mahānigamasāmi. It is also said that the building was situated to the south of Mahābodhi in the Mahāvihāra complex.

Period of Composition: According to the colophon the composition of the *Samantapāsādikā* was commenced in the 20th regnal year of king Sirinivāsa Siripāla and completed within one year. The *Mahāvaṁsa* (chapter xxxvii verse 231 ff.) states that Buddhaghosa came to Lanka during the reign of King Mahānāma (409-431 A.C.) and translated Sīhala commentaries to Pali. The king Sirinivāsa Siripāla of the *Samantapāsādikā* is generally identified as the king Mahānāma above referred to. But some do not agree with this identification. No information is available in the other commentaries of Buddhaghosa in favour of this identification. A.P. Buddhadatta doubts this identification. He points out that Ven. Sāriputta who wrote the sub commentary to the *Samantapāsādikā* in the 12th century A.C. has failed to identify Sirinivasa Siripāla as king Mahānāma. Buddhadatta argues that if Sirinivasa Siripāla was the same as well known king Mahānāma, Sāriputta would have said so.[3] Buddhadatta further points out that though Buddhaghosa's commentaries contain numerous information on the Srī Mahā Bodhi, Mahāthūpa etc. it is silent on the "Tooth Relic" brought to the island during the reign of Kitsirimevan (*circa* 302-330 A.C.). Therefore Buddhadatta thinks that the arrival of Buddhaghosa is anterior even to Kitsiri-mevan's reign.[4]

At the same time Buddhaghosa in this colophon expresses his satisfaction being able to complete his work (*Samantapāsādikā*) within one year in spite of troubles in the country.[5] As he has said so more than once i.e. at the end of the *Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga* exegesis, at the end of the *Mahāvagga* exegesis, at the end of the *Cullavagga* exegesis and at the end of the complete commentary, it is reasonable to think that there were some troubles in the country at the time, or at least some troubles in the offing.

According to the colophon the *Samantapāsādikā* was commenced in the 20th regnal year of the king and completed within one year, namely in the 21st regnal year. If we agree with the identification of Sirinivāsa as king Mahānāma, the completion of the *Samantapāsādikā* has taken place in 429-30 A.C.

However exact chronological position of the *Samantapāsādikā* in relation to Buddhaghosa's other commentaries such as *Āgama* and *Abhidhamma* commentaries is difficult to ascertain due to reciprocal references, i.e. the *Samantapāsādikā* is referred to in four *Āgama* commentaries (*DA.* III. 981; *MA.* I. 198; *SA.* II. 37, *AA.* III. 334). At the same time the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA.* I. 172) refers to the *Sumangalavilāsini* and to the *Papañcasūdani* (*MA.* I. 115) etc[6]. There is no doubt that he wrote the *Visuddhimagga* first and it is supported by the internal evidence.

N. A. Jayawickrama proposes a tentative chronological order for Buddhaghosa's works, where the *Samantapāsādikā* is kept one before the last i.e. *Visuddhimagga*, *Abhidhamma* commentaries, *Vinaya* commentaries and *Āgama* commentaries. But he admits that his chronology of Buddhaghosa's works does not reconcile with the *Mahāvaṃsa* stanza (ch. xxxvii stanza 246) which records Buddhaghosa's departure from the island. The *Samantapāsādikā* colophon says it was completed in the 21st year of the king's reign. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says the king ruled for 22 years. The stanza which records his departure above referred to follows that which records the king's death. Accordingly Buddhaghosa appears to have left in the 21st year of the king's reign. But according to the proposed chronology Buddhaghosa wrote four *Āgama* commentaries after he completed the *Samantapāsādikā*. It is not possible for Buddhaghosa to compose four *Āgama* commentaries before his departure. It is obvious that the four voluminous *Āgama* commentaries need at least three or four years to complete. As a solution to the above problems

Jayawickrama suggests, "If this information in these two sources is correct, there is no alternative inference but to say that Buddhaghosa worked at several commentaries simultaneously".[7]

Sources of the Samantapāsādikā: There is no dispute as regards the sources which Buddhaghosa utilized to compose the *Samantapāsādikā*. In the preclude the commentator enumerates his sources thus:

Saṃvaṇṇanā taṃ ca samārabhanto
tassā Mahāaṭṭhakathaṃ sarīraṃ
katvā Mahāpaccariyaṃ tatheva
kurundi nāmādisu vissutāsu

Vinicchayo aṭṭhakathāsu vuttaṃ
Yo yutta matthaṃ apariccajanto
Tatopi antogadha theravādaṃ
Saṃvaṇṇanaṃ samma samārabhissaṃ
(*Vin.A.* I. p.2)

"And in commencing the exposition I shall practically base it on the *Mahā aṭṭhakathā* as well as *Mahāpaccariya*, without discarding the relevant statements and the rulings given in the recognized commentaries such as *Kurundi* and thenceforth I shall proceed with the correct exposition of the tradition of the Elders embodied therein".

The colophon provides another information, namely the fact that Buddhaghosa studied his sources under Ven. Buddhamitta versed in the *Vinaya*. Being a foreigner and not much conversant with the language it was necessary for him to be acquainted with the literature that were before him.

From his statement that he would make *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* or the general commentary the body of his commentary, it is clear that he based the new commentary on the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* which appear to have been a commentary for the whole *Tipiṭaka*, *Mahāpaccariya* and the *Kurundi* commentaries being confined to the *Vinayapiṭaka* only. Examination of the *Samantapāsādikā* shows that he has quoted from or referred to the *Mahāpaccariya* approximately 109 times whereas he has referred to or quoted from the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* approximately 47 times. His quotations/references to the *Mahāpaccariya* outnumbering those from the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* shows that he has consulted the *Mahāpaccariya* more than the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*.

Buddhaghosa's reliance on the *Mahāpaccariya* is observed in the exegesis of the *Pārājikakaṇḍa* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* found in the *Samantapāsādikā* too. But when it comes to the *Khandhakas* (the *Mahāvagga* and the Cullavagga) it is the *Kurundiaṭṭhakathā* often quoted from/referred to. The *Mahāpaccariya* comes next. The *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* is found least quoted/ referred to being quoted or referred to approximately three times in the *Mahāvagga* exegesis, four times in the *Cullavagga* exegesis.

Since the *Mahāpaccariya* was apparently confined to the *Vinaya Piṭaka* only, it is natural that it contained more details on *Vinaya* than the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*, the general commentary. From the information contained in the *Samantapāsādikā*, it is clear that it contained minute details on the application of the *vinaya* rules. It may be the very reason that Buddhaghosa is seen consulting the *Mahāpaccari* more than the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. It is evident from the *Samantapāsādikā* that *Sankhepaṭṭhakatha* referred to in the *Samantapāsādikā* had much in common with the *Mahāpaccari*. Therefore it is thought that the *Sankhepaṭṭhakathā* might have been an abridged version of the *Mahāpaccari*.

The *Andhakaṭṭhakathā*, another source of the *Samantapāsādikā* is believed to have been handed down at Kancipura (Conjevaram) in the Andhaka country in South India. It is often referred by Buddhaghosa not so much to agree with its expositions but to find fault with it. There are instances where Buddhaghosa has quoted the views of *Porānas* (q.v.) the ancients on whom the scholars hold divergent views.[8]

Bāhiranidāna, the Historical Introduction of the Samantapāsādikā: Among the commentaries the *Samantapāsādikā* enjoys an outstanding position due to it's historical introduction (*Bāhiranidāna*) which is of immense historical value. This introduction is primarily meant to explain the "origin of the *Vinaya*". Buddhaghosa has taken action that no relevant detail, however insignificant is left out in his introduction. The introduction commences from the account of the First Buddhist Council "*Paṭhama Saṅgīti*" held three months after the Parinibbāna of the Buddha. He proceeds with the account of the Second Council (*Dutiya Saṅgīti*) the Third Council (*Tatiya Saṅgīti*) Asoka's conversion to Buddhism, the expulsion of heretical monks, holding of the Third Buddhist

Council, dispatch of the nine Buddhist missions to propagate Buddhism in the border provinces, establishment of Buddhism in the island of Lanka by the Thera Mahā Mahinda, bringing of the Bodhi sapling by Theri Sanghamittā and its establishment in the Mahāmeghavana park at Anuradhapura are given in detail. The *Bāhiranidāna* next proceeds to enumerate the succession of teachers (*ācariya paramparā*) who brought down the *vinaya* tradition from Upali Thera (in Jambudipa) to a Thera named Siva in Lanka up to a date reckoned as "the present date"[1] (*ajjatanā*) which is meant to prove unbroken tradition of *vinaya* from the Buddha's time. A special attention has been given to the establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka.

Historical value of the Bāhiranidāna: Apart from its value as a *Vinaya* commentary the *Samantapāsādikā* is of vital historical value to the historians, sociologists, general readership etc. for it contains valuable data on religious, philosophical, political, literary, sociological, of India as well as of Sri Lanka during the 5th century A.C. It is of paramount importance that Buddhaghosa has based the "*Bāhiranidāna*" on the same sources on which the *Dīpavamsa* as well as the *Mahāvaṃsa* are based namely *Sīhala aṭṭhakathā* or *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa*.

Some information not included either in the *Dīpavaṃsa* or the *Mahāvaṃsa* which are of high historical value are found in the *Samantapāsādikā*. For example, the *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. I. 283) has recorded an instance where certain Sri Lankan teachers before Buddhaghosa's time have differed from the interpretations given in the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. One such Thera was Mahāpaduma (loc. cit.) of the first century A.C. According to the *Samantapāsādikā* Buddhaghosa had a great respect to the views of the Thera Mahāpaduma. His expositions were considered as authoritative as those given in the *Mahāpaccari*, the *Kurundi* and the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā*. The *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. III p. 583) records of a dispute that arose between Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri regarding a reading of a certain passage in the *vinaya*. When the dispute had dragged on king Bhātiya (38-66 A.C.) appointed his minister Dighakārāyana who was well versed in scriptural lore to settle the matter. After an exhaustive inquiry Dighakārāyana upheld the views of Mahāvihāra monks. According to the *Samantapāsādikā* it is not necessary to know the whole *nikāya* to be a "*bhānaka*" of that *Nikāya* and one could become a *bhānaka* if he knows the prescribed part of it. Much more such information is found in the *Samantapāsādikā*.

Sub-commentaries (Ṭīkas) on the Samantapāsādikā: It is unique that several sub-commentaries are written on the *Samantapāsādikā*. The oldest among the *Vinaya ṭīkās* is *Vajirabuddhi Ṭīkā* written by a monk named Vajirabuddhi. As the expositions of the *Vajirabuddhi Ṭīkā* are criticized in the *Sāratthadīpani* written during the reign of the king Parakramabahu I, it is thought that it was written prior to the *Sāratthadipani*. The next is the *Sāratthadīpani* of Sangharāja Sāriputta already referred to. Yet another sub commentary has been written on it named *Vimativinodani Ṭīkā* by Ven. Coliya Kassapa. In the same way the *Sāratthadīpani* criticizes the Vajirabuddhi tika, the *Vimativinodani* criticizes the *Sāratthadīpani*. Though the *Vimativinodani* is posterior to the *Sāratthadīpani*, the time between the two works appear to be not long. Again Ven. Maha Kassapa of Dimbulāgala is reported to have written a Sinhalese paraphrase (*sanne*) to the *Samantapāsādikā* which is not extant.

Chinese translation of the Samantapāsādikā: It is significant that not long after it's compilation the *Samantapāsādikā* has been taken to China and translated into Chinese by a monk named Sanghabhadra in the year 489 A.C. According to Nariman (Nariman G.K., *Buddhist Literature*, Bombay 1920). P.V. Bapath who translated the Chinese version to English has noted that the Pali version contains additional information not found in the Chinese version which shows certain additions have been made to the *Samantapāsādikā* in Sri Lanka subsequently. The *Samantapāsādikā* is edited by J. Takakusu and published by the *PTS* in eight volumes.

K. Arunasiri

References

1 *Sampassatam na dissati kiñci apasādikam yato ettha*
Viññunamayam tasmā samantapāsādikā tveva
(Vin.A. VII p. 1414)

2 *Sanmanato sabbaso pasādam janetiti Samantapāsādikā*

[3] A.P. Buddhadatta – *Pali Literature* (complete edition in Sinhala script) 1966 Colombo p. 176 ff.

[4] It is also possible that Buddhaghosa who was working for Mahāvihāra purposely ignored the Tooth Relic which was in the hands of Abhayagiri monks, the opponents of the Mahāvihāra, at the beginning.

[5] *Upaddavākule loke nirupaddavato ayaṃ eka saṃvaccharene'va yathā niṭṭhaṃ upāgatā*

[6] Jayawickrama N..A. says that "It is quite possible that some of these references were inserted by Buddhaghosa later on to works already completed." (*Inception of Decipline and Vinaya Nidāna*) (S.B.B. Vol. xxi) 1962 London p. xxvi

[7] N.A. Jayawickrama *Inception of Discipline and Vinaya Nidāna* (S.B.B. Vol. xxi) London 1962 p. xxvii

[8] E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* , Colombo 1994 p. 16 f.

[9] The scholars have pointed out that "up to present date" (*Yāva ajjatanā*) should not refer to the time Buddhaghosa composed Pali commentaries. He appears to have translated a phrase found in the *Sīhalaaṭṭhakathā*. In the alternative, it should refer to the period Sihala.... commentaries were written. It is noted that in the list of teachers (*VinA*. I. p. 63) who preserved and brought down the unbroken *Vinaya* tradition "up to the present day", does not include any thera who lived after the first century A.C. Therefore the scholars think that it refers to the period circa 1st century A.C. the time *Sihala Aṭṭhaṭṭhakathā* took its final shape (E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1994 p. 87).

SAMATHA & VIPASSANA are the two complementary aspects of Buddhist meditation. Since individual aspects of each have already been treated in a number of articles in this Encyclopaedia, the present article will in particular focus on their interrelation.

The term *samatha* can be translated as 'calmness' or 'tranquility'. Outside of a meditative context this word occurs as the 'settling' of legal questions, *adhikaraṇa samatha* (*Vin*. IV, 207). In the context of meditation, to develop *samatha* similarly means to 'settle' the mind, in the sense of making it 'steady', 'quiet', 'one-pointed' and 'concentrated'.[1] As the Buddha emphatically explained, those who dwell in seclusion and develop *samatha* are indeed living in accordance with the *Dhamma* (*A*. III, 86), while to neglect seclusion and the development of *samatha* spells decline for a monk in training (*A*. III, 116).

The development of *samatha* is in particular opposed to the hindrance of restlessness (*A*. III, 449). For such development, wise attention to the *samatha nimitta*, the 'sign' of *samatha* in the sense of that which 'causes' its development, is required (*S*. V, 66; *S*. V, 105). This refers to those meditation objects that are able to bring about deeper levels of concentration.[2]

The term *vipassanā* can be derived from the verb *passati*, to 'see' and the prefix *vi*, which in the present context connotes intensification and also a sense of analytical separation. To convey these nuances of analytical and intensified seeing, a suitable way of translating *vipassanā* is 'insight'.

In general, to develop *vipassanā* is to develop vision, understanding and insight in regard to formations,[3] and that above all to presently arisen ones.[4] The central aspect to be 'seen into' is impermanence, a crucial aspect of meditative wisdom (*A*. IV, 4), and the basis for insight into the other two characteristics of conditioned existence, *dukkha* and *anattā*. Though concerned with what may seem to be the less appealing aspects of existence, the development of *vipassanā* can lead to the arising of sublime forms of delight and happiness.[5]

The discourses mention hearing and discussing the *Dhamma* as contributory factors for *samatha* and *vipassanā* to lead to awakening (*A*. II, 140). This clearly indicates that some degree of theoretical acquaintance with the teaching of the Buddha is a necessary accompaniment to the development of *vipassanā* as a meditative practice.

Concerning the relationship between *samatha* and *vipassanā*, according to a passage from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* the practice of *vipassanā* has the purpose of leading to the destruction of ignorance, while the practice of tranquillity is specifically aimed at the destruction of passion (*A*. I, 61). This however does not entail that these two aspects of meditation

represent two different paths leading to two different goals. In fact, according to the same passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya samatha* and *vipassanā* are both conducive to knowledge (*vijjābhāgiyā*). Another passage explains that for the sake of eradicating passion and a whole host of mental defilements both *samatha* and *vipassanā* are required (*A.* I, 100). Thus the above distinction only intends to draw attention to the specific task or quality of these two interdependent aspects of Buddhist meditation.

The basic difference between *samatha* and *vipassanā* can be illustrated with the help of mindfulness of breathing, since this meditation practice can be developed in both modes. The difference here depends on what angle is taken when observing the breath, since emphasis on various phenomena related to the process of breathing stays in the realm of variegated sensory experience and thus is more geared towards the development of *vipassanā*, while emphasis on just mentally knowing the presence of the breath leads to a unitary type of experience and is thus capable of producing deep levels of *samatha*.

The development of *samatha* leads to a high degree of mastery over the mind and thereby forms a basis for the development of insight. When insight is developed by a calm and steady mind, such insights will be able to penetrate into the deeper regions of the mind and thereby bring about true inner change. In addition to its supportive function in relation to *vipassanā*, the development of *samatha* also has benefits on its own. The experience of deeper stages of *samatha* is one of intense pleasure and happiness, brought about by purely mental means, which thereby automatically eclipses any pleasure arising in dependence on material objects. In this way the development of *samatha* can become a powerful antidote for sensual desires, by divesting them of their former attraction.[6]

Thus even though *samatha* on its own is not able to lead to awakening, it does have an important function to perform for the achievement of that aim. The path leading to the unconditioned requires both *samatha* and *vipassanā* (*S.* IV, 359), both to be developed by higher knowledge as integral parts of the noble eightfold path.[7] To borrow from the poetic imagery found in the discourses, *samatha* and *vipassanā* are the 'swift pair of messengers' carrying the message of *Nibbāna* along the road of the noble eightfold path (*S.* IV, 195).

In fact, when one surveys occurrences of the terms *samatha* and *vipassanā* in the discourses, what is rather striking is that they seldom occur alone, but most often are found together. This well conveys what their relationship should be, namely one of coexistence and cooperation. A calm mind supports the development of insight and the presence of insight in turn facilitates the development of deeper levels of calmness (*Dhp.* 372); therefore *samatha* and *vipassanā* are at their best when developed in skilful co-operation. This is neatly summarised in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, which emphasizes the importance of appreciating the essential similarity between *samatha* and *vipassanā* in terms of their function.[8] Viewed from this perspective, to speak of '*samatha*' or of '*vipassanā*' is less a matter of distinguishing between two separate systems of meditation than of highlighting two central qualities that are to be developed with any type of meditation practice.

Concerning the interrelation between *samatha* and *vipassanā*, the discourses indicate that there is no fixed pattern to be followed in this respect. According to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, one type of practitioner may have gained *samatha* but not be endowed with the higher wisdom of *vipassanā*, while another one may be endowed with the higher wisdom of *vipassanā* without however having yet gained *samatha* (*A.* II, 92). In both cases, the Buddha recommended that an effort should be made to develop what is still lacking. In a similar way the *Yuganaddha Sutta* explains that some may practice *vipassanā* first and then develop *samatha*, others may build up *samatha* right at the outset and only then turn to *vipassanā*, and still others may develop both in conjunction (*A.* II, 157). Any of these approaches, so says this discourse, is capable of leading to the destruction of the fetters. These passages clearly indicate that there is no need to restrict the possibility to gain awakening to one approach only, presuming that the development of one of these two meditative qualities inevitably has to precede the other one.

Concerning SAMATHA see also ADHICITTA, ARŪPA, CALMNESS, CONCENTRATION, CONTEMPLATION, EKAGGATĀ, EKOTIBHĀVA, JHĀNA, KAMMAṬṬHĀNA, MEDITATION.

Concerning VIPASSANĀ see also ABHIÑÑĀ, ANUPASSANĀ, BHĀVANĀ, MEDITATION, INSIGHT, INTROSPECTION, INTUITION, SATIPAṬṬHĀNA, SUKKHAVIPASSAKA.

Analayo

References

[1] *A.* II, 94 speaks of *cittaṃ saṇṭapetabbaṃ sannisādetabbaṃ ekodikattabbaṃ samādahātabbaṃ* in order to gain *cetosamatha*.

[2] For a detailed exposition cf. *Vism* 84—435.

[3] *A.* II, 94 speaks of *saṅkhārā daṭṭhabbā sammasitabbā vipassitabbā* in order to gain *adhipaññādhammavipassanā*.

[4] *M.* III, 187: *paccuppannañca yo dhammaṃ tattha vipassati.*

[5] *Dhp.* 373; *Thag.* 398 = *Thag.* 1071.

[6] Cf. e.g. *M.* I, 91; *M.* I, 504; *A.* III, 207 and *A.* IV, 411.

[7] *M.* III, 289; *S.* V, 52 and *A.* II, 247: *samatho ca vipassanā ca, ime dhammā abhiññā bhāvetabbā.*

[8] *Ps.* I, 21: *ekarasaṭṭhena samathavipassanā abhiññeyyā.*

SAMBHOGAKĀYA See TRIKĀYA

SAMBODHI See BODHI

SAMBUDDHA See BUDDHA

SAMMĀDIṬṬHI, 'right view', is the first factor of the noble eightfold path and a quality of fundamental importance in early Buddhism. Just as the dawn is the forerunner of the sun, similarly right view is the forerunner of all wholesome things (*A.* V, 236).

To understand the range of right view requires some understanding of its opposite: wrong view (*micchādiṭṭhi*). Just as right view heads the path leading to deliverance, so wrong view heads the path that leads ever deeper into *dukkha*. Wrong view is one of the ten unwholesome courses of action (*akusala kammapatha*), singled out by the Buddha as those actions with the propensity to lead to an evil rebirth. No other thing is as conducive to a lower rebirth as wrong view (*A.* I, 31), resulting in rebirth in the animal realm or in hell (*A.* I, 60). Just as all growth originating from a bitter seed will be of a bitter nature, the Buddha pointed out, so whatever deeds, words, thoughts, intentions and aspirations originate from wrong view will all conduce to ill and suffering (*A.* I, 32).

To be of wrong view is to have a 'perverted view' (e.g. *A.* III, 114: *viparītadassana*), and such perversion of one's perspective will inevitably influence one's action and behaviour. This same influence causes beings to arise in hell, a predicament due to their being of wrong view and having acted according to such wrong views[1]. It almost seems as if wrong view were a necessary requirement for being reborn in hell. In fact, unless beings were blindfolded by a false perspective, by the fond hope that somehow or other they will be able to get away with evil acts of behaviour, they would quite probably not undertake such evil deeds as will ripen in rebirth in the nether worlds.

The discourses describe various manifestations of wrong view. Some instances of wrong view are related to karmic retribution, instances in which the wrong view consists in presuming that by behaving like a dog or a cow (*M.* I, 387), by being an actor and entertaining people (*S.* IV 307), by performing one's duty in warfare as a mercenary (*S.* IV, 309) or as a cavalry warrior (*S.* IV, 311), one will be reborn in heaven. Such wrong views involve a misconception of karma and its fruit, mistakenly believing that a type of behaviour which has the propensity of leading to rebirth in the animal realm or in hell will meet with a heavenly reward.

Other manifestations of wrong view can be found in the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta*, which examines the wrong views: 'there is no other world', 'there is no action' and 'there is no cause' (*M.* I, 402-8). Such wrong views not only misconceive, but flatly deny the existence of karmic retribution and causality, and consequently also discount the existence of other realms of existence. Several among the religious teachers living at the time of the Buddha were indeed proposing such wrong views. The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* reports Pūraṇa Kassapa proposing that action has no ethical quality, in the sense that there is no real difference between killing and helping others, between destroying and giving to others (*D.* I, 52). According to the same discourse, Makkhali Gosāla denied causality and Pakudha Kaccāyana taught a theory

according to which cutting off someone's head should not be considered 'killing' , but should be reckoned only as an inserting of a blade in the space between different material principles.

Another such wrong view was the position taken by Ajita Kesakambali, who proposed that there was no karmic retribution for good and evil deeds, no world beyond, no responsibility towards one's parents, no spontaneously arisen beings and no spiritually realised persons (*D.* I 55). His philosophical position was based on a materialistic conception, which attempted to reduce experience to an interaction of the four elements and took bodily death to imply complete annihilation.

The type of view adopted by Ajita Kesakambalī is not altogether uncommon even in our days, yet it seems to constitute wrong view par excellence. This can be deduced from the fact that the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* not only uses the same formulation for its definition of wrong view, but also defines right view in exactly the opposite terms, proposing that there definitely is karmic retribution for good and evil deeds, there is a world beyond, one has responsibility towards one's parents, there are spontaneously arisen beings and there are those who have gained spiritual realization (*M.* III, 72)

When examining this type of right view described in the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*, it becomes evident that not all propositions made here are empirically verifiable by the average person. Direct knowledge of the existence of spontaneously arisen beings, for example, would require the development of deeper levels of concentration in order to be verified.

Nevertheless, the main propositions entailed by such right view need not be accepted on mere faith alone. In the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* the Buddha described a kind of wager argument in favour of propositions that are beyond one's present powers of verification (*M.* I, 402). Even if one does not know whether there is retribution for one's deeds or not, he explained, those who accept such retribution will thereby be led to act in wholesome ways and for this reason meet with respect, friendship and praise in the present world, independent of whether they will indeed reap heavenly reward for their deeds.

In the discourse to the *Kālāmas* has the Buddha made a somewhat similar point, contending that the wholesome results of the basic premises of wholesome ethical conduct are something verifiable within one's personal experience, so that these principles can be accepted without needing to rely entirely on faith, oral tradition or any other type of external authority (*A.* I, 189).

That right view is not a matter of faith in an external authority alone can also be inferred from the two factors the Buddha highlighted as leading to the arising of right view: the voice of another and wise attention (*yoniso manasikāra*); just as the arising of wrong view depends on the voice of another and unwise attention (*A.* I, 87). The first factor mentioned in this stipulation does give proper place to the influence exercised by others, a circumstance reflected also in the statement that to establish others in right view is for the welfare and benefit of many, just as to establish others in wrong view is to their detriment and disadvantage (*A.* I, 33). The difference between right view and wrong view is however not only a question of the content of what another may communicate, but involves also the second factor mentioned above, the presence of wise or unwise attention. This second factor seems to be the more important of the two, since another passage proclaims that no other factor is of such importance for the arising and development of right view as wise attention, just as unwise attention stands out as the crucial factor for the arising and development of wrong view (*A.* I, 31).

Wise attention means to give attention 'thoroughly', 'penetratively' or 'down to its origin' (*yoniso*). This goes to show that right view is a matter of thorough examination and not of mere faithful acceptance. The recommendations given above in the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* and in the discourse to the *Kālāmas* would seem to be practical implementations of this second quality, of the development of wise attention. The same is also reflected in the *Dhammasaṅganī*, the first book of the Pāli *Abhidhamma*, which defines right view by listing various manifestations of the quality of wisdom (*Dhs.* 14). All this goes to show that the concept of right view in early Buddhism is not a matter of mere blind acceptance of a set of propositions, but by its very nature requires an intelligent and scrutinizing investigation by the person about to take up such right view.

Along the same lines, the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* places right view among the aggregate of wisdom (*M.* I, 301). This is remarkable, since in this way the sequence of the noble eightfold path has wisdom first, followed by morality and concentration, whereas in other contexts, such as descriptions of the gradual path, one regularly finds the sequence morality, concentration, wisdom. The noble eightfold path's departure from the more usual sequence highlights the function of right view in providing the all important directional input for the practice of the path. Without the guiding principle provided by right view and expressed by right intention, neither the noble eightfold path nor the threefold training will be able to issue in deliverance.

The fundamental role of right view recurs in the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*, which emphatically proclaims that right view is the forerunner of the noble eightfold path[2]. In regard to each path factor discussed in this discourse, the task of right view is invariably to distinguish between their right and wrong manifestations. In relation to the first path factor itself, the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* then comes out with the statement that to understand right view as right view is right view[3]. Though this statement might at first sound paradoxical, once the function of right view as the guiding principle for the entire path is appreciated, this statement becomes intelligible. Right view as the ability to differentiate between right and wrong manifestations of the path factors, supported by right mindfulness and by the right effort of overcoming what is wrong and implementing what is right, form a necessary triad required for putting the other path factors into action. The fundamental importance of right view for the entire path is also reflected in the *Vibhaṅga*, the second book of the Pāli *Abhidhamma*, which explains that right view constitutes the cause for the other path factors[4].

Just as right view in its function of distinguishing between what leads ahead on the path and what runs counter to it heads each path factor discussed in the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*, so the recognition of what is wholesome and what is unwholesome heads the exposition of right view found in the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta*. In order to explain the implications of right view, this discourse first takes up the distinction between the wholesome and the unwholesome, together with their respective roots (*M.* I, 47). The same type of ability recurs in the *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta* (*M.* I, 114) as a division of thoughts into wholesome and unwholesome types. This division of thoughts was undertaken by the Buddha as part of his pre-awakening cultivation of the mind and paved the way for his awakening. These passages indicate that right view as the recognition of what is unwholesome and thereby productive of *dukkha* and what is wholesome and therefore conducive to freedom from *dukkha* constitutes indeed the very foundation of the path.

Right view is however not only the basis for the practice of the path, but proceeds from becoming unshakeably established at the stage of stream-entry until the highest consummation of the path, when it becomes the right view of one beyond training, the right view of an *arahant*[5]. That is, right view remains the forerunner of the path even in the case of an *arahant*. This clearly indicates that right view is of continuing relevance at any stage of the path and that there is no point at which right view is to be left behind.

Though right view continues to be of relevance throughout, this fundamentally important path factor is dynamic, something that evolves concomitant with the development of the path it heads. The progress from right view as the initial guiding principle of the path to right view as the insight gained through the development of the path comes to light in the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*, which distinguishes right view into two kinds: right view affected by taints and attachment and right view free from these (*M.* III, 72). Right view still affected by taints and attachment refers to the earlier mentioned set of propositions about the nature of reality in terms of its causal functioning and of the existence of certain phenomena in it such as spontaneously arisen beings and spiritually accomplished practitioners. The other type of right view, so the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*, is the presence of wisdom during realization.

The commentary to the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* (*MA.* IV, 135) adds to this twofold distinction by listing altogether five types of right view: the right view of karmic retribution (*kammassa katāsammādiṭṭhi*), the right view of insight (*vipassanāsammādiṭṭhi*), the right view related to path and fruit (*maggasammādiṭṭhi* and *phalasammādiṭṭhi*) and the right view related to the reviewing knowledge following realisation (*paccavekkhaṇāsammādiṭṭhi*). The *Mahācattārīsaka*

Sutta and its commentary in this way highlight the evolutionary process taking place within the path factor of right view.

Right view in its deeper sense is born of direct vision, gained through stream-entry (*Vism.* 509). At this point, right view proceeds from being an accepted view to becoming an ingrained attitude, based on personal experience and verification. The stream-enterer, who has 'seen' the *Dhamma* (*diṭṭhadhammo*, e.g. *M.* I, 380) is now endowed with 'view' (*diṭṭhisampanno*, e.g. *M.* III, 64), an expression indicating that by now right view has become firmly established and unshakeable.

The *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* (*M.* I, 46) describes various ways of gaining such right view, most of which are based on insight into any of the links of dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*). In regard to each of these links, the requirement for the gain of right view is insight into the individual nature of the link in question, its arising, its cessation and the way leading to its cessation. In this way, the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* applies the basic scheme of the four noble truths to each of the links of dependent arising.

The topic of dependent arising as the middle path between the extremes 'all is' and 'all is not' comes up again in the Buddha's explanation of right view to Kaccānagotta (*S.* II, 17). One who gains insight that just *dukkha* arises and passes away, so the Buddha continued his explanation, is endowed with right view.

Other discourses assert that to see the impermanent nature of the five aggregates (*S.* III, 51) or of the six senses and their objects (*S.* IV, 142) constitutes right view. These discourses explain that one who sees rightly (*sammā passati*) will become disenchanted, his or her desires will fade away and in this way liberation can be gained. Similarly the *Mahāsaḷāyatanika Sutta* considers the abandoning of craving and delight in regard to the six sense-spheres and the feelings arising based on them as constituting right view (*M.* III, 289).

Whether it is insight into the dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*) of *dukkha* or into the impermanent and thereby unsatisfactory nature of the five aggregates or the six senses spheres, what right view in these various descriptions amounts to is insight into the four noble troths. Just as the footprints of all animals fit into the footprint of an elephant. So the four noble truths have a paradigmatic role in the teaching of the Buddha (*M.* I, 184). Hence it comes as no surprise when the most frequent formulation of right view found in the discourses equates it with insight into the four noble truths: 'knowledge of *dukkha*, its arising, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation, this is right view' (e.g. *S.* V, 8).

Right view in terms of the four noble truths parallels a fourfold method of diagnosis and prescription used in ancient Indian medicine, proceeding from recognition of a disease (*dukkha*) and the virus responsible for it (*taṇhā*) to the possibility of complete health (*Nibbāna*) and the practical cure (*magga*) to be undertaken to that end. This underlines the pragmatic orientation of right view and thereby sets it off against mere philosophical speculation. In fact, the four noble truths are not simply four propositions to be accepted, but rather constitute a four-faceted approach to the gaining of truth. Each of these four facets requires a particular activity: the first truth needs to be 'understood', the second to be 'abandoned', the third to be 'realised' and the fourth to be 'developed'[6]. The range of activities described here corroborates that such right view is a matter of practice and realization and not merely the outcome of ratiocination.

Now what does *sammādiṭṭhi* by way of the four noble truths amount to? In practical terms, it amounts to identifying any form of attachment as a cause for the arising of *dukkha*.

This same identification underlies the treatment of views found in the *Aṭṭhakavagga* of the *Sutta Nipāta*, a collection containing numerous verses in favour of going beyond views. That is, to leave behind all views in the sense of dogmatic adherence and attachment is none other but the practical implementation of insight into the four noble truths. This, however, does not imply that such insight also needs to be discarded. Far from it, since this same insight as the right view forerunner of the entire path is of continuing priority up to and beyond the stage of full awakening.

That right view continues even when 'views' are left behind can be inferred from a verse in the same *Sutta Nipāta*, which speaks of 'not going into views' yet 'being endowed with vision'[7]. Similarly in the

Aggivacchagotta Sutta the Buddha explained that he had put away 'views', having 'seen' the impermanent nature of the five aggregates[8]. The word play in these passages on the various derivatives of *drś*, to 'see', clearly indicates that though views (*diṭṭhi*) are left behind, vision (*dassana*) and rightly seeing (*diṭṭha*) still continue, both corresponding to the faculty of insight represented by right view. In sum: right view as the vision gained through deep insight is a vision that 'sees through' any view.

Such penetrative vision underlies a discourse which applies the scheme of the four noble truths to views themselves, as insight into views, their arising, their cessation and the path leading to their cessation, an insight with the potential of leading to freedom from *dukkha* (*A.* IV , 68). Due to this same penetrative vision and insight, the Buddha refused to take up any of the views prevalent at his time (*M.* I, 431). His teaching, he explained, was only concerned with the four noble truths, since unlike other views, the four noble truths do lead to disenchantment, peace, direct knowledge and *Nibbāna*.

For right view to lead to full awakening, so several discourses indicate, it needs to be developed in dependence on seclusion, dispassion and cessation, thereby culminating in letting go[9]. A similar nuance underlies also a stipulation found in the *Kosambiya Sutta*, according to which the development of right view should result in internal tranquillity and stillness (*M.* I, 323). Quite in keeping with this the Buddha, on being once challenged to proclaim his view, answered that his view was such as to lead to the absence of quarrelling with anyone (*M.* I, 108).

These passages show that the early Buddhist conception of right view is not only a question of content but also of attitude. Only right view free from attachment and clinging can unfold its full potential for progress on the path. According to the *abhidhammic* presentation, mental states associated with views (*diṭṭhisampayutta*) are under the influence of greed (*Dhs.*75). This highlights the fact that holding and adhering to a particular view is often a manifestation of affective involvement by way of desire and grasping. Right view, in contrast, being representative of insight into the four noble truths and thereby of insight into the fact that craving is the root cause for the human predicament, points in the opposite direction, in the direction of dispassion and letting go of desire and attachment.

Undertaken in this way, right view becomes the escape from all views, and thus is of great fruit (*mahapphalā*), proper (*sādhu*), wholesome (*kusala*), blameless (*anavajja*), productive of happiness (*sukkhudraya*), and the bright way (*sukkamaggo*), wherefore it is to be followed (*āsevitabbo*), developed (*bhāvetabbo*), made much of (*bahulīkatabbo*) and realized (*sacchikātabbo*) (A.V, 238-247). In short: just as the river Ganges inclines towards and leads to the sea, so right view inclines towards and leads to Nibbāna (*S.*IV, 180).

See also AṬṬHAṄGIKA MAGGA, DIṬṬHI, EIGHT-FOLD-PATH.

Anālayo

References

1. *D.* I, 82: *micchādiṭṭhikā micchādiṭṭhi kammāsamādānā*
2 . *M.* III, 71: *sammādiṭṭhi pubbaṅgamā*
3. *M.* III, 71: *sammādiṭṭhiṃ sammādiṭṭhīti pajānāti, sā'ssa hoti sammādiṭṭhi.*
4. *Vbh.* 242: *sammādiṭṭhi hetu, satta maggaṅga na hetu.*
5.*A.*V,222: *asekha sammādiṭṭhi.*
6. *S.*V, 436: *pariññeyyaṃ... pahātabbaṃ... sacchikātabbaṃ...bhāvetabbaṃ.*
7. *Sn.* 153: *diṭṭhiñca anupagamma...dassanena sampanno.*
8. *M.* I, 486: *diṭṭhigataṃ apanītaṃ etaṃ Tahāgatassa, diṭṭhaṃ h'etam Tathāgatena: iti rupaṃ...*
9 . *S.* IV, 367: *vivekanissitaṃ virāgassitaṃ nirodhanissitaṃ vossaggapariṇāmiṃ..*

SAMMĀJĪVA is the fifth constituent limb of the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya aṭṭhaṅgikamagga*) enunciated by the Buddha for his disciples to follow to ensure their happiness here and now (*diṭṭhadhammasukha*), welfare in the hereafter (*samparāyahita*) and final emancipation from samsāric existence (*nibbāna* - *S.*V, 421). Right livelihood applies equally to those who renounce worldly pleasures to practise the dhamma full time (*pabbajita*) as well as to the laity who live house hold lives with wife and children (*gihī kāmabhogino*). Those who renounce worldly

pleasures are to depend on the generosity and goodwill of their devoted lay supporters for their sustenance. They are not expected to engage in agriculture, trade, industries and various professions to earn money to sustain themselves. Their lives are said to be dependent on others (*parapaṭibaddhajīvikā-Dasadhammasutta*, A.V. 87-88). They are to feel content with the minimum of needs in food, clothing, shelter and medicaments. They are to feel content with alms food that is collected in their daily begging rounds (*piṇḍiyālopa bhojana*); they are to feel content with discarded clothes in the cemeteries for their robes (*paṃsukūlacīvara*); they are to feel content with shades of trees for their living shelters (*rukkhamūla senāsana*); and they are to feel content with cows' putrid urine as medicaments (*pūtimutta bhesajja* ibid. A.V. 87-88).

This situation should not be misunderstood to mean that Buddhist recluses are to lead rigid ascetic lives. There are exceptions made in the *Vinaya* regarding the four above-mentioned requisites of bhikkhus. If the devoted laity were to invite the bhikkhus for occasional meals at their residences, the bhikkhus are free to accept such invitations; if the devoted laity were to make offerings of well prepared suitable robes, the bhikkhus are free to accept them and use them; if the devoted laity were to make offerings of residential *vihāras* etc., the bhikkhus are free to accept them and use such facilities as common property of the entire fraternity of bhikkhus; in case of illness, if the devoted laity were to make offerings of suitable medicines, the bhikkhus are free to use them to regain their lost health. (*Vin*. 1. 57-58).

Being content with the above mentioned minimums in food, clothing, shelter and medicaments for their sustenance, the bhikkhus are to devote their full time to learn the *dhamma* and to discipline themselves according to the *Vinaya* rules and to preach the *dhamma* to the lay devotees to discipline them accordingly for their well-being and happiness.

In the case or right livelihood (*sammājīva*) for the laity, agriculture, trade, industries and various professions in the public and the private sectors are recognized as suitable employment opportunities as long as they are beneficial and harmless to the doer or others. The laity are expected to develop their inborn talents and capabilities to their highest level and exert diligently to earn good returns to sustain themselves and their kith and kin and also to perform their social duties to many others around them. But in trade the right living laity should avoid trade in five things (A. III 208), namely trade in weapons of destruction (*satthavāṇijjā*), trade in animals (*sattavaṇijjā*, trade in animal flesh (*maṃsavāṇijjā*), trade in intoxicating drinks and drugs (*majjavāṇijjā*), and trade in poison (*visavāṇijjā*). In trade the right living laity should also not resort to using false weights (*tulākūṭa*), false measures (*mānakūṭa*), and counterfeit currency (*kaṃsakūṭa* – A.III 209).

An energetic and righteous layman should not waste his well-earned income haphazardly. He should have a plan regarding how to utilize his income systematically. In the *Sigālovādasutta* (*D*. II. 188) the Buddha points out to the youngster Sigāla how a discerning individual should manage his income. Therein it is shown that only one-fourth share of one's income should be spent for daily consumption (*ekena bhoge buñjeyya*). Two shares of the income should be invested in suitable ventures to enhance further income (*dvihi kammam payojaye*), and the fourth share of the income should be safely kept a side for emergencies in the family (*āpadāsu*).

The *Sigālovada sutta* (*D*. III 180-193) which is popularly designated as a discourse to discipline the laity regarding right livelihood (*gihi vinaya*) contain many things that are to be avoided and many things that are to be practiced and cultivated by the laity for their own welfare and for the welfare of the society at large. The *sutta* says that a discerning individual should first steer clear of the four grave evil deeds (*kammakilesa*), namely killing or injuring living beings (*pāṇātipāta*), theft (*adinnādāna*), sexual misbehavior (*kāmesu micchācāra*) and uttering falsehood (*musāvāda*). Having steered clear of these four evil deeds he should next close the six avenues whereby the destruction of one's well-earned wealth will take place. They are: addiction to intoxicating drinks (*surāmeraya*), roaming about in unsuitable environments at odd hours (*vikāla visikhā cariyā*), haunting social clubs (*samajjābhicaranam*), resorting to gambling dens (*jutappamādaṭṭhānuyoga*), associating people who are prone to vicious activities (*pāpamittānuyoga*), and laziness (*ālassānuyoga*). The *sutta* further says that a righteous discerning person should never do things being motivated by greed (*chanda*), hatred (*dosa*) fear (*bhaya*) and ignorance

(*moha*).

A person thus living righteously and have avoided all evil ways should then cultivate wholesome relationships with all those who matter in one's social living, namely with parents and elders, with his wife and children, with his superiors and subordinates, with his teachers, with his friends and with many others who matter in one's life in society. The *Sigālovada sutta* further says that a discerning lay person leading a righteous life should, throughout his life, treat the world in four ways, namely by generosity (*dāna*), refined and cultured speech (*peyyavacca*), doing social welfare work (*atthacariyā*) and treating all impartially and farely (*samānattatā*).

The Buddha on another occasion (*A.* II 679) addressing the treasurer Anāthapiṇḍika, the Great benefactor of the Buddhasāsana, said:" There are these four types of happiness that a right living layman who enjoys sense pleasures (*gihī kāmabhogī*) could experience constantly throughout life, namely that he has accumulated sufficient wealth through righteous effort (*atthisukha*) that he is taking the best use of his well-earned wealth for his own sustenance and to engage in many meritorious deeds (*bhogasukha*), that he is not in debt to any person (*anaṇa sukha*) and that all his actions, mental, physical and verbal are blame free (*anavajjasukha*).

W.G. Weeraratne

SAMMOHAVINODANI. *Sammohavinodanī* (Dispeller of Bewilderment) is the commentary to the *Vibhaṅgappakaraṇa* the second book of the *Abhidamma Piṭaka* of the Theravāda school of Buddhism. As per the colophon (which is found in all the commentaries ascribed to the great commentator Buddhaghosa) the authorship is ascribed to Buddhaghosa. The said colophon further adds that it was composed on a formal request made by Elder Buddhaghosa (*Yatinā adandhagatinā Subuddhinā Buddhaghosena yācito*)

However the scholars are sceptial as regards the ascribed authorship of the *Abhiddhamma* commentaries (which includes *Sammohavinodanī*, too) to the great commentator Buddhaghosa (q.v. *Pañcappakaraṇa aṭṭhakathā*). According to the colophon the composer as well as the inviter both bear the same name Buddhaghosa, in the case of the *Sammohavinodanī*. It is noted that the preamble of the *Sammohavinodanī* defers from the same found in the commentaries where Buddhaghosa's authorship is not contested. Normally Buddhaghosa commences his exegesies paying his homage to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, expresses his allegiance to the Mahāvihāra tradition and gives the place where he was residing at the time. But in the case of the *Sammohavinodanī* he begins his exegesis more or less immediately, stating that the Buddha preached the *Vibhaṅga* after preaching the *Dhammasaṅganī*. As regards the modality he intends to follow the author just says that he would abide by the "ancient commentarial method (*vigāhetvā Porāṇaṭṭhakathā nayaṃ*). But if it was the great commentator Buddhaghosa he would declare his utmost faith in the tradition of the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra, he would name the *Sīhala aṭṭhakathās* on which he proposes to base his commentary etc. This abrupt preamble is seen not only in the case of the *Sammohavinodanī*, but also in the other commentaries written to the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. Under the circumstance it would not be too hasty if one were to propose that the author of the *Sammohavinodanī* was not the great commentator Buddhaghosa, but another by the same name. Yet there appears to be no problem in identifying Buddhaghosa who invited to compose the exegies as the great commentator Buddhaghosa.

The *Sammohavinodanī* suppose to contain forty one *bhāṇavāras* and is bigger than the *Atthasālinī* the commentary on *Dhammasaṅgani*, which contain only thirty nine *bhāṇavāras*. It is significant that *Sammohavinodanī* contains many episodes suppose to have taken place in Lanka during the Anuradhapura period, which are not found in the *Mahāvamsa* and are of historical value. This refers to the episodes brought in as examples in the course of explaining doctrinal points in the *Ñāṇa vibhāgavaṇṇanā* (p. 396-464).

Among such stories of local origin is the story of the Beef Eaters (p. 440) during the reign of the king Bhātika; As per the story some people who consumed beef (*gomaṃsa khādakā*) were brought before the king. As a punishment, the king deployed those people to clean the palace compound. There was a beautiful girl among the people who were thus punished and she caught the attention of the king who recruited her for his harem. As a result, the rest of the party were able to escape from the punishment. The story is cited as

an example to show that one could escape from the result of an unwholesome *kamma* as a result of being born beautiful. (*upadhisamāpatti*).

The *Dīparājavatthu* of the *Sammohavinodanī* (p. 443) describes how, a son of a king in Lanka lost his chances of becoming the king as he lost one of his eyes, attacked by a cock while watching a cock fight in the palace premises. This story has been brought in to show that though born to the queen, one might lose the chances of succeeding his father as the king, due to a physical defect in his body. The story further adds that the boy was subsequently made the king of Nāgadīpa, the Northern part of Lanka. This story shows that during the Anuradhapura period the Northern part of Lanka was called Nāgadīpa and was under a provincial ruler sent by the king of Anuradhapura.

Sammohavinodanī provides us with valuable information on the severe famine (*Brāhmanatissabhaya*), which is said to have taken place *circa* 1st century B.C. during the reign of the king Vaṭṭagāminiabhaya. According to the *Sammoha Vinodanī* (*VbhA*. p. 446) during the famine under reference there were 12,000 monks at Cittalapabbata and another 12,000 monks at Tissamahārāma and there was paddy sufficient for three years for both groups of monks at both places. It is said that a massive herd of rats ate up the paddy at both places in the course of one night. The monks at Cittalapabbata thinking that paddy is available at Tissamaharāma proceeded there expecting to exist consuming the paddy there. The monks at Tissamahārāma thought the paddy at Cittalapabbata was safe and proceeded there. Both parties of monks met at the place called Gambhīrakandara. They having learnt their plight attained *parinibbāna* there itself.

There is another story of Isidatta thera (*op. cit*) how he sustained himself eating discarded skin of *Bassia Latifolia* tree (*madhukaphala*) for seven days. This shows how severe the famine was. The Same Thera (*Loc. Cit.*) is reported to have lived on discarded stems of lotus for another seven days. There are many more such stories in the *Sammohavinodanī*, very much useful for the student of history.

The *Sammohavinodanī* is edited by A.P. Buddhadatta and published by the *PTS*. in 1923.

K. Arunasiri

SAMPAJAÑÑA and the equivalent adjective *sampajāna* represent the mental quality of 'clear comprehension'. Such clear comprehension has a prominent role to fulfil in the context of the development of mindfulness, where it is specifically directed to a range of bodily activities. These bodily activities range from looking ahead and away or flexing and extending one's limbs to eating and drinking, defecating and urinating. They also include such everyday activities as walking, standing, sitting, falling asleep, waking up, talking and keeping silent.

To develop clear comprehension in regard to these bodily activities constitutes one of the body contemplations described in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M*. I, 57), and at the same time also forms a step in the gradual path of training (e.g. *D*. I, 70), referred to as 'mindfulness and clear comprehension' (*satisampajañña*). In the sequence of this gradual path of training, mindfulness and clear comprehension complete the preliminary stages concerned with ethical conduct, restraint and contentment, and form the starting point for the formal practice of meditation, when one resorts to a secluded place to overcome the hindrances, develop the absorptions and gain realisation. This indicates that to develop clear comprehension of one's bodily activities serves as a foundation for formal meditation practice.

The implications of 'clear comprehension' in regard to the activities mentioned find an explanation in the commentary to the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*MA*. I, 253-261). According to this explanation, clear comprehension should be directed to the purpose (*sātthakasampajañña*) of an activity and also to its suitability (*sappāyasampajañña*). Moreover one should clearly understand how to relate this activity to one's meditation practice (one's 'pasture', *gocarasampajañña*) and one should develop 'non-delusion' (*asammohasampajañña*) by clearly understanding the true nature of reality.

In the context of the development of *satipaṭṭhāna*, clear comprehension is however not restricted to bodily activities only. The same quality of clearly comprehending (*sampajāna*) recurs in the introductory part of the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M*. I, 56), where it comes together with other central requirements for contemplation such as the need to be diligent (*ātāpī*) and mindful (*sati*), together with overcoming desires

and dejection in regard to the world (*vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassa*). The same presence of comprehension during mindfulness meditation also underlies the expression 'he knows' (*pajānāti*), which recurs frequently in the description of the *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplations.

A clearer picture of the implications of clear comprehension in this more general context can be gained with the help of a brief survey of some occurrences of the same term in other discourses. A discourse found in the *Dīgha Nikāya* uses the expression clearly comprehending (*sampajāna*) in relation to consciously experiencing one's own life as an embryo in a womb, including the event of being born (*D.* III, 103). In the *Majjhima Nikāya*, clearly comprehending represents the presence of deliberateness when someone 'deliberately' speaks a falsehood (*M.* I, 286: *sampajānamusā*). A passage from the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* employs clear comprehension to refer to awareness of the impermanent nature of feelings and thoughts (*S.* V, 180). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* recommends clear comprehension for overcoming unwholesomeness and establishing wholesomeness (*A.* I, 13). Finally the *Itivuttaka* relates clearly knowing to following the advice of a good friend (*It.* 10).

A common denominator suggested by these selected examples from the five *Nikāyas* is the ability to fully grasp or comprehend what is taking place. Such clear comprehension can in turn lead to the development of wisdom (*paññā*). According to the Pāli *Abhidhamma*, clear comprehension does in fact already stand for the presence of wisdom (*Dhs.* 16 and *Vbh.* 250). Considered from an etymological viewpoint, this suggestion is convincing, since *paññā* and (*sam-*) *pajañña* are closely related. A close examination of the above quoted examples suggest however that clear comprehension does not necessarily imply the presence of wisdom. When one utters a falsehood, for example, one may clearly know one's speech to be a lie, but one does not speak the falsehood 'with wisdom'. Similarly, while it is remarkable enough to be clearly aware of one's embryonic development in a womb, to do so does not seem to require wisdom. Thus, though clear comprehension may lead to the development of wisdom, in itself it only connotes to 'clearly comprehend' what is taking place.

To develop 'clear comprehension' can be taken to represent the conceptual input needed for taking clear cognisance of the observed phenomena, based on mindful observation. Understood in this way, clear comprehension in the context of *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplation represents the need to combine mindful observation of phenomena with an intelligent processing of the observed data. That is, clear comprehension has the task of processing the input gathered by mindful observation, and thereby leads to the arising of wisdom.

This recognising aspect inherent in the quality of clear comprehension can be further developed and strengthened through the practice of mental noting, a practice often recommended in modern meditation traditions. It is this 'comprehending' quality of the mind which will in due turn bring about understanding and insight. Thus 'clear comprehension' as *sampajañña* or its equivalent *sampajāna* has an important role to perform in relation to the development of insight leading up to final deliverance.

Anālayo

SAMYOJANA, a Pali noun derived from *saṃ+yuñ jati* (to bind together). As a technical term in Buddhism it refers to the fetters or bonds that bind beings to the wheel of samsāric existence (*PED*). There are ten such fetters or bonds that bind beings to the wheel of samsāric existence. They are:

(1) belief in a permanent soul (*sakkāya diṭṭhi*), (2) doubt about the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha (*vicikicchā*), (3) belief in the efficacy of religious vows and ritualistic ceremonies (*sīlabbataparāmāsa*), (4) sense desire (*Kāmacchanda*), (5) ill-will and hatred (*vyāpāda*), (6) craving to be born in realms of form (*rūparāga*), (7) craving to be born in formless realms (*arūparāga*), (8)conceit (*māna*), (9) agitation and excitement (*uddhacca*) and (10) ignorance (*avijjā* – *PED*). The first three of these ten bonds or fetters are referred to as the three bonds or fetters (*tīṇi saṃyojanāni* – *A.* 1.231, 232; *D.* 156) and the last seven are referred to as the seven bonds or fetters (*satta saṃyojanāni* – *Nett.* 14). The first five of the above mentioned ten bonds or fetters are also called the fetters that bind beings to the lower realms of

existence (*Orambhāgiya saṃyojanāni*) and the last five are called "fetters that bind beings to the higher or superior realms of existence (*uddhambhāgiya saṃyojanāni – PED*).

A different enumeration of the ten bonds or fetters is found in the *Dhammasangani* (pp.197, 247). They are (1) sense desire (*kāmarāga*), (2) ill-will (*paṭigha*), (3) conceit (*māna*),(4) false beliefs (*micchādiṭṭhi*), (5) doubt (*vicikicchā*), (6) belief in the efficacy of religious vows and ritualistic ceremonies (*sīlabbataparāmāsa*), (7) desire to be born again (*bhavarāga*), (8) jealousy (*issā*), (9) selfishness (*macchariya*) and (10) ignorance (*avijjā*).

The ultimate purpose of practising the religious life in Buddhism is to put an end to the samsāric sojourning of beings by making them to adhere and tread the Noble-Eightfold Path (*ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga*). Those who follow the Noble Eight fold Path put an end to samsāric sojourning in four stages or steps, namely, by becoming Stream Entrants (*sotāpanna*), by becoming Once Returners (*sakadāgāmi*), by becoming Non-Returners (*anāgāmi*), and by becoming Perfected Ones (*arahanta*). In other words those beings who attain these stages get rid of the above mentioned ten fetters or bonds that bind beings to samsāric existence progressively in stages. The *Ratana Sutta* (*Sn.* 39-40) describing the noble ones (*ariyapuggala*) says that along with gaining true knowledge of the Dhamma (*sahāvassa dassana sampadāya*) three things, namely belief in an eternal soul (*sakkāya diṭṭhi*), doubt in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha (*vicikicchā*) and belief in the efficacy of religious vows and rituals (*sīlabbataparāmāsa*) are dispelled. Such beings, says the Sutta, are incapable of committing six grave crimes (*cha cābhiṭhānāni abhabbo kātuṃ*). The six grave crimes are killing of mother, killing of father, killing of an arahant, causing of disunity among the Saṅgha, causing physical injury to a Buddha and following wrong views. He is also free from birth in the four spheres of lowly existence (*catūhapāyehica vippamutto*). The four spheres of lowly existence are purgatory (*niraya*), world of animals (*tiracchāna yoni*), the sphere of ghosts (*pettivisaya*) and the sphere of titans (*asura*). One who has cut off the first three fetters or bonds is also described as one who has entered the stream of the Path (*sotāpanna*). Such a person is destined to go up stream and attain Enlightenment in this existence itself or in a subsequent existence (*niyato sambodhiparāyano – D.* I. 156).

A person becomes a once-returner (*sakadāgāmi*) by diminishing the strength of passion, hatred and ignorance (*rāga dosa Mohānaṃ tanuttā*) in addition to dispelling the first three bonds or fetters. A person who dies as a once returner (*sakadāgāmi*) will be reborn in this world only once more and become an *anāgāmi* or end up as an arahant in that existence itself. By dispelling the first five fetters or bonds that bind beings to the lower states of existence (*orambhāgiya saṃyojana*) one becomes a non-returner (*anāgāmi*), i.e. such a person who dies in that state will not be reborn again in the sphere of sensual pleasure (*kāma loka*). If he does not become an arahant in the present existence itself he will die as a non-returner in the present existence and end up his samsāric sojourning as an arahant in the higher heavenly realms (*uddhaṃ soto akaniṭṭhagāmi*). When one becomes an arahant, one does so by dispelling all ten bonds or fetters.

W. G. Weeraratna

SAMYUKTĀGAMA, one of the four *āgamas* or *sūtra* collections comprising the *Sūtrapiṭaka* of the northern branch of early Buddhism, the others being the *Dīrghāgama*, the *Madhyamāgama*, and the *Ekottarikāgama*. It corresponds to the *Saṃyuttanikāya* of the southern (Pali) branch.

At the present day the *Saṃyuktāgama* (hereafter denoted "*SA*") is known mainly from its Chinese translations, the Sanskrit source texts having been largely lost. In the *Taishō* edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* it is represented in the *sutra* collection numbered 99, 100, and 101, and in twenty-three individual *sutra* translations (nos. 102 to 124).

The first of these, *T* 99 (located at *Taishō* vol. II, pp. 1-373), comprises almost the entire *SA*. It contains 1362 *sūtras* (numbered consecutively through the text), of which about 1050 correspond to *suttas* in the Pali *Suttapiṭaka*, mostly in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* (hereafter "*SN*"). Titled *Tsa A-han Ching* (Mixed Āgama), *T* 99 is a Chinese translation from Sanskrit, completed by

the Indian monk Guṇabhadra around 440 A.C. On the basis of its doctrinal slant and evidence from *Vinaya* sources, it is usually attributed to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*.

T100 (at *T.* II, 374-492) bears the title, *Pieh I Tsa A-han Ching* (other translation of the Mixed *Āgama*). It contains 346 *sūtras*, closely matching the last quarter of T99. T101 (*T.* II, 493-499), again titled *Tsa A-han Ching*, contains just twenty-seven *sūtras*. The translators and sectarian affinities of these two incomplete *SA* translations are unknown. Besides this Chinese material, there exist fragmentary remains of some forty *SA sūtras* in Sanskrit, and there are complete Tibetan translations of a further nine *SA sūtras*.

On the content and structure of *SA*, a valuable indirect source is the *Yogācarabhūmi-śāstra*. One of its five divisions, *Vastusaṅgrahaṇī* (Chinese: *T.* XXX, 772-882; Tibetan: Peking ed., vol. III, pp. 121-218), contains a partial commentary on a (lost) Sanskrit text that clearly resembled closely the one translated by Guṇabhadra. (This was demonstrated by Lü Ch'eng, "Tsa A-han Ching k'an-ting chi" [Revision of *SA*]. *NeiHsüeh* 1 (1923): 108-109). The commentary covers only those sections of *SA* that it identifies as belonging to *sūtra-aṅga*, the first of the nine (or twelve) categories (*aṅga*) in the traditional classification of Buddhist texts (*navaṅga-sāsana*, as at *M.* I, 133-134 = *T.* I, 764a). It omits the section of *SA* that corresponds to the *Sagātha-vagga* of *SN*, identified as *geya-aṅga* (mixed prose and verse); and it also omits certain other sections identified as *vyākaraṇa-aṅga* (exposition).

There may have existed several *Saṃyuktāgamas*, transmitted within various early Buddhist schools in India. Nevertheless, it makes sense to speak here of "the *Saṃyuktāgama*", on the understanding that the reference is to the only well-attested version: the one preserved in T99.

The fact that three-quarters of the *sūtras* contained in *SA* have recognizable counterparts in *SN* suggests that these two collections are divergent derivatives from a common ancestral collection. This interpretation is strengthened when one compares not only the contents of *SA* and *SN* but also their structures.

Both collections are highly structured. In *SN* the *suttas* are grouped thematically into 56 *saṃyuttas*, for example *Nidāna-saṃyutta* (*suttas* dealing with causation) and *Salāyatana-saṃyutta* (*suttas* on the sense bases); and these are, in turn, grouped into five *vaggas* (whence the five volumes of the *PTS* edition). *SA* has a broadly similar structure, though this is not immediately apparent. The Chinese text contains no explicit indication of *saṃyuktas*, but does preserve some headings incompletely indicating *vargas* (or *vastus*), units comparable to the vaggas of *SN*. Consequently, the structure of *SA*, in terms of *saṃyuktas* and *vargas*, can be discerned only by indirect means (discussed below).

While lacking *saṃyukta* headings, T99 does have a set of headings indicating a physical division of the text into fifty fascicles (*chüan*). The reference is to fifty small volumes, of uniform size, a format abandoned in modern editions of the canon but still recognized in these headings. Research has demonstrated that the sequence of the fascicles indicated in the *Taishō* edition does not accurately reflect the arrangement of the version produced by Gunabhadra (see M. Anesaki, "The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese", *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 35.3 (1908), pp. 68-76; Lü Ch'eng (1923): 104-125; Yin-shun, *Tsa A-han ching-lun hui-pien* [Combined edition of *SA sūtra* and commentary]. Taipei: Cheng-wen, 1983, vol. 1, introductory pp. 41-53). Most importantly, two of the fifty extant fascicles (nos. 23 and 25) belong not to *SA* but to the unrelated *Aśokāvadāna*. They were probably inserted to fill gaps created when two of the original *SA* fascicles were lost.

Furthermore, at some time(s) during the transmission of the Chinese written text, some of the fifty fascicles must have undergone a "musical chairs" type of transposition. Evidence of this emerges when the boundaries of the *saṃyuttas* are identified: many of the *saṃyuttas* are found to be split, with their component portions separated in the text. For example, the *Nidāna- saṃyutta*, identified by recognizing *sūtra* that deal with causation, proves to be located in fascicles 12, 14, and 15. The intervening fascicle 13 contains *sūtras* dealing with the sense bases (the *Saḍāyatana- saṃyutta*), and so also does the preceding fascicle 11. That is, both of these *saṃyuttas* are split. This discontinuity indicates that, at some

early time, fascicles 12 and 13 were accidentally interchanged: the sequence was formerly 11, 13, 12, 14, 15, with both *saṃyuttas* intact.

Checking against the commentary reveals that the sequence in which the individual *sūtras* are commented upon does correspond to the suggested original sequence of the Chinese fascicles: 13 preceded 12. Final confirmation is provided by a set of twenty-five consecutive Sanskrit *sūtras* on causation recovered from Central Asia (C. Tripathi, *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasaṃyukta*, Berlin, 1962: Akademie-Verlag, pp. 7-10). The sequence of twenty-five matches exactly that of their counterparts in T99, apart from one discontinuity: Sanskrit *sūtras* 1-21 correspond to the twenty-one Chinese *sūtras* comprising fascicle 12 of T99; but Sanskrit 22-25 correspond to the first four *sutras* of fascicle 14. This close sequential correspondence demonstrates that the Sanskrit material is probably from the very version of *SA* that Guṇabhadra translated; and the discontinuity indicates that in Guṇabhadra's original Chinese version the contents of fascicle 12 were immediately followed by the contents of fascicle 14.

By such reasoning the original fascicle sequence of T99 has been reconstructed in its entirety. In terms of the present fascicle numbers it is: 1, 10, 3, 2, 5-9, 43, 11, 13, 12, 14-21, [23], 31, 24, [25], 26-30, 41, 32-35, 47, 37-40, 46, 42, 4, 44, 45, 36, 22, 48-50. This involves relocating thirteen of the fascicles. That such disruption of the text could occur suggests that the transposed fascicles had lost their numbers, perhaps through loss of their front cover, and that they were later assigned new numbers after the new, distorted sequence had become established. (The numbering of the component *sūtras*, from 1 to 1362, is a *Taishō* innovation). While the *Taishō* edition (1924), along with all earlier ones, preserves the same distorted sequence, the recently published *Fo-Kuang* edition (1983) has adopted the restored original sequence.

The task of restoring the fascicle sequence of T99 is closely linked with that of identifying the *saṃyuktas*. Most *SA saṃyuktas* have obvious counterparts in *SN*, so are readily identified. Where such counterparts are lacking, the recognizing and naming of *SA saṃyuktas* becomes less certain. *SA* appears to have some 50 *saṃyuktas*, as against the 56 of *SN*; 41 are common to the two collections. Many of the *SA sūtras* that make up unshared *saṃyuktas* do have Pali counterparts, but often in *nikāyas* other than *SN*.

The *vargas* of *SA* are more readily identified than its *saṃyuktas*. From the extant *varga* headings, and from indications given in the commentary (*T.* XXX, 772c) and the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (*T.* XXIV, 407b-c), it is known that the Sanskrit text translated by Guṇabhadra was divided into seven *vargas*:

1. *Skandha* (Aggregates)
2. *Saḍāyatana* (Sense-bases)
3. *Nidāna* (Causation)
4. *Śrāvakabhāṣita* (Spoken by Disciples)
5. *Mārga* (Path)
6. *Buddhabhāṣita* or *Tathāgatabhāṣita* (Spoken by the Buddha)
7. *Sagātha* or *Pariṣat* (Having Verses, or [Eight] Assemblies)

Four of these titles, namely *Skandha*, *Saḍāyatana*, *Nidāna*, *Sagatha*, match exactly with titles in *SN*. A fifth, *Mārga*, demonstrably corresponds to the *SN Mahāvagga*. The two remaining titles/sections, *Śrāvakabhāṣita* (Spoken by Disciples) and *Buddhabhāṣita* (Spoken by the Buddha), are lacking in *SN*.

Of the *saṃyuktas* comprising the two extra *SA* sections, most do have counterparts in *SN*, but they are scattered rather than grouped (as set out in M. Choong, *The fundamental teachings of early Buddhism: A comparative study based on the sūtranga portion of the Pāli saṃyukta -Nikāya and the Chinese Samyuktāgama*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000, pp. 19-22). The *Sravakabhāsita-varga* comprises six *saṃyuktas* whose component *sutras* are spoken by disciples (Śāriputra, Maudgalyāna, Anuruddha, Mahākātyāyana, Ānanda, Citra) rather than by the Buddha. The *Buddhabhāṣita-varga* comprises about twelve *saṃyuktas* (Mahākasyapa, Grāmanī, Aśva, and others) that are spoken by the Buddha. The rationale for putting these together as a discrete grouping (*Buddhabhāṣita*) is that their contents, like those of *Śrvākabhāṣita*, constitute *vyākaraṇa-aṅga* rather than *sūtra-aṅga*. It remains unclear whether these two extra sections in *SA* are a Mūlasarvāstivādin innovation or a relic of an early shared structure that was later abandoned within the Pali tradition.

SA also differs from *SN* in the way certain *samyuttas* are distributed among the five shared *vargas*. Most notable is the *Bhikṣū-saṃyukta*. In *SN* this is in *Nidāna-vagga*; but in *SA* it is in *Sagātha-varga*, the more natural location, since all its shared sūtras do have verses (*gāthā*). The sequence of *saṃyuktas* within any particular *varga* also displays differences. For example, the first seven *saṃyuktas* in *Mārga-varga* follow the sequence of the "things making for awakening" (*bodhipākṣhika dharmā*), while their Pali counterparts do not.

The clear structure seen in the reconstituted T99 appears superficially not to be replicated in T100, the incomplete Other Translation of *SA*. In T100 the *saṃyuktas* are even more fragmented and scattered than in the existing T99. However, this situation prevails only in the *Taishō* edition (produced in Japan) and in its immediate antecedents. In editions of the canon produced in China itself under successive dynasties the other translation of *SA* has its *saṃyuktas* and *vargas* completely intact (cf. Anesaki 1908, p. 70). The *Taishō* arrangement (T100) probably developed out of the Chinese arrangement (e.g., Nanjio no. 546) through an accidental disruption of the fascicle sequence similar to that suffered by T99. The Chinese arrangement of the Other Translation matches closely that of the last two *vargas* of the reconstituted T99, even to the sequence of the individual *sūtras*. There is, however, one large-scale discrepancy: in T100 the sequence of the two *vargas* is *sagātha*, *Buddhabhāṣita*, while in T99 it is *Buddhabhāṣita*, *Sagātha*.

In the (Mūla) sarvāstivādin tradition, *SA* is placed first among the four *āgamas*, whereas in the Pali tradition it is the *Dīgha-nikāya* that is placed first. The Pali *Vinaya* lists the four *nikāyas* as *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Saṃyutta*, *Anguttara*; and in its account of the First Council (*saṅgīti*) the reviewing of *sutras* by Ānanda begins with the *Brahmajāla*, the first *sūtra* of the extant *Dīghanikāya*. In contrast, the *Sarvāstivāda-vinaya* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* list the *āgamas* as *saṃyukta Dīrgha*, *Madhyama*, *Ekottarika*; and in their accounts of the First Council, the reviewing of *sūtras* begins with the *Dharmacakra-pravartana*, the first *sūtra* in the *Satya- saṃyukta* of the extant *SA* (*T*. XXIII, 448b-449a; *T*. XXIV, 406c-407c). in such ways *SA* is given pre-eminence among the four *agamas* transmitted within the northern branch of early Buddhism.

SA is of great importance for research into early Buddhism (Yin-shun 1983, intro. pp. 1-74). Comparing *SA* with *SN*, *sūtra* by *sūtra* reveals overall agreement but also some telling discrepancies (Choong 2000, *passim*). It can thereby yield insight into how the two parent traditions, the Sarvāstivādin (*SA*) and the Vibhajjavādin (*SN*), evolved after they parted company. *SA sūtras* that lack Pali counterparts sometimes display strong Sarvāstivādin characteristics or have an artificial appearance, confirming that they are likely to be relatively late sectarian creations. Distinguishing what is shared from what is unshared between *SA* and *SN* therefore helps in identifying the common Sthaviravadin heritage.

On the larger scale, comparison of the structures of the two collections offers the possibility of inferring the structure of the single ancestral collection from which they are both descended. Particular interest attaches to the structure of *SA* and *SN* because it is based on doctrinal content. The total set of *saṃyukta* headings has the nature of a *mātṛkā*, a list of *Dharma* topics. It can be argued, therefore, that reconstructing the ancestral *SA/SN* list would be a step toward the more distant goal of identifying the list of doctrinal headings that was adopted for the original *saṃyukta* collection at the First Council-if, indeed, there did exist such an original collection.

SA itself raises some potentially fruitful research questions; for example; why was it considered appropriate to include a commentary on *SA* in the *Yogācarabhūmi-śāstra*? What is the wider significance of the correspondence between the structure of *SA* and the first three *aṅgas*? And, why does the (Mūla) sarvāstivādin tradition place the *Saṃyuktāgama* first among the four āgamas?

Rod Bucknell

SAMYUTTANIKĀYA. The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* is the third great collection of the Buddha's discourses in the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Pali *Tipiṭaka*; the other four great collections of the *Suttapiṭaka* are the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Majjhima-nikāya*, the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* was first collected and preserved by the redactors of the

Theravāda Buddhist tradition. This collection has also been kept and used in the *Tipiṭakas* of other early schools. The *Tsa-a-han* (T 99) of the Chinese *Tipiṭaka* is a translation of such a counterpart version. It is known in Sanskrit as the *Samyuktāgama* of the early Mūlasarvāstivāda School. Guṇabhadra, who came to China by sea from South India, translated it sometime between 423 and 453 A.C. This Chinese translation is identified as the complete *Samyuktāgama*. In addition to this version of the translation, in the Chinese *Tipiṭaka*, there is also the *Pieh-i-Tsa-a-han* (T 100), known as the partial *Samyuktāgama*. It is believed that this latter text, which was translated before the sixth century, is based on an original from the Kasyapiya School. In these various versions belonging to different early schools, there have been some slight differences with reference to the arrangement and classification of the suttas. The Chinese Complete *Samyuktāgama*, for instance, contains nine major Vaggas where as the Pali *Saṃyutta-nikāya* has only five.

With regarad to the size of the collection, the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* comes next to the *Aṅguttara -nikāya*. The former contains 100 *bhānavāras* whereas the *Dīgha-nikāya* has only 64, the *Majjhima-nikāya* 80 and the *Aṅguttara -nikāya* 120. With reference to the size of the *suttas*, the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* contains little ones compared to those of the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima-nikāya*. The *Aṅguttara -nikāya* also contains short *suttas* but they are arranged by way of number of items discussed in the *suttas*. The *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, on the other hand, classifies the short *suttas* thematically with the intention of serving as a repository for these short but pithy suttas which disclose the Buddha's insights into the nature of reality and his unique path to spiritual emancipation. However, there is an overlap between the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and the *Aṅguttara -nikāya*, which arises from the possibility of classifying *suttas* in two different ways. The studies of the *Chinese Saṃyuktāgama* show that it includes a number of *sutras* which in the Pali canon appear in the *Aṅguttara -nikāya*.

The *Saṃyutta-nikāya* consists of five major *Vaggas*, parts or "books" namely the *Sagāthā—vagga* or the Part containing verses, the *Nidānavagga* or the part explaining the *Nidāna (paṭicca-samuppāda)*, the *Khandhavagga* or the part explaining the five *khandhas*, the *Saḷāyatana-vagga* or the part explaining the six sense faculties with their objects, and the *Mahāvagga* or the Great Division. These five *Vaggas*, according to the Burmese tradition, consist of fifty-six *Samyuttas* or chapters based on unifying themes. According to the Sinhalese tradition there are only fifty four *Saṃyuttas*. This is due to an error in counting the *Abhisamaya-saṃyutta* as a sub chapter of the *Nidāna-saṃyutta* and the *Vedanā-saṃyutta* as a sub chapter of the *Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta*.

The word *saṃyutta* is a combination of *sam* (together) and *yutta* (Skt. *Yukta*) (*yoked*) and literally it means "yoked together". The word appears also in the *suttas* themselves with a doctrinal meaning of "fettered" or "bound" and the more general meaning of "yoked together". This latter meaning is the meaning of the *saṃyuttas* of *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. The *suttas*, ascribed to the Buddha, to his disciples, are put together yoked or connected together to form individual *saṃyuttas* or chapters of this collection. This grouping together of individual *suttas* have been done in accordance with the doctrinal topic with which they deal, the class of gods, demons or men to which they refer, or the prominent personality appearing in them as hearer or speaker.

The gods, the sons of the gods, the Kingdom of Kosala, Māra the Evil One, the bhikkhuṇis, the Brahamān, the Brahmins, the monk *Vaṅgisa*, the forest, the Yakkhas, Sakka the king of the gods, the *nidānas* or links in the process of dependent co-arising, *abhisamaya* or realization, the twelve *dhātus*, the *anamatagga*, Kassapa, gain and honour, Rāhula, *Lakkhaṇa*, similes, the monks, the *khandhas*, Rādha, views, Stream –entry, genesis, the *kilesas*, Sāriputta, the Nāgas, the harpies, the heavenly musicians, the cloud spirits, Vacchagotta, *jhāna*(or *Samādhi*) the sixfold sense-field, women, the wanderers, Jambukhādako and Samandaka, Moggallana, Citta, the headman, the unreckonable things, the undeclared topics, the Path, the conditions favourable to Enlightenment, the four foundations of Mindfulness, the five spiritual faculties, the Best Efforts, the Spiritual Powers, the Bases of the Psychic Power, Anuruddha, the Ganga repetition, mindfulness or respiration, stream entry again, and the four Truths are the names of these *Saṃyuktas*. Each name demonstrates that the various short *suttas* on the topic implied by the particular name are yoked together as

a separate chapter called a *Saṃyutta*. It must be noted that in certain *Saṃyuttas* such as the *Mātugāma saṃyutta* (women) and the *Nāga Saṃyutta* (Nagas), there are passages that have no direct relationship to Buddhism.

The longer *Saṃyuttas* are again subdivided into sub chapters also called by the name *vaggas*. There are altogether 232 *vaggas* (sub chapters) in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*). Each *vagga* ideally contains ten *suttas*, though in actuality the number of *suttas* in a *vagga* can vary, even it can go up to sixty as in the case of one *vagga* in the *Salāyatana-saṃyutta*. The distribution of the *Vaggas* and *Saṃyuttas* in the five *Vaggas* (parts or Books) are as follows: the *Sagātha-vagga* has 28 vaggas distributed among 11 *saṃyuttas*; *Nidāna-vagga* consists of 27 *vaggas* in 10 *saṃyuttas*; *Khandha-vagga* comprises 33 *vaggas* in13 *saṃyuttas*; *Salāyatana-vagga* contains 33 *vaggas* in10 *saṃyuttas* and *Mahā-vagga* has 111 *vaggas* in 12 *saṃyuttas*.

Out of the fifty-six *saṃyuttas*, the *Khanda–saṃyutta* and the *Salāyatana –saṃyutta* are so big that they employ another unit of division known as the *Paṇṇāsaka* or "set of fifty" to organize the *suttas*. However, the word *paṇṇāsaka* is used as a round number as these sets contain more than fifty *suttas*. For example, the fourth "set of fifty" of the *Salāyatana saṃyutta* contains ninety three *suttas*. The reason for this is that these *suttas* differ from each other merely by a single word.

The title of each *sutta* is not evident from the old manuscripts but in today's editions a title is given to each. These titles are often coming from the *uddāna* verse that appears at the end of each *vagga*. However, the Sinhalese tradition and the Burmese tradition slightly differ with regard to assigning titles to the *suttas*. The two also differ in naming the *vaggas* (subchapters). For instance, the Burmese use the numerical names and the Sinhalese use the proper names.

Buddhaghosa says that there are 7762 *suttas* in the *Saṃyuttanikāya* (*Sp.* I 18; *Sv.* I, 23 ; *Spk.* I, 2). However the actual; text now we have contains only 2,904 *suttas*, according to Bhikkhu Bodhi's counting found in his translation. The Connected Discourses of the Buddha, Vol. I, p. 23; or 2,898 *suttas* according to Leon Feer's counting in his *PTS* edition. When Buddhaghosa wrote his commentary to the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, the *Sāratthappakāsini*, he commented on the same *suttas* that we have in the current editions. Therefore, the possibility is that the tradition that Buddhaghosa followed told him that the *Saṃyuttanikāya* collection originally and ideally had that number of *suttas*. This is an issue to be settled by comparing the existing Chinese translations of the *Saṃyuktāgama* and other pieces of evidence that come through fragments. According to Etienne Lamotte, the complete *Saṃyuktāgama* in Chinese translation (T 99) contains 1362 sutras only. The studies so far on the subject shows that some *suttas* that are in the *Saṃyuktāgama* are not found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and some *suttas* found in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* are not to be found in the *Saṃyuktāgama*.

The manuscripts of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* tend to abbreviate *Vaggas* II-V considerably. It seems that with regard to the process of abbreviating the texts, different manuscript traditions have followed their own ways, with regard to certain *suttas* the manuscripts simply have key words to be expanded into complete *suttas* without giving clear guidance on how to do it. Unlike the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima nikāya* where the text is given in full except with regard to certain repeated passages, the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* can be shrunk into a skeleton to be expanded again starting from the key words (*mātikas*). Leon Feer who edited the *PTS* version states that he constituted a kind of average text from his manuscripts combining both the Sinhalese and Burmese manuscript translations. It is possible that Feer has created a kind of phantom text, a really new recension.

The arrangement of the *suttas* under each of the five *vaggas* shows that some principles have been used in the process. The *Sagātha—vagga* is being compiled on the basis of the literary genre. The *suttas* in this collection all contain *gāthās* or verses but all *suttas* containing verses are not included in the *Sagātha—vagga*. There are 947 verses in the *Sagātha—vagga*. Moreover, in many *suttas* of this *vagga*, particularly of the beginning *saṃyuttas*, the prose part seems to have been lost. Many of the verses are of a question and answer nature. Some are riddles, while others are puns. This *Vagga* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* is similar in some respects to the *Suttanipāta*. The most important part of this text is in verse. Some verses of this section are also to be found in the

Theragāthā, Therigāthā, Suttanipāta and *Dhammapada*. The contents of the *Sagātha—vagga* consists of mainly with simple ethical and moral teachings dealing with the Buddhist ideal of life.

In the remaining four *Vaggas*, the major *Saṃyuttas* contain major doctrinal themes that unify them into a *Vagga*. They deal with epistemology, metaphysics and psychology. The arrangement of the *suttas* under main doctrinal themes shows that this is one of the first attempts in the *Tipiṭaka* to systematize the teaching. Here texts of similar content are assembled and arranged side by side. This is actually what the term *saṃyutta* means, "(*suttas*) grouped together" For example, the major themes of the *Vaggas* II, III & IV are the Dependent Origination, the Five Aggregates, and the Sense Bases respectively. It is believed that the *vagga* V represents an earlier stage of tradition than *vaggas* II-IV for the reason that it treats of various standard groups of spiritual exercises later known as the Thirty-seven aids to Enlightenment as well as with the Path, Stream-entry and the Truths. The last *Saṃyutta* of the *Vagga* is about the Four Noble Truths and hence the whole *vagga* is called *Mahā* or the Great Book. In the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama*, this *vagga* is called *Magga-vagga*, the Book of the Path. *Vaggas* II-IV handle their material in a scholastic manner of a much later period. They are concerned with the statement, exposition and correlation of doctrinal formulae such as the twelve *nidānas*, the five *khandhas*, and the six *āyatanas*. Narrative is minimal and often the predication of succession of attributes of one or more subjects is spun out into a whole series of separate, artificially manufactured *suttas*, in each of which one attribute is predicated of one subject. Thus the fact that the sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch and mind, together with their respective objects and sense-perceptions, are impermanent, suffering, and insubstantial, come to be adumbrated throughout 207 *suttas* of the *Salāyatanavagga*.

Compared to the *Dīgha-nikāya* and the *Majjhima nikāya*, the *Saṃyutta nikāya* finds that it is no longer necessary to embed a story to present the teaching of the Buddha. It often enumerates doctrinal concepts directly. The intention to present the preaching of every *suttanta* in a unique event as in the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima nikāyas* is completely missing in the *Saṃyutta nikāya*. Nevertheless, occasionally the *Saṃyutta nikāya* contains *suttas* that might well fit into the *Majjhima nikāya*, the *Cittasaṃyutta*, for example, relates different events in the life of the householder Citta who was a lay follower of the Buddha for 30 years.

The *Saṃyutta nikāya* contains smaller units of texts that have gone to form the bigger *suttas* of the *Dīgha* and the *Majjhima nikāyas*. However, there are also some distinctive units of texts that are unique to the *saṃyutta nikāya*.The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* contain a *saṃyutta* called *Satipaṭṭhāna* and its connection to the *Maha Satipaṭhāna suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* and the the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta* of the *Majjhima nikāya* are not so clear.

Many of the *suttas* of the *Saṃyutta nikāya* are located in Savatthi. F;L. Woodward observed that Sāvatthi is mentioned in no less than 736 *suttas* of this text. Hence some scholars think that this collection may have been put together in Sāvatthi. It is possible that this collection may have served the needs of two types of disciples within the monastic order: the doctrinal specialists and the insight meditators, who were dwelling in and around Sāvatthi immediately after the passing away of the Buddha. Historiically, the tedious multiplication of *suttas* with reference to the predication of a succession of attributes of a subject shows a transitional stage between the *Sutta-piṭaka* and the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*.

G.A.Somaratne.

SĀNCHI : Sānchi is an interesting place from the point of view of ancient Indian art and architecture. There are a number of *stūpa*, ruins of temples and carved gateways, some of which go back to the time of Emperor Asoka. They are good specimens of such work extant in India. Sānchi is a wayside station on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway line going from Delhi to Bombay. It is within the state of Bhopal.

The ruins are situated picturesquely on a hillock and the distance from the station is only about a furlong. They are visible from the Railway Station itself. There are remains of a stone wall which seems to have extended right round the whole establishment. The following are the places of interest:

1. The Great Stūpa, surrounded by an Asokan railing with four beautifully carved gateways.

2. Stūpa in which the relics of Sāriputta and Moggallāna were discovered (marked No. 3).

3. Stūpa marked No. 2 in which the remains of the saints who took part in Asoka's missions sent to different parts of the world were deposited.

4. Stūpa marked No. 4 and other antiquities

5. Asoka pillar on the main terrace and other pillars

6. Temples and monasteries in different parts of the site

7. The archaeological museum

The great stūpa: The main object of interest is the great stūpa, which owing to its enormous size, the visitor will notice at once when he approaches the site from any direction. It is in the form of a hemispherical dome with a terrace running right round it. The terrace is reached by two attractive stairways which meet on the south side of the stūpa.

The terrace is well protected by a stone railing. This stūpa is unique on account of the fact that it is provided with two perambulating paths for the benefit of the devotees. Both the railings are made entirely of chunar stone and are well polished while the stūpa itself is covered with stone blocks. The gateways match so well with the stūpa, the design of the whole structure seems to have been the idea of one master architect. The best view is obtained from the south side.

It is generally believed that the stūpa as it is now found was the work of Emperor Asoka but the latest and the better informed view is that the original one erected by this Monarch was in bricks and was covered by the present larger structure built subsequently. The railings are typical of Asokan monuments. There is however no doubt that the gateways are of a later date, though it may not be surprising if their construction had commenced during the Emperor's own time. On some of the pillars of the railings, the names of the donors are carved in Brahmi script - thus proving that the railings are not the gift of one person but the result of the cumulative effort of many pious Buddhists of several decades. There are signs that, at one time, the stūpa as well as the railings were coloured. The diameter of the stūpa is 120 feet while the height is 56 feet. The destruction of this stūpa is attributed to Pusyamitra the Prime Minister of the last Mouryan king who overthrew this dynasty and established his own line known as the Sunga Dynasty (181-148 B.C.).

The four massive imposing gateways at the four corners are unique owing to their elaborate carvings and sculptures. They are fine specimens of Buddhist sculptural work and have no equal anywhere else in India. The gateway to the south is regarded as the earliest but it is apparent that there was not much interval between the construction of the first and the rest. From two inscriptions found on them we learn that 'the right pillar of the western gateway' and the 'the middle architrave of the southern one' are the gifts of one "Nagapiya, a banker of Achavada and resident of Kurara".

The designs of all the four gateways are similar. Each gateway consists of two massive square pillars surmounted by capitals consisting of animal figures. These capitals support the architraves which join them one above the other. The architraves are somewhat curved in the middle while the ends project beyond the pillars and twist slightly upwards. The third and the topmost one is surmounted by a large *dharmacakra* in the middle with two *triratna* symbols on either side. All the ends of the architraves have animal figures standing on them as well as the spaces formed by them between the pillars. These architraves are elaborately carved and filled up with numerous scenes from the life of the Buddha, Jātaka stories and other events, some of which have yet to be identified. The figure of the Buddha is however not engraved. Wherever necessary, He is represented by His footprints, Bodhi tree, *āsana* (seat) or some other symbol. There are several important historical events engraved on the gate-ways.

One is the visit to Rāmagāma Stūpa in which some of Buddha's relics were enshrined. These relics Asoka could not obtain owing to the opposition of the Koliyas. Two other interesting scenes are the visit of royal representatives to Kusinārā for the relics of the Buddha and the departure of King Bimbisāra, from the city of Rājagrha probably to meet the Buddha.

Figures of animals such as peacock, lion, horse, elephant, bull, camel and of several types of birds as well as delightful floral designs add to the wealth of the decorations. The presence of the grapevine among the decorative motifs is regarded as a 'sure' sign of foreign influence. But we cannot find adequate reasons for accepting such a view.

The southern gateway has the following inscription on the back of the top architrave:- *'Rano Siri Satakanisa avesanisa vasithi putasa Anadasa danam'*. (Gift of Ananda, the son of Vasithi, the foreman of the artisans of Raja Satakarni). At the four entrances to the stūpa are four figures of the Buddha cut, in relief against the terrace wall. These were probably later additions.

Stūpa in which the relics of Sāriputta and Moggallāna were discovered: About 200 feet to the north east of the great stūpa is the smaller stūpa (marked No. 3) which became famous on account of the valuable discovery in it of the relics of the Mahā Theras Sāriputta and Mahā Moggallāna. These two were the chief disciples of the Buddha who passed away before Him. There is no evidence available as to when these relics were brought to Sāñchi. The discovery of the relics took place when Sir Alexander Cunningham and Capt. F.C. Maisey were proceeding with excavation work at the site. The relics were found in two stone boxes, each with an, inscription mentioning the name of the particular disciple whose relics they were.

This stūpa is almost identical in design with the great stūpa , the only difference being the absence of the lower railing round it. It has also one gateway which is 17 feet high. Here too the gateway has many scenes from the life of the Buddha but they are inferior to those in the great stūpa in design and execution.

Stūpa marked No. 2: Equally important is the stūpa marked No. 2 on account of the discovery in it of the remains of the great saints who carried Buddhism to different parts of the world during the reign of Emperor Asoka. This stupa is situated at a place rather away from the rest of the ruins - hence it is treated separately in Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sāñchi*. To reach it one has to descend a distance of about 400 yards on the western side of the hill. Steps have been built to make the descent easy.

There is no marked difference between this and the one previously described, either in size or in construction. This one however has no gateway. The balustrade is well preserved and has numerous reliefs on it. As already stated, the real importance of the stūpa lies in the fact that it revealed the relics of the great Buddhist missionaries who took an active part in Asoka's missions. The credit for this discovery again goes to Sir Alexander Cunningham who found them inside a chamber further away from the usual spot earmarked for the enshrinement of relics in such stūpa. The outer casket was made of white sandstone (11 ins. X 9 ½ ins.). Within it were four other caskets made of steatite in which were the actual relics. The bigger casket had the following inscription: '(The relics) of all teachers beginning with the Arahat (?) Kasapagota and the Arahat (?) Vacchi Suvijayata, the teacher'. The names engraved on the steatite caskets were:

1. Kasapagota (Kaśyapagotra), the teacher of all the Himavat 2. Majhima (Madhyama) 3. Haritiputa (Hāritīputra) 4. Vacchi Suvijayata (Vatsi Suvijayata (?) 5. Mahavanaya 6. Apagira 7. Kodiniputa (Kaundiniputra) 8. Kosikiputa (Kauśikīputra) 9. Gotiputa (Gauptiputra) 10. Mogaliputa (Maudgaliputra).

The discovery of these inscriptions was a revelation as they proved the accuracy of the *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Dipavamsa* acounts of the despatch of missionaries by Emperor Asoka. Except in the case of a few names as found in the inscriptions tally exactly with those mentioned in the chronicles. As works of pure history, these chronicles were looked down upon so much that even the sending of missions by Asoka mentioned therein was rejected by some western scholars as mere wishful thinking, but this discovery has silenced them once for all. Scenes depicted on the balustrade are from the Buddha's life. In this area there are several other remains such as the foundations of a temple and the base of a pillar.

Stūpa (marked) No. 4: To the north-east of stūpa No. 3, is another Stūpa of smaller proportions marked No. 4. It was in a very bad state of preservation but the Archaeological Department has lately restored it. There are bases of several votive Stūpas near about but they need no individual treatment. They all belong to a later date.

Asoka pillar and other pillars: At Sāñchi there seems to have been a considerable number of pillars unlike at other Buddhist sites. Even at present there are no less than four pillars of varying importance besides many other minor ones belonging to the Gupta period.

Of these, the earliest is the one erected by Emperor Asoka in front of the southern gateway of the main stūpa. Unfortunately one notices at present only the stump and the capital as it was demolished by a local *zemindar* who wanted the stone for a sugar press. When standing, it was 42 feet high and was made out of a single piece of stone. The lion capital is preserved in the museum. It is surprising how such an enormous piece of stone was cut out of the solid rock, transferred to a distance of several hundred miles and, after finishing it without the slightest defect, finally erected at the required site without any mishap.

The second pillar which needs mention is the one to the east of the main stūpa. It belongs to the Sunga period. It is only 15 feet high and is different from the Asokan type on side up to the top. The capital is bell-shaped but the animal figure which surmounted it is missing. The third pillar which is set up close to the above belongs to the Gupta period. It is of a 'pale buff hue splashed and streaked with purplish brown'. The height is 22 feet 6 inches but is broken into three pieces. This pillar has an inscription in Gupta script mentioning the gift of a 'Vajrapāni pillar, 2 pillars of a gateway, a maṇḍapa of a monastery and a gateway by one Rudrasena or Rudrasinha, son of Gosura Sinhabala, the superintendent of a monastery'.

The fourth pillar is near the northern gateway. This is probably the one referred to in the inscription mentioned above. It is of a bigger size but the present height is only 6 feet. This too belongs to the Gupta era as evidenced by its square base. Near the pillar was discovered a statue of Bodhisattva Vajrapāni, which, according to Cunningham and Marshall, had crowned it. Probably this is why it was described as a Vajrapāni pillar.

Temples and Monasteries: One of the chief temples at the site appears to have been the one opposite the southern gateway of the main stūpa. From the huge square pillars numbering nine, each 17 ft. high, which stand up to this day, one can surmise that it must have been a highly imposing edifice. The temple seems to have been modelled after the *caitya* caves of Ajanta and Karli, for in the apse, there is the invariable stūpa. Except for the foundations and the side walls on one side up to a height of about 4 ft., there is nothing else here for us to form an accurate idea as to the exact nature of the building. The structure could not have been earlier than 650 A.C. A broken stone bowl, a few terra-cotta tablets and some tiles were the only finds of interest within the temple.

To the east of this site is a well preserved but small shrine which has almost the look of a modern temple of Benares. It is built entirely of stone including the flat roof. It consists of the actual *sanctum sanctorum* and a verandah in front supported by four carved pillars and two pilasters. Another temple is the one behind Stupa No. 5. It too has a flat roof supported by pillars. Inside it is a statue of the Buddha seated on a lotus throne. From this site was recovered the image of a *nāgi* about 7ft. 6 ins. high.

The southern area has a number of important monuments the chief of which is the great temple. At present it is entirely in ruins, only the foundations and the bases of the pillars stand to show what a magnificent building it had been. There are traces of reconstruction in later times but the original temple is of a very early date. The vastness of the temple can be realised from the fact that the plinth is 137 ft. by 91 ft. the hall had 50 pillars, the bases of which are *in situ* at present. Three monasteries have been discovered at this site. In the eastern area, there is an important temple marked No. 45 and several monasteries attached to the same. This is one of the latest to be erected at Sāñchi, i.e. about the 10th century A.C. Here too, there are several layers of temple. The latest structure is a square one reached by a small ante-chamber. Most of the roof has fallen down but the *sikhara* seems to have been crowned by an *āmalakī* fruit design. This temple is richly decorated with sculptures and other motifs. It is, however, impossible to give an account of them in a short paper. Several other monasteries are also left out but the reader is referred to Sir John Marshall's well-known guide for further information.

The Archaeological museum: The museum which contains the statues, seals etc., discovered at the site is to the left of the road immediately on reaching the top of the hill. Visitors will find here many interesting objects which is inconvenient to describe in detail.

History of Sānchi: There is no mention in Buddhist literature that Lord Buddha ever visited Sānchi or its neighborhood, and consequently, it is not known whether the Buddhists considered it a religious duty to visit this remote place in ancient days. However, as the relics of Sāriputta and Moggallāna were brought here during some time, it is reasonable to suppose that it must have been a place of much sanctity ever since. The fact that Asoka erected several of its important monuments is sufficient proof that Sānchi was held in great respect during his time.

The ancient name of the place is 'Kakanaya' or 'Kakanara'. In the *Mahāvamsa* it is called 'Cetiyagiri', a more appropriate designation. It is not known when the name Sānchi came to be in vogue. Asoka must have taken a keen personal interest in the place as he spent several years of his life as a youth at Ujjayini as the Viceroy of Mālwa. It was during this period that he contracted the romantic marriage with one Devi of Vedisa, a place only a few miles from Sānchi. This Devi was the mother of Mahinda, Asoka's famous son who became a monk and crossed over to Sri Lanka to propagate Buddhism. Before his departure, it is said that he spent some time in a great monastery at Cetiyagiri built by his mother. This is definite proof that the royal house showed an unusual interest in this great Buddhist establishment.

Sānchi remained an important centre of Buddhism in Mālwa up to the 11th century when it went into decay and oblivion. How this happened it is not possible to say as it is not on record on any known work or inscription. Even the excavations have failed to give any further clue. That it must have been plundered by the invaders at some time can only be conjectured. The monuments were, however, remarkably well preserved till the 18th century, unlike those of other centres open to destruction on the part of marauders. The lucky escape of Sānchi can only be ascribed to its inaccessibility. Situated on the summit of a hill, it was hidden from the plain by the dense jungle that grew round it on the sides, and few of the invaders cared to explore the site with a view of robbing a possible treasure-trove. See Plates XXV to XXVII.

Bibliography

Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Sānchi*, 2nd Ed., Delhi, 1939

Nandasena Mudiyanse

SANDAKADAPAHANA *See* MOONSTONE

SANDHINIRMOCANA SŪTRA. The *sandhinirmocana - Sūtra* (i.e. *Chien-shen-mi-ching*, *Taishō* No. 676), in five fascicles, was translated into Chinese by Hsüan-tsang of the T'ang dynasty in the 21st year of Chên-kuan (647 A.C.) in the Hung-fa Monastery. It is believed that the full Sanskrit text of this *sutra* was in 100,000 *ślokas*, the present translation being of the abridged text, having only 1,500 *ślokas*, divided into eight chapters. There had been three translations of this *sutra* before the version translated during the T'ang dynasty. They are (1) the *Hsiang-hsū-chieh-t'o-ching*, *Taishō* Nos. 678, 679) in two fascicles, which is only a translation of the last two chapters by Guṇabhadra at the Tung-an Monastery in Kiang-ning district in Jun-chou during the Yüan-chia period (424-453 A.C.) of the earlier Sung dynasty; (2) the *Shên-mi-chieh-t'o-ching*, *Taishō* No. 675), in five fascicles divided into eleven chapters, translated by Bodhiruci in the Shao-lin Monastery at Lo-yang in the 3rd year of Yen-ch'ang (514 A.C.) of the Northern Wei dynasty; and (3) the *chieh-chieh-ching*, *Taishō* No. 647) in one fascicle which is a translation of the first two chapters (subdivided into four chapters) by Paramārtha in the Chien-tsao Monastery in the Liang-an prefecture of Vietnam (?), in the 2nd year of T'ien-chia (561 A.C) of the Ch'ên dynasty. There is also a Tibetan version entitled *Hphags-pa dgoṅs-pa ṇes-par hgrea-pahi mdo*, divided into ten chapters in four fascicles, of which the translator's name is lost.

For the interpretation of the Sanskrit name "*Sandhinirmocana*", it is said in Yüan-ts'e' s *commentary on the Sandhinirmocana- sutra* and Chih-chou's *Exposition on the Profound Doctrine of the Vijñapti-mātratā siddhi-śāstra* in the second part of fascicle iii as well as Tao-lun's *commentary on the Yogācāra-Bhūmi- śāstra*, (fascicle xx, part 1), that the word "*sandhi*" may mean "continuation of things", "joints of bones" or "profound secret". The title of each Chinese version represents one or the other of these denotations, but that of the T'ang version seems to be the most adequate one.

Being a work for the explanation of the most profound meanings of the theories of the objective world, practice and fruition of Mahāyāna Buddhism, this *sūtra* is divided into eight chapters: The first chapter or preamble is the prefatory portion of the

work, and the second chapter "On the Aspects of Supreme Truth" together with the ensuing six chapters constitutes the main text of the *sūtra*. These seven chapters or the main text may be classified into three sections, the first four chapters explaining the objective world, the next two chapters expounding the subjective practice, and the last chapter describing the fruits realized. The following is a brief summery of the contents of this *sūtra*:

(1) **The Prefatory Chapter**. In this chapter a full description is given about the supreme merits of the Buddha, the stateliness of the pure land in which he lived, and the innumerable Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas capable of understanding the most profound and secret doctrines of the Buddha.

(2) **The Chapter on the Aspects of Supreme Truth**. In this chapter it is explained that the supreme truth is apart from words and discrimination. It surpasses all thoughts and deliberations, and it is neither identical with nor different from all *Dharmas*, but it is omnipresent in all *Dharmas*, with which it exists in harmony and equanimity. It is the nature of *Dharma* beyond the expression of words, and it is the reality of all *Dharmas*.

(3) **The Chapter on the Aspects of Mind, Mental Function and Consciousnesses**. This chapter describes the substance and form of the eight forms of consciousness (mind, mental function and consciousness), according to the conception of worldly truth. It explains that the continuation of the *Ālaya-vijñāna* is the root of birth-and-death. The various names of this *Ālaya-vijñāna* and their differences are given in this chapter, and the rising of the six forms of consciousness of the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind (*manas*) is also elucidated.

(4) **The Chapter on the Aspects of all Dharmas.** It summarizes the aspect of all *Dharmas* into the three natures: viz. that of sole imagination (regarding the seeing as real), that of dependence upon others (seeing things as derived), and that of complete perfection (which sees things in their true nature). In this way all the pure and impure ***Dharmas*** are explained.

(5) **The Chapter on the Aspects of No Self-Nature.** It explains that all *Dharmas* are without self-

nature that is to establish the three theories of naturelessness based on the three self-natures of imagination, dependence and complete perfection. The nature of imagination is based on false names, and this is the theory of naturelessness of form. The nature of dependence exists on the congregation of various conditions, and this is the theory of naturelessness of birth. The nature of complete perfection is the supreme truth of all *Dharmas*, which is manifested by the nature of non-ego of all *Dharmas*, and this is the theory of naturelessness of supreme truth. In this way the theory of Ekāyana (One vehicle) and the theory of five-fold classification of sentient beings are reconciled. That is to say, sentient beings of the three vehicles, namely, Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and Bodhisattvas, may all attain to the supreme state of Nirvana through this wonderful path of purity and naturelessness. It is in this occult sense that the theory of "One Vehicle only" is postulated. But as the capacities of beings vary from the dull, the medium to the intelligent, so the Buddha preached the law in three different periods. The first period during which he rotated the wheel of the Law on the Four Noble Truths only for those people of the Śravakayāna, represents his incomplete teaching. The second period during which he rotated the wheel of the Law for those of the Mahāyāna in an implicit way that all Dharmas were without self-nature, also represents an incomplete doctrine. During the third period he rotated the wheel of the Law on the preceding truth in an explicit way for people of all Vehicles. Only this is the truly perfect doctrine.

(6) **The Chapter on the Differentiation of Yoga.** It gives an exposition on *Samatha – vipaśyāna* (calmness and insight) for the practice of Yoga. It exposes the wonderful ways of meditation of *Vijñapti - mātra - vāda*, proves that all *Dharmas* are nothing but transformations of *Vijñāna* (consciousness), and defines the aspects of *Samādhi and Prajñā*.

(7) **The Chapter on the Bhūmis and the Pāramitās.** In this chapter an account is given about the ten stages (*bhūmis*) of Bodhisattvas as well as the 11th stage, i.e. the stage of Buddhahood. It also relates about the six *Pāramitās* of generosity, the observance of virtue, forbearance, diligence, concentration and wisdom, with special emphasis laid on the *Pāramitā* of wisdom which will enable one to apprehend the theory that all *Dharmas* are without a self-nature.

(8) **The Chapter on the Achievements of the Tathāgata.** It depicts the perfect merits of the *Dharmakāya* and *Sambhogakāya* of the Tathāgata, so as to elucidate the perfect and complete doctrine on the achievements of the Tathāgata.

Concerning the annotations and expositions on this *sūtra* (T'ang version), there are: Yuan-ts'ê' s *Commentary* in 10 fascicles, of which only nine are extant (and it is incorporated into the main text of popular editions); Tao-lun's Commentary in 5 fascicles (as the seven chapters of the main text of this *sūtra* of the T'ang version are quoted in the *Yogācāra-Bhūmi-śāstra*, from fascicle Ixxv to Ixxviii, Tao-lun's *commentary on the Yogācāra-Bhūmi- śāstra*, from fascicle xx, part I to fascicle xxi, part i, is practically a commentary on this *sutra* of the T'ang version, and there is a separate edition of it, included in the main text, published by the Chin-ling Buddhist Scriptures Xylographical Publisher re-titled as *Commentary on the Sandhinirmocana - sūtra* in 5 fascicles). Besides, there were Lang-yin's *commentary* in II fascicles, Hsüan-fan's *commentary* in 10 fascicles, Yüan-hsiao's *commentary* in 3 fascicles, and Ching-hsing's *commentary* (of which the number of fascicles is unknown), all of which were lost. Paramārtha of the Ch'ên dynasty also wrote a *commentary on the Sandhinirmocana - sūtra* for his own translation of this *sutra*, but it is also lost, with only some fragmentary expositions scattered in Yuan-ts' e' *commentary*. They have been collected by the Chinese Academy of Buddhist Learning into *Paramārtha's Expositions on the Sandhinirmocana - sūtra* in one fascicle. There are also the following Tibetan versions of the commentaries on this *sutra* (1) *Ḥphags-pa dgoṅs -panes-par ḥgrel-paḥi rnam-par bśad-pa*, composed by Asanga and translated by Jinamitra and others, in 220 *ślokas* and less than one fascicle. (2) *Ḥphags-pa dgoṅs -panes-par ḥgrel--mdohi rnam-par ḥhgrel-pa*, the translator's name is lost, and it is said to be of 40 fascicle and translated by Kluḥl rgyal-mtshan according to the catalogues of Buddhist scriptures in Tibet. (3) *Hphags-pa dgona -panes-par ḥhgrel-pahi mdo-ḥhi rnam par bśad-pa*, composed by Byan-chub rdsu-ḥhphrul, of which the translator's name is lost. (4) *Hphags-pa dgons -panes-par ḥhgrel-pahiḥ mdo-las hpnages-pa byams-pahiḥlehu ñe-tshehi sad-pa*, composed by Ye-se sñin-po in 2 fascicles and the translator's name is also lost. (5) *Ḥphags-pa dgoṅs-pa zab-mo ṅes-par ḥhgrel-pahiḥi mdohi rgya-cher ḥhgrel-pa*, which is Yüan-ta' ê' s (Wen-tsheg) *commentary* translated into the Tibetan language by Chos-grub in 75 fascicles. The last fascicle of Yuan-ta' ê' s original work in Chinese is missing in the extant edition (that is, the exposition on the greater part of the 10[th] chapter of the *sutra)*, but the Tibetan version is complete, and so it can be used for comparison.

Judging from the fact that the seven chapters of the main text of this *sutra* is completely quoted in the *Yogācāra-Bhūmi- śāstra*and the fact that it is as frequently quoted in the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi-śāstra*, this *sūtra* must have been an important text of the Yogācāra sect of Buddhism in India. After it was translated into the Chinese language, the followers of the Tzü-ên sect, based on the *Chapter on the Aspects of No Self-nature*, classified the Buddha's teachings into the three periods of existence, voidness and medium path, and in accordance with the contents of the *Chapter on the Aspects of Mind, Mental Function and Consciousness* and of the *Chapter on the Aspects of All Dharmas*, they regarded the theory of the three Natures and the theory of Vijñapti-mātra as the fundamental doctrines of their sect.

Bibliography:

Ou-yang Chien (contemporary): *A Preface to the Yogācāra-Bhūmi- śāstra.*

Yuan-ts' ê (T' ang): *A Commentary on the Sandhinirmocana- sūtra.*

Annotations on the Sandhinirmocana- sūtra, collected by Ou-yang Chien.

Paramārtha's Expositions on the Sandhinirmocana- sūtra, collected by Ou-yang Chien.

Huang Ch'an-hun

SAṄGAHAVATTHU, CATU. The Buddha admonishes his lay disciples to constantly practise four ways of treating others, for their own welfare and happiness as well as for the weal and good of the rest of the world. The four ways are: (1) *Dāna* or practice of liberality, (2) *Peyyavacca* or speaking what is true and pleasant, (3) *Atthacariyā* or engaging in activities that will benefit others, and (4) *Samānattatā* or to be impartial in all actions. The above four ways of treating the world are presented in several discourses

in Buddhist texts. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* the Buddha says: "Liberality (*dāna*), pleasant and truthful speech (*peyyavacca*) social welfare work (*atthacariyā*) and impartiality (*samānattatā*) are the four ways of treating the world (*saṅgahavatthau*). These bonds of sympathy are comparable to the linchpin (*ani*) of wheels in a moving vehicle. Now, if these bonds were lacking, the mother who bore and the father who begat would not receive the honour and respect which they deserve" (*Dānañ ca peyyavajjaṃ atthacariyā ca yā idha, Samānattatā dhammesu tattha tattha yathāraham, Ete kho saṅgahā loke ratassāṇiva yāyato, Ete ca saṅgahā nāssu na mātā puttakāranā labetha mānaṃ pūjaṃ vā pitā vā puttakāranā. Yasmā ca saṅgaha ete samavekkhanti paṇḍitā tasmā mahantaṃ papponti pasaṃsā ca labhanti te* ti - A. II 32).

In the *Sigālovāda Sutta* (*D.* III. 190) these four ways of treating others are high- lighted along with another factor, namely not cheating or not deceiving (*avisaṃvādanatā*). The Sutta says: In five respects should a householder treat his friends and associates who are comparable to the northern quarter. The five ways are: by being generous and hospitable to them (*dāna*), by being courteous to them (*peyyavacca*), by engaging in activities to benefit them (*atthacariyā*), by treating them as he treats himself (*samānattatā*) and by being faithful to them (*avisaṃvādanatā*).

The *sutta* continues to say that when a householder treats his friends and associates in the above manner, they too would reciprocate him in several ways, namely they will safe-guard him when he faces difficulties (*pamattaṃ rakkhanti*) they will safe-guard his belongings (*pamattassa sāpateyyaṃ rakkhanti*), they will come to his aid when he is frightened (*bhītassa saranaṃ honti*) and they will not desert him in difficulty (*āpadāsu na vijahanti*).

W. G. Weeraratne

SAṄGASARAṆA, "Refuge in the order of Monks," is an ancient Sinhalese literary work in prose, in praise of the Order of the Monks. This is the third book of the group of books called the *Amṛtāvaha*. The authorship of the book is ascribed to a scholar who bore the title of Vidyācakravarti to whom is also ascribed the authorship of the *Butsaraṇa* and the *Dahamsaraṇa*, the other two books of the *Amṛtāvaha* group[1].

The date of compilation of the work is not definite. It may belong to the period between 1150-1250 A.C.[2]

Saṅgasaraṇa is the smallest of the three books of the *Amṛtāvaha* group, the complete book being only about sixty printed pages. The book contains an introductory chapter followed by thirty-nine chapters relating incidents about Buddhist monks, both of India and Sri Lanka. The introductory chapter is the longest in the book, eleven pages, while the others are short, generally of one or two pages, even shorter. The sources of these stories are the Pali commentaries such as the *Manorathapūraṇi* and the *Dhammapada Commetary*[3].

The first chapter of the *Saṅgasaraṇa* opens with a declaration of the refuge in the Saṅgha after which there is an account of the virtues of the Order of monks. Some of these virtues are their impartiality, readiness to meditate at any place, rejection of caste distinctions, readiness to beg alms from any person, and possession of psychic powers. To illustrate these virtues the author has made use of very beautiful and effective similes. At the beginning of the chapter itself come five short paragraphs with five similes all of which are made use of to show how strictly the monks adhere to the Doctrine. In this chapter occur many long sentences, each running sometimes into two or more pages, a feature common to the *Butsaraṇa* and the *Dahamsaraṇa* as well, the other two books of this author.

The second chapter entitled "the story of the Great Sāriputta" which is less than two pages in length refers only to a minor incident in the life of that great disciple. It says that the monk got rid of his stomach-ache by adhering to a rule laid down by the Buddha namely, abstaining from partaking of meals offered by one in distress.

The third chapter, *Bāna Saṅgharakkhita heraṇa vata* – the story of the novice Saṅgharakita (the nephew) relates how he attained arahantship by listening to the words of his teacher.

The fourth chapter, *Amba kā Mahatis tera pavata*- the story of the monk named Mahā Tissa who ate mangoes, tells that the monk did not eat mangoes even when he was very hungry until they were offered to him.

The remaining chapters of the *Saṅgasaraṇa* likewise relate in brief the virtues of the monks mentioned in the heading of each story. Sometimes many stories are revealed to illustrate the same virtue. These monks have striven hard to attain arahantship. They have been able to suppress their sense desires. They are easily satisfied and never attached to families. They never despise others but are always compassionate. They are very clever in preaching the doctrine. They possess supernatural powers and their virtue is heard even beyond the oceans. These are some of the virtues of the monks that are described in these stories.

Of the thirty-nine stories in the *Saṅgasaraṇa* nineteen are about monks in Sri Lanka. Many of the rest are about monks who lived in the time of Gautama Buddha and the origin of a few stories cannot be traced. The monks of Sri Lanka referred to in the stories seem to have lived during the period when king Kāvantissa (*circa* 125 B.C.) and members of his family who had risen to power. Rohaṇa, in the south of Sri Lanka was their stronghold and many place names in this region such as Situlpavva (Pali: Cittalapabbata) Rohaṇa, Māgama, Kōraṇaka-gāma, Madhuangaṇa village, Kallagrāma, and Suḷugamnuvara, find mention in these chapters. Many places that do not belong to Rohana are also mentioned. Among them Mahāvihāra, Girivihāra, Thūpārāma, Lovāmahāpāya, the Great Bodhi tree, Ceityapabbata, and the Great Thūpa at Kälaniya are important. Many of the monks mentioned in the stories seem to be connected with the two monasteries at Situlpavva and Tissamahārāma.

In the stories of the *Butsaraṇa* the author has made constant reference to the supernormal powers possessed by the monks. One story tells how a monk created the form of a young girl near a pond at the request of another monk (p.23), another tells that a monk created a white elephant (p. 33) and many others tell how the monks went through the sky with the help of their psychic powers.

The society in Sri Lanka which has become the background for the author of the *Saṅgasaraṇa* is mainly rural. This is seen in the stories where facts about laymen are given. Thus in the tenth chapter the life of a fisherman is described. The thirty-second chapter entitled 'The story of the thirty monks' gives a good description of an old man who was coming from the jungle with a bundle of firewood on his head. Many stories say that the monks went long distances on foot and sometimes they did not have anything to eat. Reference has been made to periods of famine.

The narrative in the *Saṅgasaraṇa* is less figurative than that of the *Butsaraṇa* and the *Dahamsaraṇa*. This may mainly be due to the fact that the stories are related in brief and hence the author has had no occasion to display his originality. The author's aim has been to complete the series, for in the *Dahamsaraṇa* he says that he would describe all the Three Gems. The work has been made comparatively short for some unknown reason.

Yet one would see the narrative style and the simple language of Vidyācakravarti in the first chapter of the *Saṅgasaraṇa* and at a few places in the other chapters. The similes used in the work, mainly in the first chapter, are beautiful and very effective.

As in the *Butsaraṇa* and the *Dahamsaraṇa*, the phrase '*Saṅgaruvan sarana yemiyi Saṅgasaraṇa yāyutu*' "one should take refuge in the order of Monks saying 'I take refuge in the jewel, the order of Monks' "has been repeated at the end of every episode or description.

The book has been edited and printed and is available in Sinhalese.

Bibliography:

Sangasaraṇa (text) Ed. R. Tennakoon.
Sinhalese Literature – Dr. C. E. Godakumbura.
Sinhalese Literature – Martin Wikramasingha.
Simhala Sāhityodayakathā – Martin Wikramasingha.
Simhala Granthavamsaya – Ven. Wimalavamsa Thero.
Simhala Sahityaye Svarṇayugaya – Ven. Dharmakirti Thero.
Introduction to Sangasaraṇa – Ed. R. Tennakoon & Ven. Dhammananda Thero.

H.R. Perera

References

1 All critics do not agree on this point. See the article on *Amṛtāvaha*

2 Some critics are of the opinion that the *Sangasaraṇa* is not a work of *Vidyācakravartī* and was written at a later date.

3 The *Sinhala Granthavamsaya* gives a list of sources as follows:
Suttas such as *Mahābrahmajāla*, *Cullahatthipadopama*, *Mahādukkhakkhandha*, *Mahā Ariyavamsa Paṭipadā* and other works such as the *Anguttara aṭṭhakatha*, *Sāratthappakāsini*, *Atthasālinī* and the *Visuddhimagga*.

SAṄGĀYANĀ See SAṄGĪTI

SAṄGHA: The word *saṅgha* denotes a multitude or an assemblage of anything especially used with reference to various living things. Attributing its derivation to *saṃ + hṛ*, 'comprisingí. the *Pali – English Dictionary* (s.v. *saṅgha*) quotes several examples from canonical and post – canonical Pali works to illustrate its use. *Miga- saṅgha* (*D*.II.23) denotes 'a herd of deer'. Similarly *accharā - saṅgha* (*Vv*.5.5) is explained as an assemblage of nymphs (*deva -kaññā samūha* (*VvA*.37). *Ñati - saṅgha* (*Sn*.589) is a group of relatives, *sakuṇa-saṅgha*, a "flock of birds" (*J*.1.52) and *kāka - saṅgha* (*Miln*.403) are some other examples. Monier Williams (*Sanskrit – English dictionary* s.v. *saṅgha*) however derives the word from the root *han* prefixed with *saṃ*, 'close contact' or 'combination'. Other meanings suggested are "any collection, assemblage, heap, multitude, quantity, crowd, host" etc. The examples cited are *muni- saṅgha* and *śastru – saṅgha*. It also could denote, according to the same source, any number of people living together for a certain purpose, a society, association, company, a clerical community, congregation or church. In Jainism it is applied to a monkish fraternity or sect.

Possibly the word *saṅgha* was also used in ancient Indian oligarchical states to denote the assembly of ruling chiefs. Scholars like Sukumar Dutt have tried to show that the Buddha used the model of these oligarchical states in designing the administrative pattern of his community of monks. However, in Pali the word *saṅgha* is used very seldom in this sense. In one instance in the *Petavatthu* (*Vv* 582-583), Licchavi ruler named Ambasakkhara is represented as soliciting the approval of the *saṅgha* (*anujānātu saṅgho*) to let free a person previously sentenced by him to be executed. The word may here indicate his cabinet of ministers or even the general crowd of people present in the royal court to present their petitions to the ruler. Otherwise it may also mean the general assembly of Vajjian rulers who probably had the prerogative of remitting a death sentence imposed by a ruler.

It is well known that the Buddha's community of disciple monks was known as the *bhikkhu saṅgha* while that of the disciple nuns was called the *bhikkhunī saṅgha*. When used with reference to both the male and female communities the term *ubhato saṅgha* was often used. But significantly the male or female lay disciples are never referred to collectively as *upāsaka* or *upāsikā saṅgha*. This may have been due to their allegiance to Buddhism, was on an individual basis and that they had no affiliation to a community of lay disciples, like the communities of monks and nuns, bound by a common code of rules. Although it is not attested to in canonical texts, the word *sāṅghika* has come to be used by Buddhists to indicate all movable or immovable things owned by the Buddhist Saṅgha. What is gifted to the *Saṅgha* is also called *Saṅgha-gata*, literally " gone to the *saṅgha*".

The word *saṅghī* meaning 'one possessing a community' and derived from the word *saṅgha*, has been used in describing the popularity and the fame of the six well known heretical teachers, all contemporaries of the Buddha, and the Buddha himself (*M*.II.266). When, on a certain occasion, the Buddha visited Campā, brahmins and householders went to see him in large groups, the word *sanghī* is used to describe their grouping up (*sanghī sanghī gaṇībhūte* (*D*.1.112). The commentary here explains *saṅgha* as 'made up by the coming together of many, many' (*bahū bahū hutvā saṅkhatāti saṅgho DA*.1.230).

Saṅgha of the Four Quarters: The whole community of Buddhist monks and possibly also of nuns, undifferentiated by any form of demarcation like a country, region or monastery, is called the *saṅgha* of the four quarters(*cātuddisa saṅgha*), the universal *saṅgha* comprising the Buddhist clergy of the whole earth (*sabba paṭhavi Vin*.I.105). When the first ever property donated by a lay benefactor to the Buddha, the Velūvana near Rājagaha, was gifted by the king Bimbisāra, he dedicated it to the *bhikkhu saṅgha* headed by the Buddha (*Buddhapamukhassa bhikhusanghassa dammi. ibid*.39). But later when a rich merchant of Rājagaha built sixty cells in Veluvana, the Buddha instructed him to present them to the *saṅgha* of the four quarters, both present and not

present *(ibid* II.147). Anāthapiṇḍika used the same dedicatory formula when he donated his newly built Jetavana monastery near Sāvatthi *(ibid* 164). This was probably prompted by the rapid expansion of the Order under the impact of the missionary zeal of the Buddha and his early disciples. All the disciples were not residing at the same place. Whenever they visited the Buddha they had to be provided with accommodation in the monasteries. As such, when vacant, these residences could be used by any member of the Order wherever they came from. They had the legal right to do so. In fact many dedicatory lithic records of ancient India, Sri Lanka and other Buddhist countries show that Buddhists, in donating house or property, followed this same mode of dedication to the Buddhist *Saṅgha (see eg. E.Z.*I.p.19). This had to be, however, slightly amended when the donation was for the use of a particular individual, a sect or monastery. Then the dedication was made to the *Saṅgha* of the four quarters but to be accepted by that individual, sect or monastery. Thus according to one Sri Lankan inscription, a cave is dedicated to the *Saṅgha* of the four quarters, but to be used by an elder named Dhammarakkhita *(EZ.*I.p.18). There are numerous inscriptions found in India where the donation is made to the Order of the four quarters, but given to a particular sect. *(eg. EI*, XX p.24; VII.p.71*f)*

It is not only immovables like house and property but even movable things donated for the use of monks and nuns are to be held in common ownership by the male or the female *saṅgha*. There are numerous rules and regulations laid down in the canonical *Vinaya* texts to regulate the use and the distribution of these articles for the use of the members of the Order. For instance an official was appointed to receive the robes gifted by the people *(cīvara-paṭiggāhaka)*. Another was appointed for the distribution of robes *(cīvara-bhājaka)* from the common store, among the members of the Order. Only individuals with high moral integrity who are not liable to fall into wrong ways due to desire *(chanda)*, hate *(dosa)*, fear *(bhaya)* or stupidity *(moha)* should be chosen to hold these offices *(Vin.*I.283*ff.)*

With the development of the concept of making gifts to monks or nuns for the benefit of the dead, works like the *Petavatthu* record stories of gifts made to the Order of the four quarters for their benefit. In one story, for instance, a certain monk finds both his parents and a brother suffering as *petas*. At their own request, he gifted a rag- robe sewn by him, a leafy hut, and a cup of water, and a pair of slippers to the Order of the four quarters and dedicated them to his dead kinsmen. As a result they received clothes, houses, ponds filled with cool and refreshing water and conveyances to ease their suffering. But significantly in gifting food the monk followed a slightly different method. Returning from the alms round, one day, he requested his eleven co- resident monks for their alms collections. Putting them all together with his own collection, inviting them all as a group *(saṅghuddesavasena PvuA.SHB.*p.132) to receive it, he gifted the food to them as a community meal. Here the food is not gifted to the Order of the four quarters but to the Order present at the place, possibly because it has to be consumed by the monks present and cannot be stored up for future use.

This particular instance and a few similar ones in later texts show, that by this concept of gifts to the Order of the four quarters, it was brought to an equal status with the ideal *Saṅgha* of the disciples of the Blessed One (*Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho*) described as a 'peerless field of merit of the world' (*anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassa*). But this ideal field of merit found in the early texts is not the Order of the four quarters but the Order of the disciples of the Exalted One comprising 'the eight individuals in four pairs' *(cattāri purisayugāni aṭṭha purisapuggalā A.*I.208). They are those who have realized the four paths *(magga)* and the four fruits *(phala)* on the Nibbānic High Way, the *sotāpatti magga* etc. They are the ones who have reached the *ariya* status in Buddhism, the Ariya Mahāsangha Inspite of the attempt of modern writers to include lay disciples, who have reached these high spiritual stages, under this designation, there is hardly any evidence from Theravāda texts, canonical or otherwise, to support it.

In a canonical discourse, which seems to be a later composition, this honour of being 'the field of merit' is extended to the *Saṅgha* in general not qualified either as *ariya* or *cātuddisa*. In it, when the lady Mahāpajāpati, Buddha's step – mother, offered him a piece of cloth woven by herself, he advised her to offer it to the *Saṅgha*, for by offering it to them both he himself and the Order will be honoured *(saṅghe Gotamī dehi, saṅghe dinne ahampi pūjito bhavissāmi saṅgho ca M.*III.253). The commentator has given two

reasons for this action of the Buddha. By the first he suggests that his intention was to enhance the return benefits to the donor by first offering it to the Buddha and then a second time to the *Saṅgha*. The second, which appears to be more plausible and logical, was the intention to induce future generations to honour the Order, for, after he is gone, his religion will rest entirely on the community of monks (*Bhikkhu Saṅgha*).

Starting with a gift made to the Buddha and ending with some food given to an animal, the discourse enumerates gifts made to fourteen individuals. It also enumerates seven types of offerings made to the Order. Then the Buddha goes on to say that in the future there will be namesake members of the Order (*gotrabhūno*) going about with a yellow rag round their neck (*kāsāvakaṇṭhā*), indisciplined and of evil character. People will make gifts to them on behalf of the Order. 'Even then, Ananda, I say the gifts made to the Order is incalculable and immeasurable'. The commentary says that these indisciplined people will go about with a yellow rag round their neck or tied to the hand. Their wives and children would be seen at their doorsteps engaging in agriculture and trade (*MA*.IV.74). What is emphasized in the discourse is that gifts to the collective body of monks and nuns, irrespective of their lack of discipline, is immensely more beneficial, far above what is given to an individual monk or nun even if he or she has reached the zenith of spiritual development, ie; Arahantship, or even to the Buddha himself. For the Buddha says 'I do not say, Ananda, that a gift made to an individual is of greater consequence to one made to the Order in any capacity'. (*ibid*.256). This is a far cry from the place given to moral discipline and spiritual development in early discourses. This must have been a development due to certain historical factors as also is indirectly hinted at by the commentator.

***Saṅgha* as an Administrative Unit:** The *Saṅgha* of the four quarters or, as it also may be called, the Global *Saṅgha* is held together by the belief in the Awakening (*bodhi*) of the Buddha and the acceptance of the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* enunciated by the Buddha. There is no central governing body or an individual responsible for the administration of the whole *Saṅgha* of the four quarters. From the very outset, even with the Buddha having an overall authority in decision making regarding matters of administration of the Order, he started to devolve power to the periphery. The power of recruitment of new members to the Order, a prerogative at first held by the Master, was first extended to the individual monks and finally came to rest with the collective body of monks, the *Saṅgha*. Naturally the question as to what is meant by the word *Saṅgha* in this context would arise. For one cannot expect all the monks of the four quarters to assemble in each ordination.

However, the problem came up directly when the Buddha ordered that the *pātimokkha* should be recited at the *uposatha* ceremony by the united *Saṅgha* (*samaggānaṃ uposathakammaṃ*). The united *Saṅgha* here is interpreted to mean 'living in one residence' (*ekāvāso*) and, to clarify it further, the establishment of a boundary (*sīmā*) was ordered. This boundary should not go beyond three *yojanas* in radius and all the monks dwelling within were held to be of the same communion (*samāna saṃvāsa*) and of one observance (*ekūposathika*). For the purpose of the *uposatha* ceremony all monks living within the boundary are regarded as the 'united *Saṅgha*. All of them have to assemble in one place, previously agreed upon, to recite the *pātimokkha* on the *uposatha* day. Absentees have to send, through another member, their purity (*pārisuddhi*) and the vote (*chanda*). It is this unit of the *Saṅgha* which came to be regarded as the 'united *Saṅgha*' empowered to deal with all administrative matters of the members living within the boundary (*Vin*.1.106*ff*.). Such administrative units were established wherever Buddhist monks lived in sufficient numbers. Any outsider coming or living within the boundary was deemed to be a member of that congregation for the time of his stay there. Speaking about the activities of these units Miss Horner says that 'the actions and business of every such order must be transacted on a uniform pattern and conform to one uniform standard, so that each order transacts its business in the same way as every other, all following the same regulations'[4].

Thus these *Saṅghas* as administrative units were made use of to carry out all formal acts of the *Saṅgha* (*saṅgha -kamma*) through which the administration of the *Saṅgha* was carried out. Higher ordination (*upasampadā*), entering rains retreat (*vassāvāsa*), invitation (*pavāraṇa*) at the end of the rains retreat, acceptance and the allocation of the *kaṭhina* robe, rehabilitation (*abbhāna*) and also other disciplinary

actions are made by the *Saṅgha* within the boundary. However there are a minimum number of members specified for a full *Saṅgha* in each of these formal acts. There are five categories of Orders classified according to the minimum number required for the formation of a complete Order, viz a fourfold Order, a fivefold Order, a tenfold Order, a twentyfold Order and an Order of more than twenty. All formal acts except higher ordination, invitation and rehabilitation can be done in a fourfold Order. All formal acts excepting higher ordination in the middle districts and rehabilitation can be carried out in a fivefold Order. All except the formal act of rehabilitation can be carried out in a tenfold Order. All formal acts including rehabilitation can be carried out in a twenty-fold Order or in an Order of more than twenty (*Vin.*I.318).

Unity of the *Saṅgha* and causing Dissensions in it.

It is quite clearly seen that the Buddha always wished for unity in the Order and has often spoken in praise of unity among his disciples. In the *Mahāparinibbāna sutta* (*D.*II.*72ff.*), after speaking to the Magadhan minister Vassakāra on the factors contributing to the progress and not declining of the Vajjis, the Buddha got his disciples in and around Rajagaha assembled and instructed them on the same subject with regard to the Order. The first two factors he pointed out refer to unity in the Order, viz. i. the frequent meetings and meeting many a time; ii. meeting in unity, dispersing in unity and conducting the affairs of the Order in unity. As long as the members of the Order observe these and other factors pointed out by him, said the Buddha, they can expect the order to progress and not decline. In another discourse the Buddha has given six things making for affection, respect, conducive for concord, lack of contention, harmony and unity among the members of the Order (*M.*II.250). The *Dhammapada* (194) stresses the importance of unity in the Order when it states, 'happy is the unity of the *Saṅgha* and so is the discipline of the united'. The *Vinaya* (II.205) gives a slightly different version of the same.

"Happy is the unity in the Order and so is patronizing of the united.

Attached to unity, standing on dhamma, one falls not away from freedom from bondage',

Making the order united he rejoices in heaven for an aeon.

In an institution where unity and harmony are given such great prominence any attempt for its disruption and division would naturally be looked upon with disgust and abhorrence. This is in fact what is seen in the schismatic Devadatta's story. After succeeding only to draw blood out of the Buddha's body by his many unsuccessful attempts on the life of the Buddha, Devadatta finally decided to cause dissension in the Order. When Devadatta make known his wish to cause dissensions in the Order to other monks the Buddha warned him, "Enough Devadatta let not dissension in the Order be dear to you. It is, Devadatta, a very grave act. He who causes the united *Saṅgha* to break up commits a crime enduring for a whole aeon which would make him to bake in the hell for a whole aeon". At the same time the Buddha also stressed that one who unites a divided *Saṅgha* produces great merit (*brahmaṃ puññaṃ pasavati*) making him rejoice in heaven for an aeon (*ibid.* 191*ff*).

Four other grave offences are classed together with causing dissensions in the order as capable of causing one to suffer in the hell, viz, matricide, parricide, killing an arahant and letting out blood from a buddha's body with wicked intentions (*A.* III.*146*). The last of these is called the first heinous act with definite retribution in the very next life (*ānantarika kamma*), committed by Devadatta (*Vin.*II.193). The other four, including causing dissension in the Order (*saṅghabheda*), however, have not been directly so designated in canonical texts. Later, however, may be under the influence of the above *Vinaya* text, they also have come to be designated *ānantarika kamma*[2]. Thus causing a division in the Order by misrepresenting and misinterpreting the Dhamma and the rules of conduct, calumniating the Buddha etc. is called *saṅgha-bheda* (*Vin.* II 204), an *ānantarika kamma*. However it is stated that only a regular monk (*pakatatto*) belonging to the same communion (*samāna-saṃvāsiko*), staying within the same boundary, could cause a split in the Order. No one else, not even a *bhikkhunī*, can do it. They can only attempt to do so (*ibid.*). There are also two *Saṅghādisesa* offences listed as related to this (*Vin* III.171*ff.*). It is also ruled that one who attempts to cause division in the Order should not be given higher ordination (*upasampadā*), but, if given, he should be disrobed. (*ibid.*I.89).

Pātimokkha should not be recited in an assembly where a schismatic is present *(ibid.* 136) and invitation *(pavārana)* should not be performed with a schismatic in the assembly (*ibid.* 136).

Saṅgha as a Refuge: Initiation into the novitiate, male or female (*sāmaṇera* or *sāmaṇerī*) or to the Buddhist laity (s.v. *upāsaka, upāsikā*) is done by going for refuge to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the *Saṅgha* At the early stages even the ordination as a monk *(bhikkhu)* was done by going for the same three refuges. An *upāsaka* is in fact defined as one who has gone for refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the *Saṅgha.* Thus the *Saṅgha* constituted by the monks and nuns is the third refuge of Buddhists. These three refuges (*saraṇa*) are also called the three treasures (*ratanattaya; skt. ratnattraya*). Mahāyānists, however, seem to have replaced the Buddhist monks and nuns with Bodhisattvas as constituting the Āryasangha. For instance, the *Bodhicariyāvatāra*[1] commences with a salutation to the Sugata *(Buddha)*, with his sons (*sasutān*) and the *Dharmakāya.* By *sutān*, it is said, should be taken only the Bodhisattvas who are on various stages *(bhūmi)* on the path. Here Aryasaṅgha is equated with the Bodhisattvas, the sons of the Buddha.

However, even Theravādins have not considered the third refuge as comprising all monks *(bhikkhu)* and nuns (*bhikkhuṇī*). The commentator Buddhaghosa says, "This *Saṅgha* as the refuge is by meaning the assembly of the eight noble ones *(atthato aṭṭha ariyapuggala-samūho)*". To confirm he quotes a verse from the *Vimānavatthu (MA.*I.131). "And whereof they have said: great is the fruit of giving to those pure men in couples four – and eight are these men who are seers of Dhamma— come for refuge to this Order"

The *Khuddakapāṭha* Commentary gives a much-detailed exegesis on the concept of the *Saṅgha* as a refuge. Accordingly, the *Saṅgha* is a collection of individuals with a succession of aggregates (*khandha-santāna)* scented by the concentration (*samādhi)* of the four fruits of recluseship (*catu-sāmaññaphala)* united with the four noble paths *(ariya-magga)*, compacted by the union of right views (*diṭṭhi)* and moral discipline (*sīla*)".

The same source goes on to say that it is to this ideal *Saṅgha (paramattha Saṅgha)* the Buddha referred to in the discourses when he said, no two of them can hold different views on the thirty seven factors of the *Dhamma* which he enunciated as having realized by him through super knowledge (*abhiññā desitā dhammā*). It is this community (*Saṅgha*) of monks, which is described as "Worthy of veneration (*āhuneyyo*), hospitality (*pāhuneyyo*), gifts (*dakkhiṇeyyo*), being saluted with joined palms (*añjalikaraṇīyo*) and a peerless field of merit for the world (*anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassa*)". Of one who has gone for refuge to this *Saṅgha*, that going for refuge would not be broken or stained by acts of salutation etc. made to any other community of monks or nuns, the *Saṅgha* headed by the Buddha, the conventional (*sammuti*) *Saṅgha* or the individual members of the fourfold division etc. gone forth on account of the Buddha (*KhpA.*20). The *Dhammapada* (188-192) repudiating the validity of the commonly held belief in going for refuge to mountains, woods, groves, trees and shrines by those who are fear-stricken, states, "the refuge secure and supreme indeed is that of the Buddha, *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha.* By going for this refuge one is released from all *dukkha*".

Saṅgha as a Subject of Meditation: Reflection on the *Saṅgha,* in actual fact on the virtues of the *Saṅgha,* is given in canonical texts as a subject of meditation, the *saṅghānussati (D.*III.250). Among a series of subjects for meditation, which, when developed and frequently practised, would lead definitely to disillusionment *(nibbidāya)*, dispassion (*virāgāya*), cessation (*nirodhāya*), tranquility (*upasamāya*), super-knowledge (*abhiññāya*), full awakening (*sambodhāya*) and Nibbāna, reflection on the *Saṅgha* is one (*A.*I.30). This meditation along with that on the Buddha and the *Dhamma* is said to lead one to the paths of *sotāpatti* etc. (*J.*I.97). Admonishing Visākhā on the duties of one observing the *uposatha,* the Buddha says that one should, during that day, reflect on the virtues of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha* etc. There the reflection on the virtues of the *Saṅgha* is called *saṅghūposatha.*

Saṅgha as a Protection: Initially, going for refuge to the Triple Gem sealed one's admission to the Buddhist fold by accepting them as one's spiritual guides. The Buddha is the discoverer of the Path, the *Dhamma* is the Path and the *Saṅgha* represents those who have followed the Path and realized its highest benefits. Those who practise the *uposatha* precepts

are said to do it in emulating the life of Arahants who are fully emancipated by following the Path. (s.v. *Uposatha*). It is used as a subject inducing spiritual growth. However it also could ensure one's rebirth in a happy existence after death. In popular Buddhism going for refuge to the Triple Gem is believed to ensure safety and happiness in this life. Thus the Buddha is said to have admonished his disciples meditating in deep forests, in the shade of trees or in empty houses, to reflect on the virtues of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* or the *Saṅgha* if and when fear, stupefaction or horripillation assail them. The virtues of the *Saṅgha* mentioned here are those of the *Ariya Saṅgha* referred to above. Reflection on them, says the Buddha, will cause the fears etc to disappear (S.I.219f). The *Ratana sutta (Sn.227ff.)* verses contain a series of virtues of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*. At the end of each verse is an asseveration of truth, " this too is an excellent treasure *(ratana)* in the *Saṅgha*, and by this truth may there be happiness to you". Once again it is the ideal *Ariya Saṅgha* whose blessings are invoked here.

In popular Buddhist practices exemplified by the *paritta* recital, to invoke the blessings of the Triple Gem (*ratanattaya*) is a common thing. Thus to the canonical passages, containing the virtues of the Buddha, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*, used in popular rituals are annexed a few more lines expressing this wish for blessings. To the passage enumerating the virtues of the *Saṅgha* are added the following lines:"I do not have any other refuge, the *Saṅgha* is my best refuge; by these words of truth, may there be victory for me. With (my head), the highest limb, I salute the *Saṅgha* endowed with the threefold excellence. May the *Saṅgha* pardon me for any wrong I have committed to the *Saṅgha*". The two discourses mentioned above as well as the passages containing the virtues of the *Saṅgha* etc. are included in the *paritta* recitals. Many extra verses invoking the blessings of the Triple Gem are included in *paritta* recitals. For instance, in the poem named *Greater Victory Verses* is, found the following invocation.

"By the majesty of the *Saṅgha* may all calamities be destroyed and may your diseases be allayed"[4]. A verse of blessing added at the end of the *paritta* recital also may be added here as an example: "Whatever evil signs and what is inauspicious there may be, unpleasant notes of birds, influences of evil planets, and unpleasant dreams; may they all come to naught by the power of the *Saṅgha*"[5]. Thus the *Ariya Saṅgha*, like the Buddha and the *Dhamma*, has been converted into a virtual power pack with a capacity to burn out all calamities, diseases, etc. which could assail the peace of mind and the health of the body of the virtuous Buddhist devotees and enhance their quality of life here and ensure a happy life after death. "May the Triple Gem be your refuge" or "May the Threefold Refuges be yours" are common wishes often heard among Buddhists today.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1] Tr. Horner, I. B., *Book of the Discipline*, pt.4.xviii

[2] Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dicionary*, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Sri Lanka, 1980, s.v. *Anantarika kamma*

[3] Ed.Vaidya, P. L., Mithila Institute, Darbhaṅga, 1960, p.1-2

[4] *Maha Pirit Pota*, ed. Sri Piyaratana. Makuludūve, M.D.Gunasena and Company Ltd, 1995, p 316

[5] ibid.p.315

SAṄGHAKAMMA: Literally a Formal Act or Transaction by a *Saṅgha*, that is, a Corporate Body of Monks. It is an institution peculiar to the Buddhist monastic Order. Its history is part of the history of the foundation, growth and early development of the Order itself.

A *Saṅgha* is represented in the *Vinayapiṭaka* as functioning collectively through *Saṅghakamma*: it is taken as the main organ of *Saṅgha*, life and self government. For *Saṅghakammas* of various kinds, different forms and modes of procedure are prescribed, and on the meticulous observance of them validity of an 'act by the Saṅgha' is made to depend.

Unwrapped of its formalism, however, the essence of a *Saṅghakamma* is the substitution of collective for personal authority. This concept of a *Saṅgha's* collective authority emerged fairly early in the Buddhist order, though its complete crystallization came about only after the decease of the Founder[1]. The content and implications of the concept were well-defined.

The collective authority was conceived as inherent in the whole *Saṅgha*, in the corporative body in its entirety and not capable of being delegated to or represented by a group or concentrated in an individual. The Buddhist Order, in fact never evolved any institution comparable to the conclave or the consistory of the Roman Catholic Church, nor was there any functionary in a *Saṅgha* answering to an Abbot. The authority was exercisable only through the 'free vote' (*chanda*) of each individual member.

It embodies, as will be readily seen, the principle of what, in the political parlance of our day, is called 'free, individualistic democracy'. How the principle came to be established in the Buddhist monastic Order is an intriguing question which leads us straight into the history of its early organization.

Historically, the Buddhist Order was one of several that existed in the community of 'religious wanderers' (generally termed *paribbājakas*) of northern India at the time of the Buddha's advent in it. It was known by the collective name of *Sakyaputtiyā Samaṇā* (Religious Wanders who follow the Sakyaputta[2] and partook no doubt of the general character of contemporary sects. The three constitutive elements in the formation of a sect, as we may gather from the legends of the canon, were (i) A Master (called by his disciples *Satthā* or Instructer, and by others *saṅghī gaṇī gaṇācariyo* or 'sect- leader'), (ii) a common bond of faith in the Master's teaching (*dhamma*), and, lastly, (iii) discipleship (*uddesa*)[3]. In nearly all the religious systems of India,[4] this is the age-old traditional pattern of a sect: it is based on the relationship between a Master (called *guru*) and his band of disciples, large or small, an essentially personal bond.

The Sakyaputtiya Sect, however, soon outgrew this pattern: it gravitated towards coenobitical life and society with a body of *regula* of its own. The Buddhist Sect came to be differentiated by people from the general body of Paribbājaka.[5] But the transition left intact, while the Founder was alive, his own personal leadership and authority, inspite of an occasional futile challenge.[6]

This personal authority, as it seems, was invoked by his disciples in the last chapter of his life for directions regarding the organisation of the Order after his decease. The directions sought were; however, never given; in fact, the Founder expressly refused to give such directions. But he certainly made suggestions for a new orientation in the Order on two occasions, which are described in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. They were conveyed in the sermon on the 'Seven Conditions of Welfare' (*satta aparihāniyā dhammā*), delivered at Rājagaha on the eve of his last missionary tour and in an exhortation to his disciples in the course of the same tour at Beluwa, during his convalescence from a serious illness.[7]

The sermon on the 'Conditions of Welfare' had a somewhat sensational background of events, the military preparations then being made by the king of Magadha against the Vajji republic. Having prophesied to the king's minister victory for the Vajjis, the Buddha pointed to the sources of their strength which lay in what he called the 'Seven Conditions of Welfare'. The first of them was their republican practice of holding '*full and frequent assemblies*' for the transaction of their state business. He followed up this prediction in respect of the Vajjis with an address to his monk-followers to whom he held up the example of the Vajjis, in conducting the affairs of the Order.

The next pronouncement was made when Ananda, fearing that the Master had not long to live, solicited him at Beluva to "say something touching on the Order" by which was evidently meant some direction for the organization and administration of the Order after him. The request, very politely worded, was refused. The Buddha declined to give any direction – for such direction was proper only, as he explained, on the part of one who considered himself to be the leader of the Order, and such a position he absolutely repudiated for himself. It was a democrat's reaction to the idea of personal rule or dictatorial action in any form. And he followed up this denial with an impassioned exhortation to his disciples to be each a 'refuge' unto himself, a 'lamp' (or 'island'[8]) unto himself, scouting all external refuge.

These two utterances of the Buddha, recorded in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* and made when he was nearing the end of his life, were steeped in his personality. As a convinced democrat, he would not dictate, but he certainly pointed in these two utterances to the lines which he wished the Order to take for its after-organisation. Taken together, they constituted, in effect, the *magna carta* of the Order.

In the first place; the idea of personal headship was abandoned by the Order after the Founder's decease; in the second place, the 'assembly system', recommended by him with reference to the example of the Vajjis, was adopted; in the third place, the fullness and completeness (*samaggatā*) of the assembly, by which was meant the inclusion in it of all qualified members in a corporate body of monks, was taken as the primary condition for the validity of all proceedings of a monks assembly.

Stemming from these fundamental principles, rules and regulations grew up in the process of the development of the Order from a scattered and dispersed body to a network of independent monastic corporations: rules defining membership, qualifications, the procedural formalities of a monk – assembly, different forms of *Saṅghakamma*, the method of taking votes at an assembly, &c. Set forth in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya piṭaka* they constitute altogether a sizable *corpus juris*.

How this development in the Buddhist Order was viewed by contemporary non-Buddhists is narrated in the inset legend of the *Gopaka-Moggallāna Sutta* of the *Majjhima- Nikāya* (see below), where Ananda explains to Vassakāra the new organization adopted by the Order.

The *Saṅghakamma* in its present, fully developed form, was the functional expression of its new character and constitution; it was concomitant with the transition of the Order, to quote the words of Oldernberg,[9] "from a monarchical to a republican type". Before it reached its final stage, it had a long period of growth and maturity as an institution and was the result of developments that took place in the Order.

The Break –up of the Primitive Unitary Saṅgha: The scattered character of the primitive body of monks, among whom the original *Paribbājaka* tradition still lingered,[10] is well expressed by the designation given to it by the Founder: the *Bhikkhu Saṅgha* of the Four Quarters' (*Cātuddisa- Bhikkhu-Saṅgha*)[11]. Though the principle of coenobitism had been adopted early by the Buddhists, it took a long time- perhaps more than a century after the Founder's decease- before the *Saṅgha* settled down to a completely coenobitical life and the *āvāsas*, originally intended for the rain-retreat, became residential congregations[12]. When it did, however, the '*Saṅgha* of the Four Quarters' no longer remained a reality, but became only an ideal concept;[13] it was split up into regional and local units, each of which called itself a '*Saṅgha*', functioning for itself within its delimited residential boundaries.

Compilation of a Disciplinary Code: Neither the form nor the actual terms of the original *regula* which bound the monks together when they first evolved from a sect to an order are known. They must have been derived and collected from the Founder's injunctions to the monks on different occasions. But, at a certain stage in the early organisation of the *Saṅgha* these *regula* came to be edited in the form of a code- a classified list of transgressions of the ethical proprieties of a monk's life and conduct. It was called the *Pāṭimokkha*, (q.v.) one of the several etymological meanings of which is 'something that prevents scattering', that is, a bond.[14] The *Pāṭimokkha* became the bond of the Order. It had been initially conceived as an instrument of discipline, but when the system of discipline (*vinaya*) was fully developed later on, the code was retained only for liturgical recitation at the fortnightly *Uposatha* service.

The *Pātimokkha* code seems to have been not a closed, but a more or less elastic one, originally of 150 'clauses to be learnt' (*sikkhāpadāni*). But, in its oral transmission through the ages, it seems to have been considerably altered and enlarged till we have as many as 227 in the text of the Theravāda School.

The Institutionalising of Saṅghakamma: The custom of the periodical meeting together of a locally delimited body of monks is thus described in the *Gopaka Moggallāna Sutta:*

"Every Sabbath all of us who live in the precincts of a village meet as a body and in meeting enquire what each is doing. If, when this is being told, an offence or a transgression by a Bhikkhu is disclosed, we make him act according to the Dhamma and according to the *Pāṭimokkha*. It is not by us, we told, but by the Dhamma that he is constrained".[15]

From such informal proceeding to the strictly formal procedure of a *Saṅghakamma* a fairly long course of development on two parallel lines must be

presupposed. First, such meetings of Bhikkhus were regularized: they became 'assemblies' and their proceedings were invested with a formal and constitutional character. Secondly, the scope of these proceedings was gradually expanded till it came to embrace the entire collective functioning of a *Saṅgha*.

Thus, in the *pāṭimokkha* itself it is only for one group of offences, listed as *Saṅghādisesa*, (q.v.) that an, act by the *Saṅgha* is contemplated. For offences of this group, the penalties of *Parivāsa* (q.v.) (suspension for an indefinite period of a monk's ordinary rights, as described in *Cullavagga*, II, 1-3) and of *Mānatta* (q.v.) (penance for a further period of six days, *Cullavagga* II, 6-8) are prescribed even, 'against the offender's will' (*akāmā*). In the case of other offences, however, action by the *Saṅgha* is neither suggested nor any modes of dealing with the transgressions, (such as we find set down in *Cullavagga*, I.) defined. In the *Vinayapiṭaka*, however, each offence in the *Pātimokkha* is made subject to a *Saṅghakamma* in the appropriate form and two extra groups of offences, viz., *Thullaccaya and Dukkata* are added.

The *Saṅghakamma* institution was, in fact, involved in the process of internal, organizational development of the Order following on the Founder's decease.

As presented in the *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Saṅghakammas* are of different kinds, but they can be brought under two main categories, Non- disputatious and Disputatious; as follows:[16]

(i) Acts pertaining to the normal community life and ordinary business of a *Saṅgha*, for which the consent of all members could be presumed, e.g., settlement of the boundaries of an *āvāsa*; dedication of any part of the monastic establishment to some special utility, as storage, refectory, kitchen, &c.m., appointment of different functionaries to run the establishment; ordination of a monk; settlement of succession to the personal belongings of a deceased monk; the holding of the fortnightly *uposatha* service; rehabilitation of a monk who has atoned for an offence (*abbhāna*); arrangement for the *pavāraṇā* ceremony after the *vassa* (rainretreat); distribution of robes (*kaṭhina*) to the monks,&c.

(ii) Other acts, involving a dispute, where consensus could not be presumed. Under this category would come (a) all matters of discipline arising out of breaches of the *regula* and pertaining to transgression of the *pāṭimokkha* code, and (b) matters of four kinds arising out of dispute (*adhikaraṇa*) (q.v.) either of a personal character or turning on a point of doctrine or practice or the validity of a *Saṅghakamma*.

Acts under category (ii), disciplinary or otherwise, were made subject to certain formalities of procedure listed in the sixth section of the *pāṭimokkha* under the caption *Adhikaraṇa-samatha* (Relations for the settlement of Disputes).

Saṅghakammas in their mature, formal development belong, as we have pointed out, to a stage in the growth of the Order when the Order was represented by unitary organisations, each calling itself a '*Saṅgha*' and delimited regionally or locally.

For the validity of a *Saṅghakamma* , the entire *Saṅgha* (excepting members under some disability or members temporarily absent who were allowed, however, to vote by proxy) within the residential limits of a monastic establishment had to meet in assembly. But for certain specified acts, the *Saṅgha* must have a minimum numerical strength: (i) four, for all acts except *upasampadā* (Ordination), *pavāraṇa* (post –*vassa* ceremony) and *abbhāna* (rehabilitation of a monk after atonement for an offence); (ii) five, for all acts, except *Upasampadā* in 'border countries' for which there was a special regulation[17] and *Abbhāna*; (iii) ten, for all acts except *abbhāna*; and (iv) twenty, upwards for all acts.

It is to be understood that these minima constitute quorums for transaction of business, not committees. The entire number of monks must be present in the assembly and the Vinaya rules do not recognise a committee except in the special form of procedure called *ubbāhikā*[18] prescribed in those cases in which the assembly fails to come to a decision on account of confusion prevailing.

The form of a *Saṅghakamma* consists of two parts-first, *Ñatti* (resolution) and then the *Anussāvana* or *Kammavācā* (proclamation of the act resolved upon). The matter for decision by *Saṅghakamma* is defined by a bhikkhu in the form of a Resolution and

put before the whole assembly: "Let this (the matter defined) be done". Then comes its formal announcement and proclamation to the assembly. The inversion of this order would invalidate the proceeding *abinitio*.

Those who were against the Resolution were called upon ti speak and those for it to remain silent. The Proclamation was made only once in certain *Saṅghakammas*, which were called *Ñattidutiya*, and three times in others called *Ñatticatuttha*, and the observance of the distinction was held to be necessary for the validity of the act. But which *Saṅghakammas* were of the first category, and which of the second, is not precisely defined anywhere in the *Vinaya- piṭaka* itself and the reason for the distinction remains a surmise[19]. The criterion was perhaps the comparative importance of a Resolution.

The conditions of a valid act would summarily be as follows:[20]

(i) The presence in assembly of at least the minimum number competent to perform the act. This is a condition precedent. In other words ratification (*anumati*) by a member who was not actually present at the *Saṅghakamma* but ratifies it after its performance is invalid. This was decided at the Council of Vesāli (*Cullavagga*, XII, I, 10).

(ii) The votes (*chanda*) of all the absentees conveyed by proxy.

(iii) The proposal of the Resolution (*ñatti*).

(iv) The proclamation of the Resolution (*anussāvanā or Kammavācā*), once or three times, according as the act was of the *ñ attidutiya* or the *Ñatticatuttha* order.

(v) Consent to the Proposal given by silence of all duly qualified members of the assembly. When there is a division of opinion, it becomes a case of Dispute (*Adhikaraṇa*) which has to be dealt with under the appropriate regulations of *Adhikaraṇa-samatha*.

Failure to satisfy anyone of these conditions would invalidate the act. When it was invalid, it could be impugned at a subsequent assembly by way of a *Kiccādhikaraṇa* and the matter opened afresh. But when the matter is decided by a valid act, it becomes *res judicata* and the reopening of it would amount to a *Pācittiya* offence (No. 63).[21]

Between Non-disputatious and Disputatious *Saṅghakammas* the crucial differences is in procedure. In the latter, the matter in dispute has to pass through a preliminary stage of investigation, the result of which governs the form of the *Ñatti*. It is here that the *Adhikaraṇa- samatha* comes into operation.

They are in a category of seven: (see e.g. *D*.III.254, *M* II.247).

(i) 'Proceeding in presence' *Sammukhā - vinaya*.

(ii) 'Preceding for the consciously innocent' *Sati-vinaya*.

(iii) 'Proceeding in the case of those who are no longer out of their minds' *Amūḷha vinaya*.

(iv) 'Proceeding on confession of guilty' - *Paṭiññā*.

(v) 'Proceeding by vote of majority' *Yebhuyyasikā*

(vi) 'Proceeding for the obstinate' *Tassa-pāpiy-yasikā*

(vii) 'Proceeding by covering over with grass' - *Tinavatthārakā*

Of these (v) and (vii) are devices intended to set the dispute at rest. The former is used in cases in which unanimity cannot be achieved and proceeds according to the regulations for ballot (*salāka*) voting being under the directions of a polling –officer (*salāka-gāhā- paka*) appointed by the assembly for the purpose[22]. The latter is employed in cases where, in the course of the *Saṅghakamma*, quarrels and disputes have broken out and numerous causes of complaint, each needing a *Saṅghakamma* to settle it, have arisen. It is appropriately named: 'spreading grass' over the controversy.

Besides (i) its ordinary functions and (ii) its connection with matters of monastic discipline, another very important aspect of life in the *Saṅgha* came under the jurisdiction of *Saṅghakamma* with the institution of *Adhikaraṇa- Samatha*.

The *Adhikaraṇa –samatha*, which is undoubtedly of later introduction in the development of *Saṅgha* life and organisation, forms an addendum to the

Pāṭimokkha Code[23]. Its purpose was to prevent, as explained in the *Sāmagāma Sutta* (of the *Majjhima Nikāya*), disruptive tendencies in the *Saṅgha*.

This sutta reports a conversation between the Buddha and Ānanda, occasioned by the death of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. The Sect founded by Nātaputta was torn with dissensions on the latter's death, and the Buddha asked Ānanda whether such things were likely in the Order after his own decease. Ānanda apprehended dissensions over the *regimen of the pāṭimokkha*' i.e., over the rigours of monastic discipline. But the Buddha was not concerned over them.

"Of little consequence, Ananda, are quarrels respecting the rigours of the Vinaya or of the *pāṭimokkha*: it is the possible quarrels in the *Saṅgha* over the Path or the course of training that really matter"[24]. Such differences, in the Buddha's view, tended to divide the *Saṅgha*. So for their settlement, the Buddha laid down the rules of *Adhikaraṇa-samatha*.

It has to be borne in mind that the tradition in monastic life was one of intense individualism. The Buddha had called upon his monk-followers to be each a 'lamp' (or ' island') unto himself and, further, that there was no vested authority in a Saṅgha to silence expressions of dissident opinion, however extreme. Disputes, therefore, broke out frequently, degenerating into wrangling (*viggāhikakathā*) between monks on points of doctrine or practice, such as is reported in the introduction to the *Brahmajāla Suttanta*.

Disputes of this character were brought under the jurisdiction of the *Saṅgha*. They were put under four cartegories:

(i) *Vivādādhikaraṇa-Disputes* on certain specified matters which may be summarized as (a) points of doctrine (*dhamma*), (b) rules of discipline (*vinaya*), (c) "the teaching , practices or ordainment of the Buddha" and (d) the specification of an offence (i.e., to which class in the *Pāṭimokkha* Code, it should properly be assigned).

(ii) *Anuvādādhikaraṇa*- Disputes regarding the state of a monk's opinion, morals, character, conduct or manner of life.

(iii) *Āpattādhikaraṇa*- Dispites regarding specified kinds of offences alleged against a monk. This would lead to the adoption of disciplinary proceedings.

(iv) *Kiccādhikaraṇa*-Disputes regarding the procedure of a *Saṅghakamma* or the duties and obligations of the *Saṅgha*.

Illustrations:

(i) At an *āvāsa* at Vesāli, some bhikkhus invite laymen to offer money to the *Saṅgha*. The elder Yasa says it is against the *dhamma*. This is a *Vivādādhikaraṇa* which must be brought before the *Saṅgha* and dealt with in proper form (see account of the Council of Vesali in *Cuvavagga*, XII, 1).

(ii) At an *āvāsa* at Vesāli some bhikkhus allege that Yasa had propounded a false doctrine to layman: this is an *Anuvādādhikaraṇa* to be brought formally before the *Saṅgha* and dealt with (*ibid*).

(iii) At an *āvāsa* at Rajagaha, a nun named Mettiyā complains that a monk named Dabba has committed the sixth *Pācittiya* offence with her (' lying down to sleep in the same place with a woman') : this is an *Āpattādhikaraṇa* to be placed before the *Saṅgha* and dealt with. (see the story of Dabba in *Cullavagga*, iv,4,8, where the allegation is found to be false and proceedings are taken against the complainant.)

(iv) At an *āvāsa*, alleged that a certain *Saṅghakamma* had not been attended with the requisite conditions (e.g., the minimum number was not made up): this is a *Kiccādhi karaṇa*; it is to be brought before the *Saṅgha*.

Of these four categories, (iii) is of some significance. A monk who has committed, willingly or unwillingly, some offence under the *Pāṭimokkha* code, would normally be expected to take the initiative and present himself before the *Saṅgha* for atonement. After atonement he would be rehabilitated by the form of a *Saṅghakamma* called *abbhāna*. But if the offence was alleged by some other monk, it became a case of (iii). The appropriate *adhikaraṇa-samatha* mode of

procedure would be adopted in that case, with investigation and interrogatories preceding the *Ñatti* and governing the form of the *Ñatti*. The case of *Uvāla* (described in *Cullavagga*.V.II) is a good illustration in point. The form of *Saṅghakamma* called *Tassa-pāpiyyasikā* was gone through in this case in the *Amūlha-vinaya* mode of procedure.

The *Saṅghakamma* institution, as remarked already, was peculiar to the Buddhist moastic Order, having no known counterpart in any other religious system of Indian origin. It was the special outgrowth of the republican type of constitution and policy of a Buddhist *Saṅgha* that the Founder himself had outlined for the Order. Perhaps, in no other part of the system of Buddhism is the stamp of the Founder's own personality so clear and outstanding as in the organisation of the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. Its fundamental republican idea is directly traceable to his teachings, as we have shown.

There are two interesting questions, however, with regard to *Saṅghakamma* which are of importance in the content of ancient Indian history.

The first is about the provenance of its specialised forms and underlying constitutional ideas. How much of them did actually originate with the Buddha and the monks and how much was taken from the prevalent practices of government in the republican states which existed in northern India in that age?

These forms and concepts, as set forth in the *Vinayapiṭaka*, seem already matured by long practice and are known by technical names, such, for examples, as *Ñatti* and *Anusāvanā* (Resolution and its proclamation in an assembly), *Vaggakamma* and *Samaggakamma* (an Act done by incomplete assembly and one by a complete assembly), *Yebhuyyasikā* (Rule of majority), &c.

An interesting theory propounded by the late K.P Jayaswal in his well known work *Hindu Polity*, is "the Buddhist *Saṅgha* was copied from the political *Saṅgha*" and "the Buddha only adopted the procedure-rules (i.e., *those already existing or traditional in the republican State – system)* for the particular kinds of cases arising in his organization", and that "to perpetuate the 'republic of *dharma*' he adopted the constitution and constitutional practices of the republic of politics"[25].

The theory receives no doubt a measure of support from the " Vajji incident" reported in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, quoted earlier, and the Buddha's recommendation to his monk- followers to adopt the practice of holding ' full and frequent assemblies, characteristic of that Vajji tribal republic. But our knowledge of how the contemporary republican States round the kingdom of Magadha in the Buddha's day transacted their State business in these assemblies is far too limited to warrant the presumption that the monks' assemblies copied wholesale the political assemblies in their own proceedings.

The next question that arises is:- To what extent were the laws of the *Vinayapiṭaka* and the *Saṅghakammas* of the monks transacted under them recognised by the State in ancient India ?

A somewhat extraordinary fact of ancient Indian history is that, during many long centuries from, say, the fourth century before Christ to the Moslem invasion of eastern India towards the end of the twelfth century, the Buddhist *Saṅghas*, scattered all over India kept up their existence, though during that space of time many revolutions and dynastic changes took place. Sometimes, a State changed hands from a ruler who favoured Buddhism to one of a different religious persuasion who discountenanced the religion and perhaps was inimical to it. The *saṅghas* under all these revolutionary changes and shifting conditions maintained themselves continuously, whether flourishing or in decay. The secret of it seems to lie in the fact that Buddhist *Saṅghas* had a certain recognized constitutional status which no ruler of ancient India, of whatever religious persuasion; could, without abrogating traditions of constitutional rule, alter or violate.

Certain passages in ancient Sanskrit works on statecraft and jurisprudence indicate that an established policy of State in ancient India was for the ruler to recognize the right of self-government of corporations and communities which had their own *corpus* of laws. This 'conventional law', as it is termed in jurisprudence, of a corporation or a community was called *Samaya*. In the juridical sense, therefore, the *Vinaya* of the Buddhist would be recognized as *Samaya*'[26]. Perhaps some explanation of the strict formalism and constitutionalism of the various kinds of

Saṅghakammas may be found in the fact that the *Saṅghas* were corporate bodies and their acts had legal validity and recognition by the state.

Certain offences in the *Vinayapiṭaka* entail the penalty of expulsion from the *Saṅgha*. We may suppose that, in case of recalcitrance, the decision of the *Saṅgha* could be carried out with the help of official guardians of law and order. One of Asoka's few edicts touching on the affairs of the *Saṅghas* is the well-known pillar- edict at Sārnāth in which the Emperor makes it known to all that those monks who produce dissensions in a *Saṅgha* are liable to be 'unfrocked'. However, it is not really 'the King's law' imposed on a self- governing community, but the law of the community itself[27], which was promulgated in the edict, perhaps because the circumstances were such that the pious Buddhist ruler, keenly interested in the welfare of the Buddhist Order, sensed a danger to its solidarity from fissiparous tendencies prevailing in many *Saṅghas* in that, part of his empire.

Over at least a millennium and a half of ancient Indian history, there were monasteries and resident monk- communities scattered all over India. The *Saṅghas* were corporate bodies; they were self-governing, living under the *Vinaya* laws of their canon and having in the *Saṅghakamma* institution a system of administration of these laws; and as corporations governed by their own 'conventional law'(*Samaya*), they had in the body politic a recognized status. Against all the chances and changes of history, ancient Indian traditions of government were their safeguard. They fell only to those for whom these traditions had no value because they never knew them, the Moslem invaders at the end of the twelfth century of the Christian era[28].

S.Dutt.

References

1. See e.g. *Mahāvagga* I, 121 ff where the Buddha quite early in his career empowers monks to give the *pabbajjā* and *Upasampadā* ordination by the threefold declaration of taking refuge (*Saraṇāgamana*)cp. Ibid.1,28, 3ff. where this is abolished and replaced by the *Ñatticatutthakamma* (G.P.M.)
2. e.g. *Mahāvagga* 1,25,2 "Manussā (people) say this: that the *Sākyaputtiya Samaṇas* do such and such things."
3. "Who is your *satthā*? Whose *dhamma* is after your heart? under whose direction (*kaṃuddissa*) are you in the wanderer's life?" these were the conventional queries which used to be made by monks on meeting each other, for mutual recognition and acquaintance. See *Mahāvagga* I, 23, 2. Also *Ibid.* 1,6,7, where Upaka puts the same questions in accosting the Buddha.
4. With the exception of the Sikh Khālsa sect who, following the injunction of Guru Govind Singh, put their holy book , *Granth Sahab*, in the place of *Guru*.
5. "They are not Bhikkhus but Paribbājakas" (*Cullavagga* V, 23, 2): also compare *Pācittiya* 41 in *Pāṭimokkha* which makes it an offence on the part of a bhikkhu to offer alms to a *Paribbājaka*.
6. This is suggested by the "Devadatta legends". Devadatta intended to wrest from the Buddha the leadership of the Order.
7. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* 1,6 and II, 31-33.
8. The expression *Atta- dīpā* in II *Ibid.* II 33 used to be translated as "lamps unto yourselves". But it is explained by Buddhaghosa as " islands unto yourselves," i.e., fixed in your own beliefs and convictions even as an island is in the midst of bastion sea-waves. In the text of the Sanskrit version of this Suttanta, edited by Waldschmidt (1950- 1951), the corresponding word for *dīpa* in the expression *atta- dīpā* appears as *dvīpa* in Sanskrit, meaning an island.
9. "The Order of Buddhists present, so long as the Master is alive , a union of teacher and scholars after the Brāhmanical model. The transition of such a community, so to speak, from a monarchical type to a republican, its passing somehow, when the teacher dies, into a confederacy of independent members existing side by side, is wholly unknown in the religious systems of the Brāhmans. This very transition has completed itself in Buddhism . Oldenberg's the Buddha (translated by Hoey, 1882).
10. See S. Dutt's *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp. 112-125.
11. For fuller treatement, see *ibid.*, Chapter V (*Growth of the Buddhist Coenobium*).
12. See *ibid.*, pp. 83-86.
13. See *ibid.*, pp.88-90.

14. See *ibid.*, pp.92-93.
15. Futher Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. II, p. 160 (slightly modified). *Mahāvagga* II, 1-2, seems to indicate that these periodical gatherings began to guide early in the Buddha's ministry and that they began as a result of a request from King Bimbisāra (G.P.M).
16. This division of *Saṅghakammas* into two cafegories is not based on canonical authority, but is suggested by the different modes of procedure prescribed for them respectively and is made for classified in vinaya treatises, four classes are mentioned, *Apalokanakamma, Ñattikamma, Ñattidutiyakamma* and *Ñatticatutthakamma,* details of these will be found elsewhere (G.P.M.).
17. See *Mahāvagga*, V, 13,12 in Border Countries four *Bhikkhus* and a Chairman who has the status of a Vinayadhara are prescribed.
18. At the council of *Vesāli* which was actually a convention called for the settlement of a *Vivādādhikaraṇa*, this form of procedure was adopted, the points of dispute being referred to a committee.
19. The Vinaya commentators and such books as the *Vinaya Vinichchaya* however give particulars of the different categories (G.P.M).
20. The enumeration is based on *Mahāvagga*,IX, 3.9, which relates to a *Ñattidutiya Kamma*, but the same , *mutatis mutandis*, applies to *a Ñatticatuttha Kamma*.
21. "*Yo pana bhikkhu jānam yathādhammam nihatādhikaranam punakammāya ukkoṭeyya pacittiyam*".
22. The details of ballot- taking under the *Yebhuyyasikā* mode procedure are not in the *Vinayapiṭaka* itself, but in Buddhaghosa's commentary. See *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp.159-161.
23. They are omitted from the *Sutta- vibhaṅga* commentary.
24. *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, II.p.140.
25. *Hindu polity* (1934 Ed. Butterworth, Calcutta), pp.103, 116,117.
26. *See Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp.172-176.
27. The Sārnath Pillar- edict of Asoka is apparently based on the follwing text of Mahāvagga, I, 67: "*Sanghabhedako bhikkhave anupasampanno na upasampādetabbo upasampanno nāsetabbo*". A monk who creates schism should, if he does not possess the *upasampadā* not be given the higher ordination; if he already has *upasampadā* he should be expelled (from the order).
28. Buddhism as an organized religion had gone into decline in most parts of India in the twelfth century A.C. But it flourished locally, especially in Bihar and Bengal. These provinces were exposed towards the end of the century to invasion by Muslims. When Bihar was overrun by the invaders about 1197, there was a wholesale massacre of Buddhist monks and destruction of monasteries. The holocaust is described by an eye- witness whose account appears in *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* (Raverty's translation, Asiatic Society of Bengal, p.552).

SAṄGHAMITTA: A Chola bhikkhu from India, a follower of the Vetullavāda, a heretical doctrine which is contrary to Theravāda Buddhism. It is said that at the Thupārama he defeated in debate the thera Goṭhābhaya and thereby became a favourite of King Goṭhābhaya. Sanghamitta was appointed tutor to the king's two sons Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena. When Jeṭṭhatissa came to the throne at the death of his father Goṭhābhaya, Sanghamitta returned to the Cola country as he was not in the good books of Jeṭṭhatissa; but on the accession of Mahāsena to the throne, Sanghamitta returned to Sri Lanka to consecrate him as king. When he had carried out the consecration and the other ceremonies connected to it, Sanghamitta who wanted to bring about the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, won the king to himself with the words: 'The dwellers in the Mahāvihāra do not teach the true Vinaya, we are those who teach the true Vinaya'. He persuaded the king to impose a royal penalty on those who bestowed alms to the Mahāvihāra monks.

The *bhikkhus* dwelling in the Mahāvihāra, who thereby fell into want, abandoned the Mahāvihāra, and went to Malaya and Rohana, and Mahāvihāra became desolate for nine years. Sanghamitta with the inspiration of the king (Mahāsena) got his supporters to destroy the abandoned Mahāvihāra.

A favourite servant of the king, minister Sona, who was an adherent of Sanghamitta got his men to destroy the Lohapāsāda which was seven stories high and carried away the material of the many buildings of the Lohapāsāda to the Abhayagiri Vihāra to enrich it.

The minister Meghavarnābhaya, the trusted friend of the king, subsequently could convince the king that he had done a grave wrong in destroying the Mahāvihāra and the Lohapāsāda and the king vowed to rebuild them to their former glorious state. Meanwhile, one of the king's wives who grieved over the destruction of the Mahāvihāra and the Lohapāsāda employed a trusted labourer to kill Sanghamitta and the minister Sona who supported Sanghamitta, as they came to destroy the Thupārāma (s.v. *DDPN. Mhv.* ch. xxxii)

W.G. Weeraratne

SAṄGHAMITTĀ : Sanghamittā Arahat Theri, the daughter of Emperor Asoka and Vidisā devi and the sister of Arahat Mahinda was the founder of the Order of Nuns (*Bhikkhuṇi Sāsana*) in Sri Lanka. Several literary sources are extant for the study of her life and services. Among the literary sources the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini*, its commentary, the *Samantapāsādikā* the Vinaya commentary of Buddhaghosa, the *Pali Mahā Bodhivaṃsaya*, the *Sinhala Bodhivaṃsaya* are the most useful. As she has almost devoted her entire life for the services of Lanka and the *Buddha sāsana* and was resident in Sri Lanka, references to her are absent in the literary sources of Indian origin. Therefore the students of history are compelled to depend on Sri Lankan records.

The Birth and the Young Age: All records provide the same account of her birth and young days with minor variations. According to these sources Asoka the son of King Bindusāra, having been appointed as the viceroy of Avanti, was on his way to Ujjayini, the administrative seat of Avanti. On the way Asoka stopped over at the city of Vedisagiri[1] and enjoyed the hospitality of Deva the guild chief (*Seṭṭhi*) of Vedisagiri. There he met Devi, the beautiful daughter of the *Seṭṭhi* and with the consent of the parents married her. She accompanied Asoka to Ujjayini, where she gave birth to a son who was named Mahinda. Two years later, she gave birth to a daughter and was named Sanghamittā.[2] The *Dīpavamsa* (chapter VI verse 20) says Mahinda was born 204 years after the *Parinibbāna* of the Buddha. The *Dīpavamsa* does not record the birth of Sanghamittā which the *Mahāvamsa* has specifically recorded. However on the above information it could be assumed that the birth of Sanghamittā has taken place 206 years after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha.

Some times later Asoka got the message that his father, king Bindusāra, was critically ill and rushed to Pāṭaliputra. According to the *Vaṃsatthappakāsini* (p. 325) Asoka left his wife and children at Vedisānagara and proceeded to Pāṭaliputta. The king Bindusāra died soon after Asoka's arrival. Asoka conducted the last rites of his father; waged war against his half brothers ninety-nine in number; killed them and wrested the power and established himself in the throne. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (chapter VI verse 21) says Mahinda was 10 when Asoka killed his brothers and Sanghamittā would have been 8 by that time. Similarly the *Dīpavaṃsa* (chapter VI verse 22) says that when Asoka was anointed, Mahinda was 14 and Sanghamittā would have been 12 years of age at the time.

Saṅghamittā and the husband: Sanghamittā is reported to have been married to a prince named Aggibrahmā apparently when she was yet a teenager. But when the marriage took place is not recorded. The *Dīpavamsa* is silent on her marriage and also on Aggibrahmā. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter V. verse 169) Sanghamittā's husband was Aggibrahmā, a nephew (*bhāgineyya*) of Asoka. The *Mahāvamsa loc. cit.* verse 170) further adds that Aggibrahmā too was ordained on his request along with the sub king (Uparāja). Furthermore the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*loc. cit.* verse 201) adds that Sanghamittā was determined to enter the Order since Aggibrahmā's ordination. The *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*. I. p. 51) and the *Mahā Bodhivaṃsa* (p. 102) recount the same account on Aggibrahmā. No further information is available on Aggibrahmā, Sanghamittā Theri's husband before her ordination.

Saṅghamittā's son: Princess Sanghamittā is reported to have had a son, by the prince Aggibrahmā who was named Sumana. He was the novice Sumana (Sumana sāmaṇera) who accompanied Mahā Mahinda Thera to Lanka. (The *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter V verse 170 and chapter XIII verse 4). The *Samantapāsādikā* (*VinA*.I p. 69)and the *Mahā Bodhivaṃsa* (p. 116) identify Sumana sāmanera as the son of Sanghamittā. The *Dīpavaṃsa* (Chapter XII verse 13) refers to Sāmanera Sumana; but does not identify him as the son of Sanghamittā. No information is available pertaining to the birth of Sumana sāmanera or his age.

A Sinhala literary work the *Pūjāvaliya* of the 13^{th} century in the context of Mahinda Thera's arrival in Lanka says the group that accompanied the Thera included Sanghamittā's son sāmaṇera Sumana who was seven years old. There appears to be some problem with this statement of *Pūjāvaliya* which says that Sumana samanera was seven years of age when he accompanied Mahinda Thera to Lanka. It is difficult to reconcile this with the other records. When Mahinda and Sanghamittā were ordained they were 20 and 18 years respectively (*Mhv*. Chapter V verse 204) which occurred in the 6^{th} regnal year of Asoka (*Dīpavamsa* Chapter VII verse 22). The Uparāja Tissa, Aggibrahmā and Sumana were ordained in the 4^{th} regnal year of Asoka (*Mahāvaṃsa* chapter V verse 171). That means two years earlier than the ordination of Mahinda and Sanghamittā. Therefore when Uparaja Tissa, Aggibrahmā and Sumana were ordained Mahinda would have been 18 years of age, and Sanghamitta would have been 16 years old.

If we take the seven years age of Sumana sāmanera given in the *Pūjāvaliya* as his age at the time of his ordination, which is reasonable, not his age when he arrived in Lanka with Mahinda Thera, he would have been born when his mother Sanghmittā was only nine years which is very doubtful. When the Elder Mahinda came to Lanka he was 32 years of age (*Mhv*. XIII verse 1), which means he has completed 12 rainy seasons after his *upasampadā*. The Uparājatissa, Aggibrahmā and Sumana were ordained 2 years before, as already stated. Therefore when the Elder Mahinda and his company came to Lanka Sumana Samanera who was in the company has completed 14 years after his ordination. If he was ordained at the age of 7 years at least he would have been 21 years of age when he came to Lanka. At the age of 20 he was qualified to receive his *upasampadā*. But all the sources still refer to him as "sāmanera". It is not clear why he was not established in the *Upasampadā*, when he was 20 years of age or whether there was any special reason to delay his higher ordination. However, it is difficult to reconcile the report which says Sanghmittā's son Sumana entered the order with Uparājatissa, and his father Aggibrahmā two years before his mother at the age of seven and why he is still called *sāmanera* even after his arrival in Lanka.

Sanghamittā's Ordination: All the sources agree that Sanghmittā entered the Order as a result of a request made by her father king Asoka. It is said that the king Asoka, after he became a Buddhist patronized Buddhism in an unprecedented level. He constructed 24,000 *vihāras* throughout his empire and provided alms for 60,000 monks daily. Afterwards he wanted to know whether he was a kinsman of the *Buddhasāsana*. The Mahāsangha requested the Elder Moggaliputtatissa to answer that query. The Thera replied that unless one ordains his own son or daughter he is not a kinsman of the *Sāsana*. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter V verse 194) at this instance says the Thera answered so considering the future prospect of Mahinda and Sanghamittā. The king immediately inquired from his son and daughter who were there, whether they would like to enter the Order. There was no hesitation on the part of Mahinda and Sanghamittā who were 20 and 18 years of age respectively at the time. They readily agreed. The *Mahāvaṃsa* says they wanted to enter the order that day itself (*ajjeva pabbajissāma Mhv*. V verse 200).The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter V verse 201) further says that Sanghamittā was decided to enter the *sāsana* since the ordination of her husband Aggibrahmā (two years earlier). When her husband was ordained she was sixteen years of age. Sanghamittā's marriage[3] life appear to have been very short. She was only eighteen years of age when she was ordained.

Though her brother Mahinda received both *pabbajjā* and *upasampadā* (ordination and higher ordination) together Sanghamittā received *pabbajjā* only as she was under age yet. Sanghamittā received her precepts on the same day she received her ordination. The *Mahāvaṃsa* has preserved the names of her preceptor (*upajjhāya*) and the teacher (*ācārya*), in which respect *Dīpavaṃsa* is silent. They were Dhammapālā and Āyupālā respectively as per the record.

> *Sanghamittāyu-pajjhāyā Dhammapālāti vissutā*
> *Ācariyā Āyupālā kāle sā'si anāsavā*
>
> (*Mhv*. Chapter V. verse 208)

It is further said there that she became an arahant in due course. It is in this context that the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chapter V verse 209) records that their ordination took place in the 6^{th} regnal year of Asoka.

For the next 12 years, in none of the sources, information is available about Sanghamittā Theri. She is heard of after Mahinda Thera's arrival in Lanka. As per the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter XV verse 19 f) the king

Devānampiyatissa's younger brother Mahānāga's wife Anulā along with 500 women wanted to enter the order, which the king intimated to Mahinda Thera. The Thera's reply was "Oh! King we are not permitted to ordain women. (*na kappati, Mahārāja pabbājetum thiyo hi no Mhv.* Ch. XV verse 20).

Sanghamittā Theri accepts Mahinda Thera's request to come to Lanka:-

It was at this instance Mahā Mahinda Thera mentioned about Sanghamittā Theri to the king Devānampiyatissa.

Atthi Pāṭaliputtasmim Bhkikkhuṇi me kaniṭṭhikā Sanghamittā ti nāmena vissutāsābahussutā

(*Mhv.* ch. XV verse 21)

" Oh king at Pātaliputta my younger sister Theri Sanghamittā is there, she is learned and well known. She will come here". Mahinda Thera requested the king to send the message to his father so that she would come with the *bhikkhuṇis* bringing the branch of the Mahābodhi in order to ordain these ladies. It appears that Mahinda Thera has had already planned Theri Sanghmittā's visit with the Bodhi sapling. He waited till the necessity arose to propose to the king to invite the Theri, at the same time it is seen that the women in the island have been advanced enough to request for the opportunity to enter the order, no sooner Buddhism was introduced and there has been no objection from the king and the society for this request.

The king entrusted the responsibility of bringing the Theri and the Bodhi to the minister named "Ariṭṭha" and he carried two messages to the Emperor Asoka one from Mahinda Thera and the other from the king Devānampiyatissa requesting the dispatch of the Theri and the Bodhi. *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. XVIII verse 16) states that the request concerned was conveyed to the Theri Sanghamittā also.

It is significant that even before the emperor Asoka took any action as regards the request from Lanka, it was the Theri Sanghamittā who took the lead. All the sources agree that no sooner she got her brother's (Mahinda thera's) message she proceeded to her father and sought permission to proceed to Lanka. Similarly all the sources say that the emperor Asoka did not agree with his daughter's (Sanghamittā Theri's) request for the permission to proceed to Lanka. The emperor is supposed to have explained that his son Mahinda Thera, grandson novice Sumana who were near and dear to him had already gone and Sanghamittā Theri was the only consolation remaining. Under the circumstance the Emperor expressed his objection. It was the natural reaction of an aging father. But Sanghamittā Theri was determined to accede to the request of her brother. She replied to her father thus:

Āha sā me mahārāja bhātuno vacanam garu pabbājaniyā ca bahu gantabbamtattha tenome

(*Mhv.* XVIII verse 18)

She replied Oh! Great king my brother's request is of great importance. There are many to be ordained. Therefore I must go". Saying so she insisted that she should go. The Emperor had no alternative but to accede to her request.

Bhikkhuṇis who accompanied Saṅghamittā Theri: The main purpose of Sanghamittā Theri's coming was the ordaining of Anulā Devi and her colleagues. Therefore she did not come alone, but came with the necessary number of *bhikkhuṇis* to perform the ordination and higher ordination (*pabbajjā* and *upasampadā*). The *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. XIX verse 5) says that she was accompanied by eleven *bhikkhuṇis* but does not divulge their names. But the *Dīpavaṃsa* has preserved the names of the *bhikkhuṇis* who have accompanied Sanghamittā Theri to Lanka. The *Dīpavaṃsa* had four lists of *bhikkhuṇis* slightly varying from each other.

In the first instance The *Dīpavamsa* (chap. XV verse 77f) says *bhikkhuṇis* such as Sanghamittā. Hemā, Māsagallā, Aggimittā, Mitamvadā, Tappā, Pabbatachinnā, Mallā, Dhammadāsiyā altogether nine *bhikkhuṇis* are coming. But in the second list (*loc cit* chap. XVII verse 21f) it is said Rucānandā, Kanakadattā, Sudhammā and Samghamittā brought the Bodhi. It is observed that the first is in the future tense and the second list in the past tense. The four names concerned (except Sanghamittā) are completely new names not found in the first list. But both added (except Sanghamittā) makes eleven *bhikkhuṇis*, the number of *bhikkhuṇis* mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

There is a third list of *bhikkhuṇis* in the chapter XVIII of the *Dīpavaṃsa* verses 11-12. The list which runs as Sanghamittā, Uttarā, Hemā, Pasādapālā, Aggimittā, Dāsikā, Pheggu, Pabbatā, Mattā, Mallā, Dhammadāsiyā. The list has eleven *bhikkhuṇis* including Sanghamittā. But if Vicakkhanā in the list is taken as a proper name instead of an adjective the list would have 12 including Sanghamittā. Here it is said that they came from Jambudīpa. It is not said that they came with the Bodhi. But there is no doubt that the list refers to these *bhikkhuṇis* who came with the Bodhi.

Another list of *bhikkhuṇis*, which may be called the fourth list is also found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (chap. XVIII verses 24-25). There it is said that Mahādevi, Padumā, Hemasā, Unnalā, Añjali and Sumā came with Sanghamittā accompanied by sixteen thousand *bhikkhuṇis*.

An examination of these four lists shows the four names in the second list are not found in the other three lists. Similarly the six names in the fourth list are not found in the other three lists except Hemasā which could be Hemā in the first and the third. Hemā, Aggimittā, Mallā, Dhammadāsi are common to the first and the third. The effort to reconcile these four lists appear to be a vain effort. The *bhikkhuṇis* under reference appear to have had more than one name; same *bhikkhuṇi* is included in the other list under a different name. It should be the reason why the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* did not try to name the eleven *bhikkhuṇis* who came with Sanghamittā Theri. The *Dīpavaṃsa* author, however, should be commended for preserving four traditions for posterity.

Artisans who accompanied Sanghamittā Theri: Sanghamittā Theri's mission to Lanka was primarily a religious one but there has been a secular aspect also. The emperor Asoka has taken necessary steps to include necessary persons to enrich the administration, economy, trade, industries, arts and crafts, music etc. of the island. The *Dīpavaṃsa* is conspicuously silent on that. But the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, the *Mahā Bodhivaṃsa* and its Sinhala counterpart provide detailed lists of those who constituted the party that accompanied Sanghamittā Theri. According to the lists, there were eight families of Khatthiyas, eight families of Brahmanas, eight families of traders, (*kuṭumbikakulāni*) that belong to the higher strata of the society, as well as eight families from each of the trades such as weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, tailors, cooks, florists, jewelers, musicians etc. Though discrepancies are seen in the lists provided in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Samantapāsādikā* the *Mahā Bodhivaṃsa*, and its Sinhala translation, it is clear that thought has been given to include necessary personnel to upgrade the administration, economy, arts and craft., music, industries, entertainments, whatever that existed in the island at the time, in order to enhance the quality of life, culture and civilization of the country. Sanghamittā Theri appears to have had no problem in organizing the mission because the emperor Asoka had arranged everything necessary.

Journey and the landing at Jambukolapaṭṭana, Ordination of Anulādevi etc. and the Theri's early days in the island: Sanghamittā theri with the accompanying eleven *bhikkhunis* and the *bodhi* were boarded apparently on a smaller vessel used in the rivers and were conveyed down the river to the sea port Tamalitti. The emperor Asoka took the land route, crossed the Vindhyā forest and reached the port Tāmalitti in seven days. The emperor personally kept the *bodhi* on the ship wading immersed up to the neck. It is said that the ship was obstructed in the high seas by the Nāgas who came to pay their homage to the *bodhi*. The Theri who was a master of super normal powers (*Abhiññabalapārāga Mhv.* ch.xix verse 19) took the form of a *garuḍa* (griffin), frightened the Nāgas and sent them away. Perhaps the Nāgas could be a tribe of people associated with seas who were Buddhists in the present case. The party headed by the Theri carrying the *bodhi* reached the port Jambukolapaṭṭana in the north of Lanka safety to be received by the king Devānampiyatissa in the midst of great celebrations. The party with the *bodhi* were conducted to the city of Anuradhapura along a decorated route with great pomp and pageantry.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chap. XIV verse 52) records that the Theri was present on the occasion of the ceremonial planting of the *bodhi* sapling with the other *bhikkhuṇis*. Anulā devi and her 500 colleagues received ordination under the Theri Sanghamittā and attained arahantship in due course as stated in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*loc.cit.*). This marks the establishment of the Bhikkhuṇi sāsana in the island.

Sanghamittā commenced the First Museum in the world: The Theri took up residence at the nunnery called "*upasikāvihāra*", with the other *bhikkhuṇis* (where Anulādevi stayed observing ten

precepts expecting Sanghamittā Theri's arrival, prior to their ordination). The *Mahāvaṃsa* (ch. XIX verse 68 f) describes how the Theri caused to erect twelve buildings[4] in the premises out of which three prominent buildings were to preserve the components of the ship which brought the Bodhi tree. The *Vamsatthapakāsini* (p. 408 f) provides the details of the ship's components and the buildings where they were kept. In the house named *Cūlagana* the mast (*kūpayaṭṭhi*) was kept , in the house named *Mahāgana* the rudder (*piyaṃ*) was deposited while the helm(*ariṭṭam*) was preserved in the building named Siriwardhana. Those buildings were named after the ship part housed in them i.e. *kupayaṭṭhiṭhapitageha*. The historians consider this as the first ever reference to the Museum concept in history, the credit of which should go to Sanghamittā Theri.

Again the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. XIX verses 76 f) describes how the Theri Sanghamittā inconvenienced by the crowded environment, seeking solitude proceeded to a place away from a *cetiya* and the house in a "kadamba" grove and spent the day. The cetiya and the house was put up by the king Devānampiyatissa at the elephant post (*Hatthālhaka*) put up for his royal elephant[5] who preferred the spot. In the evening the king went to pay his homage to the Theri and heard of the Theri's movement. He went to the Theri and had a friendly conversation, learnt her wish i.e. to have another nunnery. The king built a beautiful nunnery in the environment of the *thūpa* house (*samantā thūpagehassa*). As it was built close to the elephant post it was called "Hatthālhaka Vihāra". Sanghamittā Theri resided there thenceforth and it was the place she resided till her *parinibbāna*.

Character: Sanghamittā appears to have been a lady of strong determination and of firm conviction in the Buddha's teachings even before her ordination. She did not object her husband Aggibrahmā and the son Sumana entering the order while she was yet a teenager. After entering the order she maintained the same qualities. Her father Emperor Asoka did not like her going to Lanka at the beginning. But she insisted that she should go in order to help the ladies of Lanka aspiring for the ordination. The emperor Asoka had no alternative but to concede to the wish of his daughter. Though she had no prior experience she had the courage to undertake the hazardous sea route to Lanka. She did not go to see her mother on the eve of her departure to Lanka as her brother Mahinda Thera did, perhaps to avoid the imminent objection from the mother for her departure to Lanka.

She was able to attain to an important position among nuns of the day within a short period of time. Her wisdom, erudition, supernormal powers are repeatedly mentioned in the texts. Arahant Mahinda proposing to the king to invite her to Lanka, in order to ordain Anulā devi and her colleagues described her as "Sanghamittā by name well known an erudite" (*Sanghamittā ti nāmena vissutā ca bahussutā* (*Mhv.* Chap. XV verse 21). Sanghamittā Theri was able to frighten away the Nāgas who were obstructing the Bodhi being ferried, in the guise of a Supaṇṇa, as she was of great psychic power (*Sanghamittā mahā theri abhiññābalapāragā Mhv.* XIX 19). She shunned publicity and preferred seclusion (*Sanghamittā Mahā theri suññāgārābhilāsini Mhv.* xix verse 76). The author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* in the context of reporting her *parinibbāna* praises her as of "great supernormal powers and of great wisdom (*Sanghamittā mahā theri mahābhiññā mahāmati Mhv.* XIX verse 49).

Service: Sanghamittā Mahā Theri came to Lanka in the prime of her youth. She was only thirty years of age when she came. She devoted rest of her life, namely 40 years for the *Buddhasāsana* in the island. She did not go back to India but attained *parinibbāna* in the island itself. As a result of the enthusiasm of Anulādevi and her friends and also due to the sympathy of Sanghamittā Theri, it was possible to establish the *Bhikkhuṇi sāsana* in the island immediately after the establishment of the Buddhasāsana. It was in the island of Lanka that the *Bhikkhuṇi sāsana* was established for the first time outside Jambudipa. There are no records of *bhikkhuṇi sasana* being established by the missionaries who proceeded to the other regions. The establishment of the *bhikkhuṇi sāsana* in Lanka could be looked upon as an unexpected sudden fortune, that the women of the island got. They were advanced enough to request for the establishment of the *bhikkhuṇi sāsana* immediately after the establishment of the *Buddhasāsana*. They were impatient and were unable to wait till the arrival of Sanghamittā Theri and they themselves wore white cloths and observed the ten precepts (*dasasīla*) and were waiting for the arrival of the Theri in the building called "*upāsikāvihāra*". As a result of the pioneering efforts of Sanghamittā Theri womenfolk of the island were elevated to an equal position with their male counterparts. They were

admitted to the priesthood and sainthood perhaps, for the first time, outside Jambudipa. Womenfolk of Lanka were bestowed with such a blessing incredible to believe in the context of the remote period of human civilization, due to the self-sacrificing efforts of Sanghamittā Theri.

Henceforth, it is seen women of Lanka actively taking part not only in the religious sphere but also in the secular sphere also. The large number of women and nuns found among the donors who donated caves to the meditating monks testify to the active part played by women in religious matters. It was due to courage, the confidence and the strength that the Theri Sanghamittā imparted to the women of Lanka that later it was able to produce eminent women like Vihāramahādevi who was behind the war campaign of Dutthagāmini and Somādevi who dared to step down from the fleeing chariot in front of the chasing enemy, to save her husband King Valagambā. Under the circumstances Sanghamittā Theri is regarded as the emancipator of women of Sri Lanka.

The *bhikkunisāsana*, she established flourished within a short period of time. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (chap. XXXVI, verse 15) during the reign of the king Dutthagāmini, at the consecration ceremony of the Maricivaṭṭi thūpa 90,000 nuns are said to have assembled. The ladies of the royal families too entered the order. According to a Chinese record nuns from Lanka went to China and established the *bhikkhuṇi sāsana* towards the middle of the 4th century A. C. Though no records are available, it is reasonable to assume that other countries of Asia, too received the *bhikkhuṇi sāsana* from Lanka.

Sanghamittā Theri, not only established the *bhikkhuṇisāsana* in the island but also brought the most venerated object of worship namely the Sri Mahā Bodhi the southern branch of the Mahābodhi at Buddhagayā. She also brought to the island, arts and crafts, performing arts, several occupations, administration or state-craft, culture and civilization, in order to enhance whatever existing at the time. In short Sanghamittā Theri, brought to Lanka along with the Bodhi, the Mauryan culture and civilization.

Parinibbāna: The *Mahāvaṃsa* (chap XX verse 49f) records the *parinibbāna* of Sanghamittā Arahat Mahā Theri. According to the account she attained *parinibbāna* when she has spent 59 Rainy Seasons (*ekūnasaṭṭhivassā*) which indicates the years she lived after her *upasampadā*. When 20 years, her age at the time of receiving *upasampadā* is added to the number of rainy seasons she spent after *upasampadā* her actual age at the time of her *parinibbāna* comes to 79 years[8]. It was in the 9th regnal year of the king Uttiya (207-197 B.C.), brother and the successor of king Devanampiyatissa, that the *parinibbāna* has taken place at Hatthālhaka pirivena.

The author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* does not describe the cremation of the Theri at length. But in short says (chap XX verse 51f) the king bestowed the same honours, he gave to the body of the Thera (Mahinda), for seven days for the Theri also. Whole Lanka was decorated and at the and of the seven days, the body of the Theri was laid upon a bier and taken out of the city and to the east of the Thūpārāma near Cittasālā (of later times), in the sight of the great Bodhi tree, on a spot pointed out by the Theri (herself), he caused the cremation to take place. Only the *Mahāvaṃsa* relates the *parinibbāna* of the Theri. The *Dīpavaṃsa* records the *parinibbāna* and the cremation of Mahinda Thera only. The other two sources the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahā Bodhivaṃsa* are silent on both *parinibbānas*.

Historicity of Saṅghamittā Theri:- Archeological evidence as to the historicity of the Theri remain to be discovered. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (Chap XX verse 54) states that the king built a *Thūpa* on the spot where she was cremated (enshrining her relics). Yet this *thūpa* has not been discovered up to date. But the Sri Mahā Bodhi which she brought to the island, surviving up to date at Anuradhapura and whose historicity is not disputed, is sufficient proof to establish her historicity.

Critics:-

However early scholars like Vincent A. Smith (*Asoka the Buddhist Emperor*, Oxford, 1901), J. Przyluski (*The legend of Emperor Asoka in Indian and Chinese Texts* Tr. Dilip Kumar Biswas, 1967), H. Oldenberg (*The Dīpavaṃsa, An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record*, 1879) followed by later Scholars like Thaper Romila (*Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryans*, London 1961) basing their conclusions solely on the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan sources, against more older Pāli sources of Sri Lankan origin, go to the extent of branding Mahinda and Sanghamittā

as illegal children of Asoka, having rejected the Asoka's marriage to Vidisādevi found in the Pāli texts. Vincent A. Smith is not hesitant to consider the entire Sanghamittā episode to be a monkish fabrication. It is difficult to understand the basis of their prejudice and the contempt to the reports of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* which are based on the Sinhala commentaries (*Sihala Aṭṭhakathās*) which belong to a period only a couple of centuries after Asoka. But the modern scholars like Ananda W. P. Guruge (*Asoka A Definitive Biography*, Colombo 1993 p. 25-55) have explained and established that their conclusions are unscientific, baseless and misleading.

Sanghamittā Theri is commemorated:- Grateful Sri Lankan Buddhists annually commemorate Sanghamittā Arahat Theri who devoted her entire life for the sake of the womenfolk of the country. In her honour annually colorful processions are held in various parts of the island. In these processions, the statue of Sanghamittā Theri is taken in a decorated vehicle. There are several prominent girls' schools which have been named after her. Several nunneries or *Upāsikārāmas* too have been named after her to commemorate her name. The University of Peradeniya, the oldest and the most prominent University of Sri Lanka, at its very inception has honoured her, by naming one of the residence halls for girls as Sanghamittā Hall to commemorate her name.

K. Arunasiri

References

1 *Sāratthadīpani* the sub commentary of *Samantapāsādikā* by Sāriputta Thera of the Polonnaruwa period calls it Vetisagiri and identifies it as an abode of Sakyans who fled and escaped from Viḍuḍabha (Viḍuḍabha's massacre of Sakyans) *Sāratthadipani* Ed. B. Devarakkhita Colombo 1914, p. 107 Sinhala script). *Pūjāvaliya* a Sinhala literary work of the 13th century says Sanghamittā belonged to the Sakya clan (*Pūjāvaliya* Library Services Board Edition, 1998 p. 492). *Dipavamsa*, *Mahāvamsa* etc. do not say Vedisādevi descends from Sakyans. Possibly it is a subsequent attempt to show Mahinda and Sanghamittā descend from Sakyans from the mother's side also.

2 Oldenberg and Vincent Smith (*Dīpavaṃsa , An Ancient Historical Record*, London 1879 and *Asoka the Buddhist Emperor* Oxford 1901) contest Sanghamittā's very name, for Asoka became a Buddhist 15 years after giving her the name. Ananda Guruge (Asoka, *A Definitive Biography*, Colombo 1993 p. 49) points out instances where persons not associated with Buddhism being named Sangha. He also reminds that some shed their lay name and assume religious names at the time of entering the Order. The other possibility is that she would have been "Mitta" and after entering the Order she would have been known as Sanghamittā: Yet another possibility would be as Avanti was a stronghold of Buddhism even during the time of the Buddha. Vedisādevi would have come into contact with Buddhism prior to her meeting Asoka. Perhaps Vidisādevi would have been a Buddhist which would have prompted her to name her daughter Saṅghamittā.

3 Ananda W.P. Guruge (Loc.cit. p. 50) too admits that there appears to be a discrepancy with regard to the marriage of Sanghamittā. He proposes that she would have been married when she was 16. Further he doubts Sanghmittā's being allowed to become a nun at the tender age of eighteen.

4 *Vamsatthappakasini* (p. 409) further adds those 12 buildings were being used even after the dissident sects like Dhammaruci came to existence by the nuns of Hatthalhaka nunnery.

5 *Mahavamsa* (chapter xix verse 75) has gone to the extent of stating that the royal elephant wished the construction of the thūpa on the spot which the king learnt from Mahinda Thera. The king is supposed to have put up a thūpa with the relics and a house for it, which are referred to in this context.

6 The *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (Vol. II p. 990) has interpreted the words "*ekūna saṭṭhi vassā*" (*Mhv*, XX verse 49) as fifty nine years and states that Sanghamittā Theri, attained *Parinibbāna* at the age of fifty nine, probably an over sight.

SAṄGHARAKKHITA. Saṅgharakkhita Mahāsāmi (circa 1165-1256 A.C.) was a pupil of Ven. Sāriputta, the first Sangharāja and an author who contributed to the literary and religious revival of the Polonnaruwa period of Sri Lanka. He learnt under the grammarian Ven. Moggallāna also, and hence he was considered a pupil of both, Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Ven. Saṅgharakkhita was formerly the head of the village dwelling monks(*gāmavāsī*). According to A. Adhikari (*JRAS*. Sri Lanka New Series Vol. XLVIII special no. Page 53 ff.), Sāriputta Sangharāja was succeeded by the grammarian Ven. Moggallāna whose tenure of office was comparatively a short one and after his death, Ven. Saṅgharakkhita came to the supreme position of the Sangharāja. Thus he was the third Sangharāja. But Ven. Polwatte Buddhadatta (*Theravādi Bauddhācāryayo* 1960, Colombo. Page 87 ff) says that he succeeded Sāriputta Sangharāja and hence he should be considered as the second Sangharāja

During the crisis that followed the death of Parākramabāhu I(1153-86), the Mahā Saṅgha headed by Saṅgharakkhita Mahāsāmi evacuated Polonnaruwa and fled to Janmbudroni (Dambadeniya). At Jambudroni the prince who later was crowned as Pandita Parākramabāhu II (1236-71 A.C.) was entrusted to the Mahā Saṅgha headed by Saṅgharakkhita Mahāsāmi by his father Vathhimi Vijayabāhu. Thus, Saṅgharakkhita Mahāsāmi was Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu's teacher.

There are six works which stand to his credit such as the *Vuttodaya*, the *Subhodālankāra*, the *Susaddasiddhi*, the *Sambandhācintā*, the *Yoga Viniccaya* and the *Khuddasikkhaṭikā*. The books are mainly on grammar, rhetorics, prosody and also on the *Vinaya*. The *Vuttodaya* on Pali prosody was written partly in prose, the *Susaddhasiddhi* (*Sāratthavilāsini*), a *Ṭika* on *Moggallāna Pañjikā*, the *Sambandhacintā*, a grammatical work, and the *Subhodhālankāra* on Pali prosody and the *Khuddasikkhāṭikā* a sub commentary on *Khuddasikkhā* on *Vinaya* named *Sumangalappasādini*. It has been written on an invitation made by Sumangala Mahāsāmi another pupil of Sāriputta Sangharāja, while living in a *vihāra* built by an officer named Mānādhikāripuri.

The colophon to the *Vuttodaya* testifies that Saṅgharakkhita Mahāsami had another teacher named Sila Thera resident in Selantarāyatana. The *Khuddasikkhā Ṭikā* reveals that Saṅgharakkhita Mahāsāmi had a pupil named Udumbaragiri Medhankara.

Bibliography:

JRAS Sri Lanka. New Series, Volume XLVIII Special Number *Commemoration of the 250th Anniversary of Upasampada in Sri Lanka* – Article by A. Adhikari, on *Mahāsāmis of Sri Lanka* p. 53 ff.

Theravādi Bauddhācāryayo -A.P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1960 (Sinhala)

Pali Literature of Ceylon G.P. Malalasekera

Pali Literature Vol. I and II by A.P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1967, (Sinhala)

K. Arunasiri

SAṄGITI, better known today as Saṅgāyanā, was the term used in early Buddhist literature to designate a special meeting of the Buddhist Saṅgha, convoked for the purpose of settling certain disputes arisen among them, on the doctrines of the *Buddha Dhamma* or, the rules of discipline (*Vinaya*) laid down by the Buddha to regulate the life and conduct of his disciples, and also to reach general consensus on what constitutes the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* taught by the Buddha.

Both the terms *saṅgīti* and *saṅgāyanā* are derived from the verb *saṅgāyati* (*sam+gāyati*), literally, 'to sing or recite together'. The *PTS*. Dictionary explains the word *saṅgāyati* as 'to chant, to proclaim, to rehearse, to establish the text of the Buddhist scriptures'. *Saṅgīti* is therefore interpreted to mean 'proclamation, rehearsal, general convocation of Buddhist clergy in order to settle questions of doctrine and to fix the text of the scriptures'. But the compilers of the Dictionary do not appear to have done justice to one of the important meanings of the word *saṅgāyati* in their work. This meaning slightly touched upon in dealing with *saṅgīti* seems to be the most relevant one in the context of the subject dealt with here.

In the *Pāsādika Sutta* (*D*.III. 127) two disciples bring to the Master's notice the plight into which the Jaina order of monks had plunged owing to their divisive activities after the passing away of their teacher, Jina Mahāvīra. The Buddha responded by

pointing out to them the qualifications of a good religious teacher, his own qualifications, and the excellent qualities of the *Dhamma*. Then he goes on to admonish them, "wherefore, Cunda, do ye to whom I have made known the truths realized through super knowledge (*abiññā desitā dhammā*), having come together, having assembled, should, without disputation, recite in unison those doctrines comparing the meaning with meaning, the word with word, so that this pure religious life should last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to exist for the benefit and happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the benefit, happiness and weal of both gods and men."

It is clearly seen from this statement that the word *saṅgāyitabbaṃ*,'should be recited in unison', is put in opposition to *vivaditabbam*, 'should be disputed' something the monks should not indulge in. It is clear that, in the context of this discourse, *saṅgāyitabbaṃ* conveys the necessity to have perfect concordance regarding these most essential elements of the Buddha's teachings, meaning the thirty seven factors of enlightenment (*bodhipakkhiyadhammā*), which are the truths realized through super knowledge enumerated in the discourse. In a group recital even one discordant note could completely mar the harmony of the recital. In a religious text even one wrong word or interpretation could lead a follower on a completely wrong path. Therefore, the custodians of the teachings should be united with regard to both the letter and the meaning thereof. They should have no disputes over them. This is also made clear in the discourse which give in detail the manner in which the disciples should act when they listen to a recital made by a fellow monk. They should carefully consider the recital with regard to its letter and meaning and, if anything wrong is found, the attention of the reciter should be politely drawn to it. The importance of this concord is clearly emphasized in another discourse where the same topic had come up for discussion. Giving the thirty seven factors of enlightenment the Buddha inquires from Ananda whether there are even two monks in the order who hold conflicting views on them. Ananda replies in the negative (*M*. II. 245).

Commentator Buddhaghosa has grasped the idea behind the statement. In explaining the same statement, attributed to Sāriputta in the *Saṅgīti Sutta*, he says, "it should be recited in unison (*samaggehi*), with one voice (*ekavacanehi*), with non-discordant words (*aviruddha-vacanehi*). There should be no disputing or quarreling regarding either letter or spirit (*atthe vā vyañjane vā na vivādo kātabbo DA*. III. 1974). In the context of the *Pāsādika Sutta*, he comments on the manner in which the rehearsal has to be made. "Words with words, meaning with meaning should be brought together, put together (*samānentehi ibid*. p. 911). The compiler of the *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* explains the word *saṅgāyati* as, "sings in unison, is concordant, avoids quarreling; opposite of *vivadati*". He cites the word from the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* in the statement *saṅgāyiṣyāma (h) vayaṃ......... na vivadiṣyāmah*. All these instances show that what is relevant in a *saṅgīti* is not so much the reciting of the text together but the absence of any discordance with regard to the letter and the spirit of the text recited. Naturally, at a time when there were no written books to read, study or, compare and, the group-recital, self-recital (*sajjhāyanā*) or listening to a recital by another was the best, or even the only means of study and, perpetuation of the memory of a text learnt by heart, the term *saṅgīti* could be the best means of symbolically expressing the non- discordance with regard to any text.

Saṅgīti and Saṅgāyanā

The verbal derivative *saṅgīti* is the term used from the earliest period in Pāli literature to designate a rehearsal of the teachings of the Buddha. We have the term used as the name of a discourse, the *Saṅgīti Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It is a collection of important topics taken from the Buddha's teaching, systematically arranged and recited by Sāriputta. The words attributed to the Buddha in the *Pāsādika Sutta*, that there should be complete concordance regarding the Dhamma, are here attributed to Sāriputta who opens the Sutta with those words. The *Vinaya Cullavagga* uses the term *Saṅgīti* in designating the recital of the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* at the fist two rehearsals, also called councils in modern writings (e.g. *Vin*. II p. 285; p. 307). In the Pāli commentaries as well as in the Pāli chronicles of Sri Lanka the word *saṅgīti* is continuously used to designate these councils as well as the third council held in the reign of Emperor Asoka. This term does not appear to have been popularly used in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts in this particular sense. It was, however, not completely unknown to them. (*BHS* s.v. *saṅgīti* 2 and 3)

The presently popular term *Saṅgāyanā* is not found used as a substantive in canonical or post-canonical Pāli works. It is always found used as a verbal form in these Pāli works. e.g. Mahā Kāśyapa, after the Buddha's funeral, tells the assembled monks, "Therefore, friends, let us rehearse the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* (*dhmmañca vinayañ ca saṅgāyāma... Vin.* II 285). In the commentaries, too, the verbal forms *saṅgāyiṃsu, saṅgāyissāma* (*VinA.* I. 34) etc. are found. In early Sinhala works *saṅgāyanā* is found used with auxiliary verbs; e.g. *dharma-saṅgāyanā koṭa*[1], 'having rehearsed the *dharma*', and *saṅgāyānā karaṇa ladda*[2] 'that which was rehearsed'. However we find the word used as a substantive in some early Siṁhala works; e.g. in the *Simhala Bodhivaṃsa*[3] is found the phrase *saṅgāyanā ke ḷavara*, 'at the end of the rehearsal? This shows that some Simhala authors have started to use the term *saṅgāyanā* as a substantive, and it must have gradually developed into the present popular usage.

Rehearsals in India

According to both the southern Pāli tradition and the northern Buddhist Sanskrit tradition three rehearsals of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* were held in India after the demise of the Buddha. However, when both these traditions are taken together, one could see that in actual fact there have been not three but altogether four rehearsals in India. Of these four, accounts of the first two, with variations regarding details, are found in the *Vinaya* texts of a number of early Buddhist schools. The first rehearsal, according to these accounts, was held under the leadership of Mahā Kaśyapa, shortly after the Buddha's funeral, in the Magadhan capital, Rajagaha. The Second Council was held one hundred years after the Buddha, or shortly after that, at Vesāli in the Vajjian territory. The Pāli chronicles of Sri Lanka hold that the reigning Magadhan king at the time was one Kālāsoka who had Pupphapura as his capital (*Mhv.*, 4, 8ff). But according to the northern tradition the reigning King at the time was simply Aśoka or Dharmāśoka[4]. However according to the Pāli chronicles of Sri Lanka it was the third rehearsal that was held in the reign of Dhammāsoka, who came to the throne two hundred and eighteen years after the Buddha (*Mhv.* 5, 21; 275-280). The third rehearsal, according to the northern sources, was held in Kahmir or Jalandhar, in the reign of Emperor Kanishka. This was, according to Yuan Chwang, four hundred years after the demise of the Buddha[5]. While the Pāli sources speak nothing of this Kanishkan Council, the northern sources are silent on the third council recorded in the Pāli chronicles.

The accounts of all these four rehearsals quite confirm the conclusion we have arrived at regarding the true purpose of a *saṅgiti*. It was, in the first place, an attempt to arrive at a consensus regarding the teachings of the Buddha and settling the texts of the scriptures. Secondly these rehearsals were also used to settle certain disputes that had arisen regarding the interpretation of rules of discipline of the Saṅgha, and doctrines of Buddhism as well as to examine the conduct of certain members of the order accused of certain questionable forms of conduct and behaviour.

It is recorded in the Pāli *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Vol. II 284) that, after the conclusion of the obsequies of the Buddha's body, Arahant Mahā Kaśyapa, recalling certain discordant views about the Buddha, uttered by a monk named Subaddha in his own company of monks, proclaimed that the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* should be rehearsed and an agreement reached about them before any distorted views on them could arise and develop and exponents of these distortions become powerful at the expense of the holders of the true teachings. Mahā Kassapa is said to have received the news of the Buddha's passing away while he was on his way to Kusinārā. When, on receiving this news, ordinary monks in his company started to weep and lament. Subaddha tried to console them saying enough friends do not sorrow, do not lament, well relieved are we from that Great Recluse. We were often harassed by his orders of "this befits ye, and this befits ye not. Now we will do what we desire and not do what we desire not". In his *Si-Yu-Ki*, Hiuen Thsiang[6] attributes similar sentiments to not just one Subaddha but to several in Mahā Kassapa's company. It was on hearing these words of his pupils that he decided to call for an assembly of monks to collect the *Dharma-piṭaka* to secure obedience to the teachings of the Buddha.

The same incident is recorded in the Mahā *Parinibbāna Sutta* (*D.* II. 162 f), but without any reference to the rehearsal, raising doubts about the historicity of the first Buddhist council in the minds of certain Orientalists like Oldenburg. (*Vin.* I. p. xxvii; *Book of the Discipline* V. p. xviif). The absence of any reference to the Council in the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta*, according to him, shows that the author of the Sutta did not know anything about the Council. This

may be so because most of these Pāli texts did not appear in this present form all at the same time. They must have undergone many editions before the final texts were fixed. Oldenburg also refers to the change in the order of certain phrases to confirm his view. While the attempt by Mahā Kassapa to console the weeping monks appear in the Sutta after Subaddha's words, they appear before the latter's words in the *Vinaya* text. This, however, could be an attempt by a later editor to place them at their proper context. Another thing that one could note in this context was the possible effect of the schools of reciters (*bhāṇaka*) on such differences. The *Dīgha Nikāya* in which the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* occurs and the *Vinaya Piṭaka* were transmitted by different schools of reciters. Such differences in the texts could be the result of the thinking of these reciters. For instance the *Mahā Satipaṭṭāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* includes a few words not found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. This could have been a change made by the Dīgha Reciters. Such changes could have taken place owing to editorial work of the reciters.

Another important point that is not noted by Oldenburg is the context of the two texts. The *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* gives the statement in the context of its origin. The intention of Mahā Kassapa at that point was to console the monks who heard this painful utterance. The need for a rehearsal probably did not cross his mind at that point. It must have occurred to him while reflecting on Subhadda's words later and he thought of making his intention known to the fuller assembly at Kusinārā. Oldenburg's doubts are not completely irrelevant. Yet they are not serious enough to throw the baby away with the bath water. All Buddhist traditions have accepted that a council was held immediately after the funeral of the Buddha. They also agree that Mahā Kassapa, Ananda and Upāli were its main participants and that the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* were rehearsed and the texts of the canon settled at this Council. However the lists of texts rehearsed and agreed upon differ from account to account. *Abhidhamma* which is not even mentioned in the Pāli account does occur in many other accounts. But even the Pāli tradition has given a place to *Abidhamma* in the post-canonical commentarial accounts (*DA*. I. 15; *VinA*. I. 16).

Various accounts of the first rehearsal refer to the settlement of some other disputes resolved at this council. Ananda was accused at this council of some minor omissions and commissions while he was yet a trainee (*sekha*). He gave an explanation for each of these alleged offences, but without pleading innocent, he, out of respect for the assembly of elders, confessed himself guilty. (*Vin*. II. 280). Before his passing away the Buddha had informed the Saṅgha through Ananda that they may, after his demise, if they wish, remove the lesser and minor rules of conduct (*khuddhānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni samūhaneyyāti* *ibid*. 287). Since Ananda had not clarified the limits of the Buddha's licence, a long debate followed his announcement. The Saṅgha was very badly divided on the issue, which did not augur well for the integrity of the Order. Hence Mahā Kassapa proposed that the Saṅgha should keep all the rules laid down by the Buddha without trying to remove any of them or promulgating any new rules. This was accepted unanimously by the assembly of monks (*ibid*. 288). As in this case, all the decisions of the Council were taken by common consent of the Saṅgha. Although Mahā Kassapa played the key role and acted as the president, he never tried to impose his own personal will on the assembly without its full consent. Undoubtedly this was the democratic spirit prevalent in the administration of the Order of Buddhist monks in that period.

The second Rehearsal

From the records of the *Vinaya* texts of a number of early Buddhist schools it is clear that it was the practice among Vajjian monks of Vesāli to solicit money from the laity, among various other anti-vinaya practices, which led to the holding of the Second Rehearsal, one hundred years or so after the Buddha. According to the record in the Pāli *Cullavagga* (*Vin*. II 294), these monks had placed a bronze bowl filled with water amidst them, on the *Uposatha* day, and asked the householders who came to the monastery to give money to defray the cost of various things they had to buy. Observing this an elder named Yasa, who had come from the western regions, objected to the practice and asked the laity not to comply with the request. Later it was elder Yasa who brought this and nine other unlawful practices of the Vajjian monks to the notice of the monks of the western and southern regions at a meeting held in the monastery on the Ahoganga hill. The monks assembled there decided to convene a general meeting of the Saṅgha in Vesāli to settle the legal position of these ten controversial issues. At the council thus convoked they were finally

decided to be against the *Vinaya* rules by a committee of eight, with four each to represent the eastern and western (pāveyyaka) monks. The *Vinaya* account ends with this decision and does not mention any rehearsal of the whole of the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, but yet it is called a *Vinaya-sangiti* (*ibid.* 307) as in the case the first rehearsal. Therefore one can understand that the main purpose of the Sangiti was to reach a consensus on the legality or otherwise of the controversial issues. However the post-canonical authors hold that after the settlement of the ten controversial issues seven hundred monks versed in the *tipiṭaka* rehearsed the whole *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*. "Like what the elder Mahā Kassapa did, these monks also cleansed the teachings of all stains and rehearsed the whole of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* in the form of *piṭakas, nikāyas, aṅgas* and *dhammakkhandhas*", says the commentator Buddhaghosa (*DA.* I. 34). The *Mahāvaṃsa* (4.61-65) also holds the same view. The *Mahāvaṃsa* also adds that what it calls a Great Saṅgīti (Mahāsaṅgīti) was held by ten thousand evil monks, censured by the monks of the Second Rehearsal and They came to be called Mahāsanghikas. The *Dipavaṃsa* calls them Mahāsaṅgītikā. This chronicle goes on to say that these monks, having disturbed the original collection of texts, made another collection. Not knowing the proper meaning of words, they going by literal meaning, destroyed the true meaning of terms. Discarding certain portions of the profound *Sutta* and *Vinaya* they composed a counterfeit *sutta-vinaya*. Texts like the *Parivāra*, the *Abhidhamma*, the *Paṭisambhidā*, the *Niddesa* and a certain portion of the *Jātakas* were rejected and others were composed in their place (*Dpv.* 5.30-38). These views presented by the Pāli chronicles, unfortunately, do not find much support from other traditions. All *vinaya* traditions, including the Theravāda Pāli tradition, speak of the settlement of the dispute by the Council. They do not refer to any other consequences of the Council. Only the Theravādins attribute the first schism in the Saṅgha to this Council. It is possible that the *Dīpavaṃsa* views on the disruption of the accepted canon were a later speculation based on the differences between the Pāli canon and the canons used by other Buddhist schools.

The Third Rehearsal

Both the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Dīpavaṃsa* state that the Order, which remained undivided during the fist century after the Buddha, was divided into alto gether eighteen schools in the second century (*Dpv.* 5.53; *Mhv.* 5.10-11). Some other dissentient schools, including two in Sri Lanka arose subsequently (*Mhv. ibid.* 11-13; *Dpv. ibid.* 54). These two chronicles also state that, during the reign of Asoka, many members of non-Buddhist sects who were deprived of their material gains owing to the great popularity gained by Buddhism plus the royal patronage received by it, entered Buddhist monasteries disguised as Buddhist monks. They proclaimed their own religio-philosophical views as those of the Buddha. Now it is not clear at this point whether the Pāli chroniclers wanted to identify these so-called non- Buddhists, disguised as Buddhist monks, with the members of the seventeen dissentient schools. Anyway the chronicles never say so explicitly.

Anyhow, owing to the non-Buddhist views presented by these self-ordained monks, the fabric of the Buddhist Order was badly torn apart. Ecclesiastical ceremonies including the *Upostha*, were not performed for seven years. Arahant Moggaliputta Tissa, the senior most prelate at the time, left the monastery in the city and retired to a forest hermitage. Ultimately the Emperor, with the assistance of Moggalīputta Tissa, who came back to the city at his request, cleared the order of all the scum that had gathered in it and purified it. (*Dpv.* 7. 35 ff; *Mhv.* 5.229ff.). After cleansing and unifying the Order, the *Dīpavaṃsa* states that, Moggaliputta Tissa, to censure all those dissentients who disagreed with Theravādins, and to glorify his own school, presented the *Abhidhamma* work, the *Kathāvatthu*. Having done this he, to purify his own school and for the perpetuation of the religion, selected one thousand arahants and worked out a recension of the *Dhamma*. This third recension of the *Dhamma* was completed in nine months at the Asokārāma. The word *saṅgaha* or 'recension' or 'collection' is used synonymously with *saṅgīti*, which, as seen above, also carries the meaning of 'settlement of texts' (*Dpv.* 7.55-59). The *Mahāvaṃsa* (5.273-281) also gives almost the same account. After the purification of the Order and the performance of a unity-*uposatha*, the elder Moggalīputta Tissa selected a thousand monks to work out a recension of the *Dhamma*. As Maha Kassapa and Yasa in the past, he convened a council to rehearse the *Dhamma*. In this convocation he presented the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa* for the purpose of suppressing dissentient views. Neither of these chronicles refers to a rehearsal of the whole canon (*tipiṭaka*). However the word *saṅgaha*

used may imply it. The commentator Buddhaghosa explicitly states that the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* were rehearsed (*saṅgāyiṃsu*) by these one thousand arahants. In doing so, he says, all impurities in the teachings (*sāsanamalaṃ*) were removed (*VinA.* I. 61). However the presentation of the *Kathāvatthu* to refute numerous dissentient views raised at the time seems to have been the principal work achieved by the council, and, by that, it fits into the interpretation of the word *saṅgīti* we have given above. One may also conclude that the expulsion of the false monks referred to in the chronicles was only a preparatory step to the *saṅgīti* and not a part of the *saṅgīti* proper. If any dissentient schools existed at the time (s.v. Sarvāstivāda) the false monks expelled, most probably, did not include them, for they are never called 'self-ordained' by the chroniclers.

The Fourth Rehearsal

The fourth rehearsal according to modern reckoning, but the third according to the reckoning of the northern tradition, was held in Kashmir or Jalandhar under the patronage of Emperor Kanishka. Hsüen-tsang states that Kanishka used to invite one Buddhist monk to the palace each day and listen to his *Dhamma* sermon. But to his dismay the interpretations of the *Dhamma* given by them did not agree. Elder Parsva, who was consulted by the king on this issue, said that the Buddha passed away a long time ago and the Order of monks is now divided into different schools, each giving their own interpretations of the *Dhamma*. Quite worried about it the king expressed his desire to arrange the teachings of the three *piṭakas* according to various schools. He then summoned from far and wide an assembly of monks. From among them 499 arahants, experts on the three *piṭakas* and endowed with high spiritual attainments, were selected and entrusted with the noble task envisaged by the king. Later, one Vasumitra, claiming to be a Bodhisattva was made the president of the Council. Thus these five hundred monks under the leadership of Vasumitra composed commentaries (*vibhāshās*) to the three *piṭakas*. "From the deepest to the smallest question, they examined all, explaining all minute expressions so that their work has become universally known and is the resource of all students who have followed them,"[7] says Hsüen-tsang (s.v. Sarvāstivāda for further details). The accounts of this rehearsal also confirm the views on *saṅgīti* as shown above. Thus we could say that all the four rehearsals recorded to have been held on Indian soil were meant to reach a consensus among the members of the order either on the texts of the canon and or their commentaries, or else on solutions reached regarding certain disputed points on the doctrines or the rules of conduct of the *Saṅgha*.

Rehearsals outside India

According to later writers several other rehearsals or councils were held from time to time in other Buddhist countries outside India. One of these writers, B. Jinananda[8] holds that, going by Sri Lankan sources, three councils were held in that country. But he also states that, according to the Thai *Saṅgītivaṃsa*, four councils were held in Sri Lanka. The Burmese sources, on the other hand, speak of only one council held in Sri Lanka.

The first of these councils alleged to have been held in Sri Lanka, took place, according to the *Vinaya* commentary (I. 102f.), in the reign of Devānampiyatissa in whose reign the mission led by Arahant Mahinda, sent by his teacher, Arahant Moggalīputta Tissa, introduced Buddhism to Sri Lanka. After the completion of many of his works done for Buddhism, the king, one day, asked the Elder Mahinda whether the religion of the Buddha (*sāsana*) is established in the country. " It is established," said Mahinda" but its roots have not gone deep". He explained that it would happen when a child of Sri Lankan (of the Island of Tambapaṇṇi) parents, born in the country, is ordained in the country and learns the *vinaya* in the country and recites it in the country. He further said that the monk Ariṭṭha is fully qualified for the task. The account then goes onto state that the king prepared a pavilion like the one built by King Ajātasattu for the great *saṅgīti* (the First Rehearsal). Seated in it amidst his fellow brethren of the Order, and face to face with Arahant Mahinda, Arahant Ariṭṭha recited the *Vinayapiṭaka*. Here we find only a recital of the *Vinayapiṭaka* by one single monk. Although it took place amidst a large gathering of monks there was no discussion of any disputed points or settlement of texts at this recital. If such an event did take place it was only a ceremonial recital, but not a *saṅgīti* in the proper sense of the word. It should also be noted here that neither the *Dīpavaṃsa* nor the *Mahāvaṃsa* refers to such an event[9].

The second rehearsal said to have been held in Sri Lanka took place in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmani Abhaya

(29-17 B.C.). However both the *Dīpavaṃsa* (22.20-21) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (33.100-101) in two identical verses, give the briefest possible account of this gathering of monks meant for the writing down of the *tipiṭaka* which was up till then, along with the commentaries, handed down to posterity by word of mouth. Seeing the degradation of beings, the monks assembled and wrote them down in books for the perpetuation of the *dhamma* say the chronicles. The *Mahāvaṃsa ṭīkā* (*MhvA*. II, 623) says that wise monks saw the decline of beings, both in their span of life as well as in memory and intelligence in the future, in the Kali age, and committed the texts into writing. The chronicles do not say anything about, either the place of writing or the patron of this most important work. From other sources we learn that five hundred monks anembled at the loka-vihāra and completed the work under the patronage of a certain chieftain[10]. Anyhow Sri Lankan sources, do not carry any information about this event to class it along with the *saṅgītis* in India. However it is possible that the monks did engage in certain discussions among themselves to arrive at the correct text to be reduced to writing.

The *Jinakālamāli* chronicle of Thailand states that five hundred Arahats, seeing the decline in intelligence of beings, caused the *tipiṭaka* to be written down in books at the Āloka cave in the Malaya country in the Inland of Lanka, under the protection of the chieftain of the district. It is with reference to this that the *saṅgīti* of redaction in writing (*potthakārūḷha-saṅgīti*) is said to resemble a fourth rehearsal (*Jinak*. p. 61). The Sinhala work *Nikāyasaṅgraha* also has a reference to the *potsaṅgāvanā*[11] lit. 'Book Rehearsal'.

The third rehearsal said to have been held in Sri Lanka, according to the *Saṅgītivaṃsa* of Thailand, was actually the translation of the Simhala Commentaries into Pāli done by Ven. Buddhaghosa. This took place in the reign of king Mahānāma (405-431 A.C.). Done by a single monk, one cannot classify this event under the form *saṅgīti*.

The Thai chronicle also refers to a council held in the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A.C.) of Polonnaru, under the chairmanship of Ven. Mahā Kassapa. This is apparently a reference to the purification achieved by this king with the help of the great Elder Mahā Kassapa of the Dimbulāgala forest hermitage. The king also sought the assistance of many great elders, leaders of various groups of the Saṅgha in the provinces of the kingdom. First he dealt with the task of purifying the Mahāvihāra Sangha. Speaking about this the *Mahāvaṃsa* states, " He had the single points in dispute as they arose settled by the bhikkhus among whom Mahākassapa was the oldest. He was himself present as protector of the court together with those lions among teachers who knew the three *piṭakas*, and while according to precept he led those bhikkhus capable of being cured to purification, he established harmony among the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihara" (*Mhv*. 78.16-18). After achieving this difficult task then he went on to purify the Abhayagiri and Jetavana fraternities and reconcile them with the Mahavihāra monks (*ibid*. 78.1-27). After all this a code of condnet (*katikāvata*) was also drawn up by the Saṅgha led by the thera Mahakassapa to bolster the discipline of the Order. It was probably these activities that prompted the Thai prelate to speak of a *saṅgīti* during this period. The Saṇgitivaṃsa's assumption that the commentaries to the *tipiṭaka* were revised and later recited at the Council held under the presidentship of the Ven. Mahakassapa, unfortunately, finds no confirmation in Sri Lankan sources.

It is on record that a council of Buddhist monks was held in Sri Lanka at Pelmadulla in the Ratnapura District in 1865 A.C. Presided over by Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Nayaka Thero, it was held under the lay patronage of one Iddamalgoda Basnayaka. Many erudite scholar monks of all Buddhist sects in Sri Lanka participated at this council which continued for five months–[12]

Rehearsals in Burma

As shown above the Burmese authors credit Sri Lanka with only one rehearsal and that was the one connected with the committing to writing of the Pāli *tipiṭaka*. They have named it the Fourth Rehearsal. The fifth, according to them, was held in Burma in the reign of the king Min-donmin. It is recorded that this Council, convened in Mandalay in 1871 A.C., was held under the leadership of three Elders, viz Jāgarābhivaṃsa, Narindābhidhaja and Sumaṅgala Sāmi who presided in turn. The purpose of this Convocation was to prepare a uniform edition of the Pāli *tipiṭaka* and to record them on marble slabs. At this Council in which two thousand four hundred learned monks and teachers participated, various editions of the *tipiṭaka* available were used for comparison and collation by learned Mahātheras. The

recitation and the recording on marble slabs continued for five months. Altogether seven hundred and twenty nine slabs were used for the purpose. From the available information this appears to be a genuine *saṅgīti* in the true sense of the term.

The Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā

The Burmese Buddhists have named the most modern of all the rehearsals held in the Theravāda world the Sixth or the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā, inaugurated in May 1954 at Rangoon, Burma. Many learned Mahātheras from a number of countries, including India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Pakistan, collaborated in this massive undertaking which was presided over by the Ven. Abhidhaja Mahāraṭṭhaguru Bhadanta Revata. About five hundred monks of Burma well versed in the study and practice of the teachings of the Buddha, were selected to undertake the responsibility of re-examining the texts of the *tipiṭaka*. Similar groups were organized in other Buddhist countries to examine the texts of the *tipiṭaka*. The great Council inaugurated in May 1954 was to go on until the whole task was completed on the full moon day of May 1956, marking the 2500th anniversary of the demise (Maha-parinirvāna) of the Buddha at Kusinārā in India. Prime Minister U Nu of Burma was the patron of this Council, in which, for the first time, Buddhists throughout the Theravāda world collaborated. From the tasks undertaken and achieved it also can be termed truly a *saṅgīti*.

Rehearsals in Thailand

The Thai chronicle *Saṅgītivaṃsa*, written by the royal patriarch Somdej Phra Vanarat (Bhadanta Vanaratana), in the reign of Rama I, claim that two rehearsals were held in Thailand. The first of these, called the eighth council in this work, was held in the reign of king Siridharmacakravarti Tilaka Rājādhirāja in Chiengmai, in Northern Thailand. This council is said to have been held at the Mahābodhirāma. According to the *Jinakālamāli* this king entrusted the task of cleansing the *tipiṭaka* of scribal errors to great elders versed in the three *piṭakas* and, once it was completed deposited the texts in a great edifice built at the Mahābodhārāma. When his grandson, the king Tilaka-panattādhirāja, found this building in a dilapidated condition, he got the ancient 'city spire' (*nagarakūṭa*) converted into a library (lit 'house of letters' or Akkharamandira) to house the *tipiṭaka*. In celebration, the king conducted a great festival of honour by making forty great Elders versed in the three *piṭakas* headed by the chief prelate of the Mahābodhārāma to recite the texts of the canon (*Jinak.* p.115). Both these events taken together, although they were held several years apart, could have fitted into the interpretation of the term *saṅgīti*. However, according to B. Jinānanda, council in Thailand were not councils in the true sense of the term.

The second rehearsal in Thailand, the ninth according to the *Saṅgītivaṃsa*, was held in the reign of Rāma I in, 1788 A.C., in the new capital city of Bangkok. Thai Buddhists were greatly demoralized with the sacking of the royal capital of Ayuthia by the Burmese armies. In the war many books and the manuscripts of the *tipiṭaka* were reduced to ashes. The Order of monks was disorganized and morally weakened. The king and his brother were greatly perturbed by the moral laxity of the members of the Saṅgha. After consulting the learned members of the Order they decided to convene a council to restore the religion. Two hundred and eighteen prelates and thirty two lay scholars assembled together under royal patronage and continued to recite the texts of the *tipiṭaka* for about an year with the hope of reviving the sagging spirits of Thai Buddhists. It was said to be a great success, as soon there were definite marks of a revival in Thai Buddhist activities. However, as shown above, this recital of the *tipiṭaka* could hardly be called a *saṅgīti* in the proper sense of the word.

C. Witanachchi

References

1. *Saddharmālankāra*, ed. Makuluduve Sri Piyaratana, M.D. Gunasena and Company Ltd. 1971, p. 213
2. *Jātaka Aṭuvā Geṭapadaya*, ed. Medauyangoda Vimalakeerti sthavira and Nehinne Sominda sthavira. M.D. Gunasena and Company Ltd. , 1961, p. 4
3. ed. Samaranayaka, D.P.R. , M.D. Gunasena and Company Ltd. CoLombo, 1970, p.218.
4. Taranatha , *History of Buddhism in India*, ed. Debiprasad Chattopadyaya; tr. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Delhi, 1991 p. 68ff.
5. *ibid.* 91ff; Dutt, Nalinaksha, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, Luzac and Co., London, p. 268f.

[6]. tr. Beal, Samuel, *Chinese Accounts of India*, Susil Gupta (India) Ltd. Calcutta, 1958 Vol. 3, p. 379.

[7]. *ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 130ff

[8]. ed. Bapat, P.V. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1957, p. 44ff.

[9]. Rahula, Walpola, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, The Buddhist Cultural Centre, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka, 1993 p. 53f.

[10]. Adikaram, E.W., *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Buddhist Cultural Centre, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka, 1994, p. 79

[11]. *Srīsumaṅgalaśabdakoṣaya*, Vol. II, Anula Press Maradana, Sri Lanka, 1956, s.v.*potsaṅgāyanā*

[12]. *2500 years of Buddhism, ibid.* p. 45.

SAṄGRAHAVASTU See SAṄGAHAVATTHU

SAÑJAYA BELLAṬṬHIPUTTA. One of the six famous heretical teachers who were senior contemporaries of the Buddha. In Buddhist Sanskṛit the name occurs as Saṃjayin Varaṭiputra[1] with the second part taking a number of variant forms in a number of different texts; e.g. Vairaḍiputra, Vairaṭṭīputra, Vairūṭiputra, Velaṭīputra, Veraḍhīputra, Veraṭṭikaputra, Veraṅgikaputra etc.

There is hardly any information about the personal life of this religious teacher in canonical or post-canonical Pāli works. Buddhaghosa simply states that Sañjaya was called Bellaṭṭhiputta because he was the son of one Bellaṭṭha. The Buddhist Sanskṛit Mahāvastu (III. 59) calls him the teacher of Śariputra and Moudgalyāyana prior to their conversion to Buddhism by Ven. Upaśena. However the Pāli texts refrain from identifying the wandering Ascetic Sañjaya, the teacher of Sāriputta and Moggallāna with Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta. The Mahāvastu informs that he lived at Rajagruha, in the wanderer's Retreat (parivājakārāma) with a company of five hundred wandering ascetics. The young Śariputra and Moudgalyayāna who decided to renounce worldly life went thither and became his disciples. The former mastered all the teachings of Sañjaya in one week while the latter did so in half a month and concluded that this was not the path to the complete ending of *dukkha*.

Both the Pāli and the Buddhist Sanskṛit traditions agree that the two future Buddhist Elders, after their conversion to Buddhism, invited their teacher Sañjaya or Saṁjayin to join them when they when to the Buddha. But he first tried to dissuade them from going to the Buddha and offered to share the superintendence of his company of pupils with the two. Having refused the offer the two left Sañjayin taking with them all his five hundred pupils. (*ibid.* 62f.). But according to the Pāli *Vinaya Piṭaka* (1.42f) Sañjaya had only two hundred and fifty pupils who joined Sāriputta and Moggallāna to become disciples of the Buddha. But one Pāli source informs us that Sañjaya, who refused the invitation of his two disciples to go to the Buddha, said that having been a teacher for a long time he does not wish to be another's disciple now. He added there are more stupid persons than intellectuals in the world. While the latter would go to Gotama the more numerous stupid ones would come to him. But the show of all this bravery failed when he saw the empty monastery with all his five hundred pupils leaving with Sariputta and Moggallana and he threw out warm blood. Nevertheless two hundred and fifty of the five hundred turned back to remain his pupils and only two hundred and fifty ultimately went to the Buddha (*DhpA*.1.78f.)

When many well known young men of Magadha started to join the Buddhist Order as monks and ultimately even pupils of Sañjaya did so people started to agitate and criticize saying :

"The Great Recluse has come to Giribbaja of the Magadhans. Having led (ordained) all of Sanjaya's (pupils) whom would he lead now"? (*Vin.* 1. 43). The Buddhist Sanskṛit version of this verse and the Buddha's reply to it is found in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 90). But the critical pronouncement is here attributed to Saṁjayin Vairatiputra who is said to have proclaimed it in a square in Rajagruha in the place for proclamations (*catvaras'ruṅgāṭake avaṇāmukheṣu*).

Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta's Philosophical Views

What is generally spoken of mostly about Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta is not his personal life but his philosophical view, generally identified by modern scholarship as scepticism but also sometimes as agnosticism. In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*D.* 1. 58ff.). King Ajātasattu of Magadha tells the Buddha that.

when one day he visited Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta and inquired from him about immediate (in this very life) advantages of recluseship (*sandiṭṭhikaṃ sāmaññaphalam*), without giving a straight answer he resorted to prevarication (*vikkhepaṃ*). Among all the six heretical teachers he visited and put this question, says he, this was the most foolish and the most confused (*sabbabālo sabba momūho*). However modern scholars are reluctant to accept this judgment. Buddhists are either misrepresenting him or have not properly understood him.

The *Brahmajāla Sutta* (*ibid.* 24ff) has categorized four schools of Sceptical thinkers. The discourse says, "there are monks some recluses and brahamins who wriggle like eels (*amarā vikkhepikā*) and, when a question is put to them on this or that they resort to equivocation, to eel-wriggling and, this in four ways." Prof. K. N. Jayatilleke[2], who has made a detailed study of sceptical thinking in ancient India, refers to these four schools of Sceptics as well.

Commenting on the term Amarāvikkhepa[3] by which this philosophy is designated in Pāli texts, Jayatilleke says it could be a nickname which has probably been translated correctly as 'eel-wrigglers' by Prof. Rhys Davids. The commentator Buddhaghosa has given two alternative explanations to the term, perhaps showing his own uncertainty about its true meaning. According to him it may mean "those who are confused by their endless beliefs and words". The second explanation is that "*amarā* stands for a species of fish, who are in the habit of running about in the water, constantly emerging and diving down, so that it is difficult to get hold of them and that similarly this theory (Scepticism) runs hither and thither without arriving at a definite conclusion". Jayatilleke prefers the second explanation because he thinks to take *amarā* as 'endless' (*pariyantarahita*) is too farfetched. The term *vācāvikkhepa* is also used as a synonym for *amarā-vikkhepa* and, probably means 'verbal jugglery', for in the eyes of their opponents these thinkers would have appeared to evade committing themselves with regard to the truth or falsity of a proposition.

The first of the four schools of skeptics resorted to verbal jugglery and eel-wriggling through fear of falsehood (*musāvāda-bhayā*) and the abhorrence of being wrong (*musāvāda-parijegucchā*) and says "I do not say so, I do not say thus, I do not say otherwise, I do not say no, I deny the denials" (i.e. does not say 'no, no'). All this stems from the fact that they do not understand it, as it really is what is good or evil. Thus being such, they argue, if we were to say this is good or this is evil that would be due to our likes, desires, aversions or resentments. If so it would be a wrong assertion. If it were wrong it would cause worry (*vighāta*) and worry would be a moral danger (*antarāya*). Thus they would not assert anything to be good or evil. But, without revealing the causes leading to it, resort to verbal jugglery. Prof. Jayatilleke thinks that the probable reason for this scepticism was not only their denial of Knowledge of ethical propositions but also that they are, in principle, unknowable. In such a situation to claim these propositions to be true or false would be to be guided by one's prejudices. However, although the texts refer specifically to ethical propositions, it is likely the principle was extended to cover all propositions.

The description of the second school of skeptics is almost identical with the first except they are said to resort to scepticism through fear of involvement or entanglement (*upādānabhayā*) and abhorrence of entanglement (*upadāna-parijegucchā*). Such entanglements in things which they do not know properly would cause worry and mental disquietude. Jayatileka thinks that they did so primarily out of moral considerations rather than for intellectual reasons although the latter were not absent.

The third school of skeptics adopt this course of action as they fear and detest interrogation (*anuvāda-bhayā, anvāda-parijegucchā*) by others on their assertions and denials made without knowing, as it really is, what is good or evil. If they, without knowing the true facts, pronounce something to be good or evil, they would have to join issue, argue, and debate in defence with highly learned, skill full debaters who go about debating and debunking theories of others. If they are unable to defend themselves it would be a cause for worry leading to a moral danger. Fearing this danger, they would not pronounce it to be good or evil. It is not clear from the account, thinks Prof. Jayatilleke, whether they wished to avoid debate because they were sceptics or whether they were sceptics because they wanted to avoid debate. He thinks the passage seems to suggest both at the same time.

It is the fourth school of sceptics that is described in identical language used in describing the views of Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta. Therefore he could have been either a leader of the school or even the leader of the school at the rise of Buddhism. Along with the other five heretical teachers whose views are included in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* Sañjaya is also described in canonical discourses as a head of an order or a following (*saṅghī, gaṇī*), the teacher of a school (*gaṇācariyo*), well known (*ñāto*), of repute (*yasassī*), a ford-maker (*titthakaro*) held in high esteem by the masses (*sādhusammato bahujanassa*), a man of long experience (*rattaññū*) who has long been a recluse (*cirapabbajito*) and well stricken in years (*vayo anuppatto*; *D.* I. 48). These words show that he was much senior to the Buddha and that he was held in high esteem by the Magadhan people.

On the views held by this school the Buddhist text states that they, when questioned on this or that matter, resort to verbal jugglery and eel-wriggling through their dullness (*mandattā*) and stupidity (*momūhattā*). They would say, for instance "if you ask me whether there is a next world, then, if it were to occur to me that there is a next world, I would pronounce that there is a next world. Yet I do not say so; I do not say thus; I do not say otherwise; I do not say no; I deny the denial". Similarly with regard to other propositions which are also metaphysical in type. Among the metaphysical problems raised are, whether there are spontaneously born (*opapātikā*) beings', do good and evil actions have any fruit, any results? Does an emancipated person (*tathāgato*) exist after death? All the questions are put in the fourfold order, i.e. assertion, denial, combination of both and, the rejection of both.

While B. M. Barua asserts that this description represents a doctrine held by a school of Pyrrhonists (named after the Greek philosopher Pyrrho), A.L. Basham thinks that it is probably a satirical tilt at agnostic teachers who were unwilling to give a definite answer to any metaphysical question put to them. Tending to agree with Basham's view, Jayatilleke, however, thinks that Buddhists have not given an exact picture of Sañjaya's views. Emphasis placed on Sañjaya's dullness and stupidity which they do not attribute to the other three schools, according to him, is due to Sañjaya's thorough going scepticism which did not advocate the desirability of it as a way of life. He would have been more outspoken and critical of the views of his opponents. As such Buddhists must have regarded him as being more deluded than the other sceptics who, despite their theoretical skcepticism, had good sense to cultivate the tranquility of mind which was highly valued in Buddhism as well. It has to be noted here that Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta and the other five teachers, despite their popularity among the people, have always been presented in Buddhist texts in very unfavorable terms regarding their philosophical views and capability as religious teachers (e.g. *M.* I. 198, 250, II, 2ff.). The *Sandaka Sutta* (*ibid.* I. 521), in what appears to be the description of the teachings of Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta, labels these teachings to be a comfortless religious life (*anassāsikaṃ brahmacariyaṃ*). An intelligent person would realize the true nature of these teachings and soon leave such a teacher.

Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta and Sāriputta.

Both Professors Malalasekara (*DPPN*. s. v. Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta; Sāriputta Thera) and Jayatilleke seem to agree that Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta was Sāriputta's teacher prior to latter's conversion to Buddhism. But Barua does not agree to this suggestion because Sañjaya, the teacher of Sāriputta according to the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (I. 39) in called a *paribbājaka*. But Jayatilleke sees no problem here as Pāli commentaries held that Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta had a disciple called Suppiya Paribbājaka (*DPPN*. Suppiya) and therefore, he himself could have been a *paribbājaka*. Sāriputta is always lauded in Buddhist sources for his intelligence. Jayatilleke, therefore, questions the validity of the Pāli texts calling Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta, Sāriputta's teacher, a foolish and stupid person. However this may be the very reason that Pāli sources refrained from identifying Sañjaya the teacher of Sāriputta with Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta. Only the Buddhist Sanskrit sources made this identification but never the Pāli sources.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1]. Edgerton, Franklin, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskṛit Grammar and Dictionary*, 1953 s.v. Saṃjayin Veiratiputra.

[2]. Jayatilleke, K.N. *Early Buddhist theory of Knowledge*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1963, 109ff.

[3]. *ibid.* 121ff.

ŚANKHA AND PADMA: There are several guardstones among the numerous archaeological remains of Sri Lanka, particularly at Anuradhapura which represent godlings or *bhūtas*. Two such notable examples are available on either side of the flight of steps leading to the central edifice of the palace of Vijayabāhu I (1056-1111) at Anuradhapura. These figures are engravings on two rectangular slabs of stone. They display protruding bellies and short legs. They are heavily ornamented. The heavy girdles at the waist almost cover the loin-clothes. Over the neck ornaments hang strings of pearls. From the ears suspend heavy rings. There are bangles over the upper and lower arms. One figure wears a multiple string of pearls in the manner of an *upavitā*. The other figure wears a garland of flowers. Each godling is armed with a long stout club. One figure holds it by the left hand while the other has it held by the right. Their head dresses reveal their identity. One wears a head dress which is formed by a stylized treatment of conch shells. The other figure wears a head dress which consists of a base of lotus petals, turned downwards on which is a conventionally treated lotus flower with a peaked top. Thus the head dress of one of the godlings is based on the *saṅkha* (conch) that of the other on the *padma* (lotus). Relying on this evidence, these *bhūtas* have been identified as personifications of two of the nine fabled treasures *(nidhi)* of Kuvera, the God of Wealth.

There is further evidence that in ancient India, figures of Śaṅkha and Padma were placed at the entrances to mansions of nobles, as in the case of Vijayabāhu's palace at Anuradhapura. In Kalidāsa's *Meghadūta*, there is a reference to forms of Śaṅkha and Padma, painted on either side of the doorway of a mansion i.e. (*dvaropante likhita vapuṣau Śaṅkha padmau ca dṛṣṭva…*) . Representations of Śaṅkha and Padma, both on actual conch and lotus and as *bhūtas* (dwarf *yakṣas*) datable from 3rd to 4th centuries A.C. and later periods have been found at various sites in India. Gopinātha Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, refer to them as attendants of Kuvera. "To the right and left of Kuvera, there should be respectively, the Śaṅkha nidhi and Padmanidhi whose description are as follows: These two personifications should resemble in shape the *bhūtas*, that is with short limbs attached to a large trunk and surmounted by a large face, carrying in their hands lotus flowers. They should be draped in white clothes, adorned with *karaṇḍa makutas* and placed on *padma pīṭhas*.

In popular religion of Sinhala people, Padma and Śaṅkha play no part. Their master Kuvera is invoked in magical ceremonies under the name of King Vesamuni (Sk. Vaiśravana). This image is sometimes seen as one of the guardians of the quarters (mahāraja) in Buddhist temples. Kuvera is regarded as one of the protectors of the world (*loka-pāla*). Temples dedicated to him existed in India. The personified treasures, in particular Śaṅkha and Padma figures in the entourage of Kuvera.

The cult of Kuvera was prevalent in ancient Sri Lanka. The Mahāmāyūrī, a magical text of the Northern Buddhists, gives a list of *yakṣas* who were worshipped in Sri Lanka are listed as Dhaneśvara (Kuvera), Vibhīṣana, and Kalasodara. Vibhīṣana, the half brother of Kuvera is one of the four protectors of Sri Lanka. A temple dedicated to him still exists at Kälaniya, Sri Lanka. The message Poem named Sälaḷihiṇi Sandesa of the 15th century (written by Sri Rahula, poet and grammarian) is delivered to him at Kälaniya. At Lankātilaka Vihāra in Handessa (near Kandy) in Sri Lanka, there is a *devāle* devoted to his worship. Images of this deity as well as of his spouse are to be seen deposited therein. Kalasodara (pot belly) appears to be another name for Kuvera. Several sculptors of Kuvera of Mahayanist character have been found in Sri Lanka and have been illustrated.

On a stelae at the northern frontispiece of Dakkhiṇa-vihāra at Anuradhapura (2nd century A.C.), is a representation of Kuvera. His identity is established by an attendant crouching at the feet and emptying coins from a pot. Kuvera as a pot bellied deity occupies the arched tympanum on the southern side of the Gedigē at Nālanda (Sri Lanka).

Several representations of Śaṅkha and Padma are to be seen at Anuradhapura. In the place of King Vijayabāhu (which has already been referred to) two smaller figures of the *nidhis* Śaṅkha and Padma) guard the flight of steps at the rear. Similar figures are to be seen among the ruins in the vicinity of Thūpārāma Dāgaba. At Mahasena's pavilion at Anuradhapura (where the well known moonstone at Anuradhapura is available), on either side of the monolithic slab to which the flight of steps lead to, one may recognize two small figures of Śaṅkha and Padma.

The largest figures of Śaṅkha and Padma are placed on either side of the broad flight of steps ascending

the outer portal of Abhayagiri stūpa at Anuradhapura. They are popularly called *bahiravas*. People of Anuradhapura and its environs are in the habit of paying homage to them, by applying lime on these images in order to please them. Some persons take vows and oaths in front of these *bhūtas* There have been instances of the intervention of these godlings. Litigants in modern day courts of justice are occasionally sent to swear in front of these *bhūtas*. There have been instances of the intervention of these godlings being sought to influence the election of peoples representatives.

The sculptures at the entrance to the palace of Vijayabāhu I are of the 11th century, but materials from earlier buildings have been made use of in its construction. These sculptures as well as those which have already been referred to, may belong to a period in between 8th to10th centuries A.C.

It is possible to surmise that people of Sri Lanka were accustomed to pay homage to these deities before they embraced Buddhism and that they continued to do so even afterwards. These deities were invoked for the purpose of achieving worldly ends. Devotion to Buddha (*devātideva* god surpassing gods) was to result in the world to come. At the entrance to a Buddhist shrine, symbols like Śaṅkha and Padma have been placed to show that they occupy only humble positions like gatekeepers at shrines dedicated to the Lord of the World. The suggestion may also be made that in the act of by-passing such figures as Śaṅkha and Padma (as well as other gods) and approaching the stūpa or a shrine containing the likeness of the Buddha, non -attachment to things material is symbolized.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

References:

1. *Artibus Asiae*, 18(2) 1955, pp.1221-127

   S. Paranavithana, Śaṅkha and Padma

2. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, *Annual Report for 1950*,p.12

3. *Meghaduta*. Ed. Kale, v. 20

4. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II. p. 536

SAṄKHĀRĀ can be derived from the noun *kāra* (Skt. *kṛ*) and the prefix *saṃ*, so that the literal sense of *saṅkhārā* is 'together making'. This literal sense of a 'together making' occurs for example in the *Vinaya*, where the Buddha made an allowance for 'making together' (*abhisaṅkhāritum*) a medicinal ointment, in the sense of preparing it (*Vin*. I, 205). Another relevant passage can be found in a verse in the *Sutta Nipāta*, where the etymologically closely related *saṅkhata* qualifies a raft as being well 'made together' (*Sn*. 21), conveying the sense of this raft being well constructed.

In its usage in the discourses, *saṅkhāras* as 'together makings' have an active and a passive sense, representing both that which makes together and that which is made together. The more active nuance of a 'making together' in the sense of the exercise of volition or will-power is more prominent in the related term *abhi saṅkhāra*, which could be rendered as 'volitional determination', while the passive nuance of something being 'made together' in the sense of being a product of conditions underlies the related term *saṅkhata*, which can be translated as 'conditioned'.

The term *saṅkhārā*, however, comprises all these nuances, a fact which makes it almost impossible to capture the whole range of this term with a single English expression. Various translations have been proposed, such as activity, coefficient, composition, compound, concomitant, confection, constituent, construction, determinant, disposition, fabrication, formation, force, preparation, process, synergy, and volition. Each of these captures one or several aspects of the term, yet none is able to fully account for the entire range of meanings underlying the term *saṅkhārā*.

To get a clearer picture of this range of meanings, three main contexts in which the term *saṅkhārā* occurs can be distinguished: (1) as the fourth of the five aggregates (*khandha*); (2) as the second link in the twelve-fold formula of dependent origination (*paṭicca samuppāda*), and (3) as anything conditioned, the most general sense of the term, exemplified by its usage in the standard formula for the first two of the three charactenstics (*tilakkhaṇa*).

(1) The *saṅkhāras* as an aggregate

The *saṅkhāras* are the fourth of the five aggregates and in this context represent the conative aspect of the mind. The aggregate of the *saṅkhāras* arises

dependent on contact, just as the aggregates of feeling and perception (*M.* III, 17). In the case of feeling such contact is related to the sense-doors, while the aggregates of *saṅkhāras* and perception are related to the sense-objects, i.e. to forms, sounds, smells, tastes, touches and mental objects (*S.* III, 60). According to the definition found in the discourses (e.g. *S.* III, 63), the aggregate of the *saṅkhāras* comprises the volitions (*cetanā*) arising in relation to these six types of sense-object. In short, as an aggregate the *saṅkhāras* are that which reacts to experience.

An example of the usage of the term *saṅkhāra* in the sense of volitional activity can be found in a passage that describes the lay-follower *Soṇa* as having the volition to go forth (*Ud.* 57: *pabbajjābhisaṅkhāra*). On being told by the monk *Mahākaccāna* of the difficulties of the monk's life, the force of this *saṅkhāra* diminished and he decided to remain a layman. A similar instance can be found in a discourse that describes the general *Sīha* as having the volition to visit the Buddha (*A.* IV, 180: *gamiyābhisaṅkhāra*). On being told by the leader of the Jains that the Buddha was a teacher of non-action, his volition similarly lost force and he decided not to go. In both these instances, however, on a subsequent occasion the volitional force of their respective *saṅkhāras* became powerful enough to override all obstacles, so that finally *Soṇa* did go forth and *Sīha* did go to see the Buddha.

Another example illustrating the volitional force of the term *saṅkhāra* can be found in the context of the four roads to power (*iddhipāda*), which combine different forms of concentration (*samādhi*) with volitional striving (*padhānasaṅkhāra*). Such volitional striving in this context refers in particular to overcoming what is unwholesome and to establishing what is wholesome (*S.* V, 268). Volitional striving (*saṅkhārappadhāna*) recurs again in another passage as a tool for overcoming *dukkha* (*M.* II, 223). The development of volitional striving by way of the four roads to power yields, among others, the ability to perform supernormal feats. Here again the *saṅkhāras* recur, since it is the *iddhābhisaṅkhāra*, literally the 'supernormal determination', that is required for performing a magical feat, such as when *Moggallāna* shook the *Vejayanti* palace with his toe (*M.* I, 253) or when another monk created rain and fire (*S.* IV, 292).

The *Sampasādaniya Sutta* reports how someone with telepathic powers is able to recognize the operation of the *saṅkhāras* in another's mind (*D.* III, 104). According to this passage, once someone with telepathic powers has recognised the volitional direction of such a *saṅkhāra*, he or she will be able to predict the type of thought that is about to arise in the other person's mind. This indicates that the *saṅkhāras* as volition represent the beginning stages of mental activity, the first inclination or tendency that precedes the arising of thought, whose nature is determined by the directional input provided by the respective *saṅkhāras*.

The aggregate of *saṅkhāras* comprises past, present and future *saṅkhāras* internally or externally arisen ones, be they of a gross or subtle, inferior or superior quality, far or near (*M.* III, 17). As an aggregate, the *saṅkhāras* share with the other aggregates the qualities of all conditioned phenomena. Thus all volitions and intentions, representative of the 'will' in man, are impermanent, unsatisfactory and without a permanent self. Any of the possible views about a self in relation to *saṅkhāras*, by either identifying the will as being a self, or believing it to be the expression of a self, or to be part of a self, or else by taking the self to take part in a greater will, are simply mistaken. Though pleasure and satisfaction can be experienced in relation to the aggregate of *saṅkhāras*, such pleasure and satisfaction are outweighed by the disadvantage due to their impermanent and therefore unsatisfactory nature (*S.* III, 103).

During later developments of Buddhist philosophy, the meaning of the term *saṅkhārā* expanded until it came to include a wide range of mental factors. In the *Abhidhammic* analysis of states of mind the *saṅkhāras* have become a collective term for assembling such mental factors as, for example, contact, mental application, the five faculties and powers, factors of the noble eightfold path and the absence of hatred and covetousness (*Dhs.* 17). In this way, the *saṅkhāras* came to stand for anything mental apart from feeling, perception and consciousness. This goes somewhat beyond the implications of the aggregate of *saṅkhāras* in the early discourses, where it represented mainly the volitional aspect of mental experience. The fact that the *saṅkhāras* as an aggregate usually occur in the plural form and their inherent nuance of referring not only to what 'makes together' but also to what 'is

made together' may have the choice of the *saṅkhārā* aggregate as a heading for those mental factors.

The aggregate of *saṅkhārā* interacts with each of the other aggregates and has a conditioning effect upon each (*S.* III, 87). This conditioning effect of the *saṅkhāras* on the other aggregates points to its role as a link in the formula of dependent origination (*paṭicca samuppāda*). Though in this context the *saṅkhāras* do also act as volitions, their role is different due to the basic difference between the two schemes of the aggregates and of dependent origination. The five aggregates are an analysis of the constituents of empirical existence at a particular moment of time. Dependent origination, however, is concerned with a temporal sequence, depicting the conditioned arising of *dukkha*. The difference between these two schemes is similar to the difference between taking a horizontal and a vertical cut through a particular object. Both are cuts, yet the respective perspective is different. Thus the perspective on the *saṅkhāras* as an aggregate is more directed to the volitional aspect of empirical personality in the present existence, while the perspective on *saṅkhāras* as a link of dependent origination is concerned with 'volitional formations' in as much as they 'form' and thereby 'condition' future existence.

To illustrate this difference, the case of an *arahant* can be taken into consideration. An *arahant* is still endowed with the aggregate of *saṅkhāras*. However, none of these *saṅkhāras* is rooted in ignorance, so that none of these *saṅkhāras* will take part in the dependent origination of *dukkha*. This goes to show that the compass of the *saṅkhāras* as an aggregate is broader than that of the *saṅkhāras* as a link in dependent origination, since the former also comprises *saṅkhāras* that are not karmically effective.

(2) The *saṅkhāras* as a link in *paṭicca samuppāda*

The *saṅkhāras* are the second of the twelve-link formula of dependent origination (*paṭicca samuppāda*), leading from the first link of ignorance to the third link of consciousness. According to the traditional interpretation, *saṅkhāras* in this context represent the karmically active volitions responsible for rebirth and continued existence in *saṃsāra*. In this type of usage, the term *saṅkhārā* is equivalent to *cetanā, patthanā* and *paṇidhi*, all these being but different words for the exercise of volition and mental aspiration (cf. *A.* I, 32). That is, in the context of dependent origination the *saṅkhāras* are the creative principle of human existence. This creative potential of the *saṅkhāras* finds its expression in a passage from the *Saṅgīti Sutta* (*D.* III, 211), which asserts that all beings exist in dependence on *saṅkhāras* (*sabbe sattā saṅkhāraṭṭhitikā*).

The *Papāta Sutta* takes up the conditional relationship between the first link of ignorance (in terms of not understanding the four noble truths) and the *saṅkhāras*. According to its exposition, those who do not understand the four noble truths will delight in *saṅkhāras* leading to birth, old age and death, to sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair (*S.* V, 449). In contrast, those who understand the four noble truths will not delight in these *saṅkhāras* and thus be able to gain freedom from birth, old age and death, from sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair. An additional perspective on ignorance leading to *saṅkhāras* can be found in a discourse where the Buddha examined the mistaken view that any of the five aggregates is a self or related to a self. Such a view, he pointed out, is in itself a *saṅkhāra*, resulting from ignorance and leading to craving (*S.* III, 96).

A related statement found in the *Dvayatānupassanā Sutta* sums up the role of *saṅkhāras* as a decisive link in the dependent origination of *dukkha* by declaring that all *dukkha* depends on the *saṅkhāras*, and with the cessation of *saṅkhāras* no more *dukkha* will arise (*Sn.* 731). Once this is clearly understood and the calming of all *saṅkhāras* is reached, so this discourse continues, one will no longer be subject to future existence (*Sn.* 733).

The *Saṅkhāruppatti Sutta* illustrates the function of the *saṅkhāras* in the context of rebirth (*M.* III, 99). Here the Buddha explained how someone endowed with confidence, morality, learning, generosity and wisdom may have the aspiration to be reborn in a favourable situation as a human or in a heavenly realm. If this mental aspiration is developed and repeatedly cultivated, the person in question will indeed be reborn in that situation or realm. According to this discourse repeatedly developing this mental aspiration, the *saṅkhāras*, is what leads to the particular type of rebirth (as long as by developing the aforementioned qualities the necessary merit has been accumulated).

According to the *Saṅgīti Sutta*, such an aspiration for a favourable rebirth can also become effective if it is based on the meritorious deed of giving to recluses and brahmins (*D.* III, 258).

The importance of one's mental inclination is also highlighted in the *Kukkuravatika Sutta* (*M.* I, 387), which reports the Buddha in discussion with some visitors who had undertaken the practice of behaving like a dog or like a cow as an ascetic penance. Being repeatedly asked by them about the fruit of their practice, he had to tell them that the mental inclination resulting from such a way of behaving will simply lead to rebirth as a dog or a cow. The principle behind that, so he explained in the same discourse, is that *saṅkhāra* of a particular type will lead to a corresponding type of rebirth. If these *saṅkhāras* are of a harmful (*sabyāpajjha*) nature, they will in turn lead to a rebirth where harmful types of experiences are predominant. That is, each being creates and forms its own character and existence, both in past lives and at every moment of present existence. This continuous process of creating and forming takes place through the medium of the *saṅkhāras*.

The *Kukkuravatika Sutta* subdivides such *saṅkhāras* into three types: bodily, verbal and mental. The same threefold distinction recurs elsewhere when defining the *saṅkhāras* in their function as the second link of dependent origination (e.g. *S.* II, 4). Based on ignorance, the Buddha explained in another discourse, one may generate such a bodily, verbal or mental *saṅkhāra* either on one's own initiative or else when prompted by others, either deliberately (*sampajāna*) or else without deliberation (*asampajāna*) (*S.* II, 40). The question of deliberation recurs also in the Pāli *Abhidhamma*, which distinguishes between mind states with deliberation (*sasaṅkhārika*) and without deliberation, the first being based on prior deliberation while the second refers to its more spontaneous counterpart (e.g. *Dhs.* 27).

The *Parivīmaṃsana Sutta* introduces another threefold distinction of *saṅkhāras* relevant to the present context. Here the Buddha explained how due to ignorance a worldling generates meritorious (*puñña*), demeritorious (*apuñña*) and imperturbable (*āneñja*) *saṅkhāras*[1], leading in turn to the arising of types of consciousness of the same nature (*S.* II, 82). However, the *Parivīmaṃsana Sutta* continues, once ignorance has been eradicated these three types of *saṅkhāras* are also abandoned.

(3) The *saṅkhāras* in general

The threefold distinction of *saṅkhāras* into bodily, verbal and mental occurs not only in the context of dependent origination, but also in relation to the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling (*saññāvedayitanirodha*). According to the explanation found in the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* (*M.* I, 301), on entering the attainment of cessation at first the verbal *saṅkhāras* cease, which in this context stand for initial and sustained mental application, followed by the cessation of the bodily *saṅkhāras*, which here stand for the breath, and finally the mental *saṅkhāras* will cease, which in the present context comprise perception and feeling. Two of these three *saṅkhāras* recur as part of the detailed exposition of mindfulness of breathing (*M.* III, 82), which instructs to calm the bodily *saṅkhāras* and to experience and calm the mental *saṅkhāras*.

The definition given in the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* shows that these three types of *saṅkhāras* are different from the same threefold distinction into bodily, verbal and mental *saṅkhāras* applicable to the context of dependent origination. The difference is that the three types of *saṅkhāras* as the second link in the scheme of dependent origination depend on ignorance. The same cannot be said in the present context, since breathing, mental application and perception and feeling will still be present in the case of an *arahant*, in whom however ignorance has been eradicated and who therefore has gone beyond the three types of *saṅkhāras* leading to the dependent origination of *dukkha*.

The term *saṅkhāra* occurs also in relation to another type of cessation, namely the 'gradual cessation' of *saṅkhāras* (*anupubbasaṅkhārānaṃ nirodho*) taking place by attaining the four *jhānas*, the immaterial attainments and the above mentioned cessation of perception and feeling (*S.* IV, 217). The '*saṅkhāras*' whose cessation this passage describes are speech, initial and sustained mental application (*vitakkavicāra*), joy (*pīti*), breathing, perception of form, perception of infinite space, perception of infinite consciousness, perception of nothingness and finally all perceptions and feelings. The discourse

culminates with the destruction of the taints, at which point (the *saṅkhāras* of) hate, greed and delusion also cease.

Another usage of the term *saṅkhāra* represents the life-force or the will to live. An example of this usage can be found in a discourse which describes how the Buddha overcame a disease with the help of his will to live, his *jīvita- saṅkhāra* (*S.* V, 152). On a later occasion he gave up that same will to live, here referred to as his *āyu- saṅkhāra* or his *bhava- saṅkhāra* (*S.* V, 262). According to the *Mahāvedalla Sutta*, such an *āyu-saṅkhāra* continues even during the cessation of perception and feeling (*M.* I, 296). In another discourse the Buddha pointed out that the speed with which the *āyu- saṅkhāra* come to an end is faster than the motion of the sun and the moon (*S.* II, 266). In this particular instance the *āyusaṅkhāras* represent life as such, not only the will to live. The similar *bhava- saṅkhāra* recurs also in another instance (*A.* V, 88), which explains that the *bhava- saṅkhāra* leading to renewed existence (*ponobhavika*) is one of the factors bound to bodily existence (*sarīraṭṭha*). This instance relates the *bhava-saṅkhāra* to the context of rebirth in particular and therewith to its role in the continuity of *saṃsāric* existence.

Another context within which the term *saṅkhāra* makes its appearance are the five different types of non-returners (e.g. *S.* V, 201). Two types of non-returners (*anāgāmī*) can be distinguished according to whether they attain final *Nibbāna* with or without exertion (*sasaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī* or *asaṅkhāra-parinibbāyī*). A discourse in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* explains that to attain 'with exertion' refers to undertaking contemplation of the unattractive nature of the body or of the repulsive nature of food, etc., while to do the same 'without exertion' is to do so with the help of developing the *jhānas* (*A.* II, 155).

At times, the term *saṅkhāra* can cover all five aggregates, not just the fourth. Such a usage occurs in a verse by the monk Adhimutta, who replied to a gang of criminals intending to murder him that he was free from fear, since he knew that there was no 'I' to be killed, but only *saṅkhāras* will pass away (*Thag.* 715). A similar usage recurs in a verse by the nun *Vajirā* (*S.* I, 135), who in reply to *Māra* pointed out that his notion of a (substantial) 'being' was mistaken, since in reality there is just a heap of *saṅkhāras* (*saṅkhārapuñja*).

Speaking of *Māra*, out of the different types of *Māra* distinguished in the commentarial literature, one is similarly related to *saṅkhāras*. This is the *Abhisaṅkhāramāra*, who according to the commentary to the *Visuddhimagga* (*VismA.* I, 255, Burm. ed.) represents the arising of birth and old age through the *abhisaṅkhāra*, the volitional determinations.

Saṅkhāras can also stand for the whole of perceptual experience. Thus in the *Pañcattaya Sutta* (*M.* II, 231) the Buddha explained that for the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception the presence of anything seen, heard, sensed or cognised becomes an obstruction. In this passage he used the term *saṅkhāra* to represent what is seen, heard, sensed or cognised, continuing to explain that this lofty attainment can only be gained with a mere residue of *saṅkhāras* (*sasaṅkhārāvasesa*).

Another relevant instance occurs in a verse in the *Therīgāthā* where a girl about to be married to a prince decided to rather go forth (*Thīg.* 514). In her explanation for this decision, she pointed out that she did not delight in what belongs to *saṅkhāras* (*saṅkhāragate ratiṃ alabhamāna*). In this instance, the term *saṅkhāra* represents all the possible sensual delight awaiting her on being married.

In their more general usage, the *saṅkhāras* can have an active or a passive sense. The active mode underlies occurrences where the term *saṅkhāra* represents the cause or condition for something, while in the passive mode the *saṅkhāras* stand for whatever is a product of conditions.

An example for the active sense can be found in a passage which explains that evil unwholesome things arise due to a cause (*sasaṅkhārā*), not without it (*A.* I, 82). The same general sense of *saṅkhāras* as 'cause' recurs in another passage indicating that the faculties of pain or pleasure arise due to a cause (*sasaṅkhārā*), not without it (*S.* V, 213). These contexts use *saṅkhāra* on a par with *hetu*, *nimitta*, *nidāna* and *paccaya*, different expressions representing the same presence of a 'cause' or 'condition'.

The passive mode of the term *saṅkhāras* in its general usage stands for all conditioned phenomena. Examples for this usage can be found in two discourses (*D.* II, 198 and *S.* III, 146), where the Buddha drew

attention to the fact that the splendour and immense wealth possessed by himself in a former life as a king had all changed and passed away. The word used by him in this context to refer to the former splendour and wealth was *saṅkhāra*. A similar usage occurs in another discourse, where the Buddha described a worldwide draught leading to the parching up of all water and the destruction of all life, in order to illustrate the impermanent nature of all *saṅkhāras* (*A.* IV, 100). Thus the entire realm of *saṃsāra* can be covered by this usage of the term *saṅkhāra* in the sense of *saṅkhata*, of all things that are 'conditioned'.

The same general usage underlies the Buddha's last instruction before entering final *Nibbāna*, where he highlighted the impermanent nature of all conditioned phenomena, all *saṅkhāras* (*D.* II, 156: *vayadhammā saṅkhārā*). The same theme recurs in another well-known statement where he declared that all *saṅkhāras* are impermanent and unsatisfactory, and all *dhammas* are not self (*Dhp.* 277-279). This, so he explained (*A.* I, 286), is the fixed way things are (*dhammaṭṭhitatā*), the regular pattern inherent in them (*dhamma niyāmatā*). To view all *saṅkhāras* as impermanent figures among the meditation practices of frequent occurrence in the discourses (e.g. *A.* III, 83: *sabbasaṅkhāresu aniccānupassī*). Their relation to *dukkha* recurs in the threefold distinction of *dukkha* (*S.* V, 56), which distinguishes between outright pain (*dukkhadukkhatā*), displeasure due to change (*vipariṇāmadukkhatā*) and the unsatisfactoriness of all *saṅkhāras* (*saṅkhāradukkhatā*). The key to gaining higher wisdom and insight (*adhipaññādhammavipassanā*), so another discourse explains (*A.* II, 94), is to properly contemplate *saṅkhāras*.

The development of insight in regard to *saṅkhāras* recurs in the instructions delivered by the former Buddha *Vipassī*, which were concerned with the disadvantage, degradation and defilement of *saṅkhāras* in contrast to the profitable nature of *Nibbāna*, instructions which caused his listeners to progress from stream-entry to full awakening (*D.* II, 42). The *saṅkhāra* are however not only relevant to the progress from stream-entry onwards, but also to the earlier stages of the development of insight, which requires the development of equanimity in regard to all *saṅkhāras* (*Ps.* I, 61: *saṅkhārupekkhā*). The corresponding knowledge, the *saṅkhārupekkhāñāṇa*, forms a decisive stage in the build up of meditative insight leading up to the event of awakening (*Vism.* 659).

Of all *saṅkhāras* (in the sense of conditioned phenomena), the noble eightfold path is the best (*A.* II, 34). Though the path is still conditioned and thus takes part in what is covered by the term *saṅkhāra* in its widest usage, the goal itself is no longer a *saṅkhāra*, but is beyond all *saṅkhāras* (*Dhp.* 154 *visaṅkhāra*). *Nibbāna* is neither 'formed' nor 'made up' or 'conditioned', but rather is 'unconditioned', *asaṅkhata* (*Ud.* 80). With full awakening this 'unconditioned' is reached, when lust, hatred and delusion have been completely overcome and eradicated (*S.* IV, 362). Thus only *Nibbāna* goes beyond the range of *saṅkhāras* even in their most general sense, being in fact the 'stilling of all *saṅkhāras*', *sabasaṅkhārasamatha* (e.g. *M.* I, 436). Such stilling of all *saṅkhāras*, so the *Dhammapada* explains, is happiness indeed (*Dhp.* 368 and 381). See also ASAṄKHATA, KHANDHA

Anālayo

Reference

[1] The expression 'imperturbable' in the discourses usually refers to the mental experiences of the fourth *jhāna* and the immaterial attainments.

SAÑÑĀ. *Saññā* is one of the principal terms used in Buddhism to refer to a particular mode of cognitive activity. The term is derived from the verbal root *jñā* (to know) with the prefix *saṃ*. The distinctive meaning of the term in Buddhism needs to be understood in comparison with a number of other terms derived from the same verbal root, but differentiated in meaning by the addition of other prefixes such as *vi*, *pra*, *pari*, and *abhi*. The term occurs as the third item under the enumeration of the five aggregates (*khandhā*). It is also included as one component of *nāma* in the complex of *nāmarūpa*, one of the constituent elements of the cyclic individuated series of becoming (*bhava*) that proceeds in accordance with the law of dependent arising[1]. In the analysis of the perceptual process *saññā* is represented as the cognitive response which is

preceded by *vedanā* (sensation) and followed by *vitakka* (ratiocination)[2]. In the Theravāda *Abhidhamma* analysis of the different types of mind in terms of their wholesomeness, unwholesomseness or indeterminate nature, *saññā* occurs as the mind element that is preceded by *vedanā* and followed by *cetanā* (volition). The term occurs in such a wide variety of contexts in the *suttas*, making it a difficult task to give a uniform meaning to it in terms of its contextual usage.

The cognitive aspect of the meaning of the term appears to be predominant in all its uses. One significant point to be noted is that when the term *saññā* is used in relation to sense cognition it is connected with the objective aspect of sense cognition rather than with the subjective aspect. Among the factors that come into relation in sense cognition are the sense faculties (*indriya*) and the sense objects (*ārammaṇa*). Both are conceived in Buddhist psychology as meeting places in sense cognition (*āyatana*). The sense faculties consisting of eye, ear, etc. are called the internal or subjective (*ajjhattika*) *āyatana* while the sense objects such as *rūpa*, *sadda* etc. are called external or objective (*bāhira*) *āyatana*. *Saññā* is usually explained in terms of the objective aspect of sense cognition as *rūpasaññā* (ideas of material form or perception of material form *saddasaññā* (ideas of sound or perception of sound) etc. whereas *viññāṇa* is explained in terms of the subjective aspect (*ajjhattika*) as *cakkhu viññāṇa* (visual consciousness), *sota viññāṇa* (auditory consciousness) etc.[3] The implication of this explanation is that *saññā* involves cognizing the world in terms of objectively conceptualized sensory elements such as material forms that could be discriminatively experienced by means of the visual faculty, sounds by means of the auditory faculty and so on (*cakkhuviññeyyārūpā, sotaviññeyyā*). This is further confirmed by the explanation given of *saññā* as the activity of recognizing things as blue, yellow etc. as distinguished from the activity of *viññāṇa* which is explained in terms of the subjective experience of the sensations of pleasure (*sukhaṃ*), pain (*dukkhaṃ*) and what is neutral (*adukkhamasukhaṃ*) which are more direct and internal[4].

The emphasis on the objective aspect of *saññā* as a cognitive response is retained in the later Pali commentarial tradition as well. Thus the *Atthasālini*, the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgani* says that *saññā* is so called in the sense that it perceives the object in terms of its distinction in terms of blue etc. (*nīlādibhedam ārammanaṃ sañjānātī saññā*)[5]. The commentator has also retained the meaning that *saññā* involves recognizing something in terms of a concept (*paccābhiññāṇarasā*). It is like a carpenter giving a sign to a piece of timber, and then subsequently identifying it as that to which the sign was given (*punasañjānanapacca-yanimittakaraṇarasā dāru ādisu taccakādaya viya*)[6].

The commentator also emphasizes that *saññā* is the mere perception or recognition of an object in terms of a concept. It does not involve an analytical cognition of the characteristics of the object given to perceptual experience, nor does it involve the self-transforming insight that produces the fruits of the Buddhist path of liberation. It is compared to the perception of a gold coin by a child of immature understanding (*saññā hi ajātabuddhino dārakassa kahāpaṇadassanaṃ viya hoti*)[7].

Another familiar description of *saññā* focuses attention on the emotive component of it by enumerating it as six fold classifying the six into two groups one containing three wholesome emotions and the other three unwholesome emotions. Thus *kāmasaññā, vyāpādasaññā* and *vihiṃsaññā* belong to the first group and *nekkhammasaññā, avyāpādasaññā* and *avihiṃsāsaññā* belong to the second group[8]. The terms *kāma, vyāpāda* and *vihiṃsā* stand respectively for sensuous desire, maliciousness and cruelty while the terms *nekkhamma, avyāpāda* and *avihiṃsā* stand respectively for renunciation, non-maliciousness and non-cruelty. These terms are found to be combined with the term *vitakka* also, a term which we have noted as signifying ratiocination or thought activity, and which is usually placed immediately after the term *sanjānāti* in the analysis of the perceptual process.

A point that becomes evident from an examination of the concept of *saññā* in Buddhism is that according to the Buddhist psychology of perception no absolutely determined way of perceiving the world is admitted. On the side of the subject, there is no absolute a *priori* form into which the externally given is found to fit. It is alterable and is also subject to numerous other conditions including conscious direction as well as a deliberate training of the mind. Hence, the external world **is not perceived as** it is in

itself, but it is **'perceived as'** depending on certain contingent conditions. Such conditions may include the interests of the perceiver in his movement towards a relationship with the externally given. Buddhism does not deal with the question of what is absolutely there as the external reality because it views all perceptual relationships and judgments as a product of relative and dependent conditions. The fact that the term *saññā* is conjoined with certain terms descriptive of emotions such as *kāma* (sensuous desire) and *vyāpāda* (malice) also suggests that the mentally constructed world in terms of *saññā* is not free of the influence of such emotions.

The Buddha's teaching emphasized the point that *saññā* is not an eternal essence in terms of which the particular identity of a person could be determined. The Buddha appears to have been known among contemporary ascetics for his teaching concerning the cessation of *saññā*. The *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* mentions a discussion between the Buddha and a large number of itinerant mendicants (*paribbājakā*) headed by *Poṭṭhapāda* on the arising and the cessation of *saññā*. Diverse theories are presented in this context as explanations prevalent at the time among different ascetic groups on the nature of *saññā*. The Buddha expresses his disagreement with all the existing theories and gives his own explanation of the nature of *saññā*, pointing out that it is an alterable state of mind the cessation of which could ultimately be achieved through a process of systematic meditative training of the mind. In this context too, it is evident that *saññā* was viewed in Buddhism as a particular way of becoming aware of the empirical world. The empirical world is not attributed with any absolute character. It is viewed as a constructed world. The prefix *saṃ* in the Pali language is used to signify this aspect of mental construction. Accordingly *saññā* in Buddhism can be considered as signifying any way of becoming aware of the world through a subjective construction. When *saññā* is conjoined with terms that signify a purely emotive content of the mind such as *kāma, vyāpāda, vihiṃsā* and their opposites *nekkhamma, avyāpāda* and *avihiṃsā* the emphasis is purely on the attitude of the subject towards the objects of experience. This is also evident in such conjunctions as *paṭikkūla saññā* (attitude of disgust) *appaṭikkūla saññā* (attitude of non-disgust). There is no fixed line separating the emotive from the purely intellectual in sense cognition.

Saññā also seems to have been viewed as a way of seeing the objects of the world from a perspective that would practically aid the person who interacts with the world to effect an attitudinal transformation within oneself. Accordingly five types of *saññā* are called *vimuttiparipācanīyā saññā* (those that have the effect of bringing liberation to full maturity). They are perceiving things as impermanent (*aniccasaññā*), perceiving what is impermanent as unsatisfactory (*anicce dukkha saññā*), perceiving what is unsatisfactory as having no self (*dukkhe anattasaññā*), perceiving things with the idea of abandoning them (*pahānasaññā*) and perceiving things with detachment (*virāgasaññā*)[9]. Elsewhere there is mention of six kinds of *saññā* that participate in bringing about disenchantment (*nibbedhabhāgiya-saññā*) with the addition of *nirodha* (cessation) to the previous list[10] as well as seven kinds of *saññā* as *anicca, anatta, asubha* (perceiving as unpleasant), *ādīnava* (perceiving as harmful), *pahāna, virāga* and *nirodha*.[11] There is also reference to nine and ten kinds of *saññā*.[12] In all these instances *saññā* has been represented as a state of consciousness that a person could deliberately cultivate with an intent on liberation.

Supposing that the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* account of the different views about *saññā* is an accurate description of views actually held by other teachers who lived during the Buddha's time the following can be considered as the views rejected by the Buddha: (1) no cause or reason can be given as an explanation for the arising and ceasing of *saññā*, (2) *saññā* is the eternal soul of a person, and it comes in and goes out; when it comes in a person is conscious and when it goes out he is unconscious; (3) there are powerful recluses and brahmans who by their psychic power could animate a person with *saññā* by its insertion into a person or remove it from a person thereby making him inanimate; (4) there are deities who have great power and psychic potency who by such potency could animate a person with *saññā* by its insertion into a person or remove it from a person thereby making him inanimate.[13] Contrary to these different views the Buddha points out that *saññā* arises and ceases due to causes and conditions (*sahetu sappaccayā saññā uppajjati sahetusappaccayā saññā nirujjhati*). He also points out that *saññā* cannot be considered as a 'soul entity' (*atta*) which exists without any dependent relation to other conditions. In this context the Buddha gives different modes of training

(*sikkhā*) as the causal explanation for the cessation of one particular *saññā* and the arising of another (*sikkhā ekā saññā uppajjati sikkhā ekā saññā nirujjhati*).

The special significant of the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* in connection with the concept of *saññā* is that it discusses the Buddhist view of the nature of it in relation to the meditative experiences commonly known at the time as well as those made known by the Buddha. *Saññā* is treated here as consisting of different levels of conscious experience or awareness that could be ordered as a hierarchical scheme ascending from a very gross level of the common sensuous experience of living beings to several highly refined levels of meditative experience. The Buddha points out that it is alterable through the conscious will and mental direction of the person and also speaks of the possibility of finally effecting its total cessation. It is this discussion that is referred to in the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* as one pertaining to the 'cessation of super-consciousness' (*abhi saññānirodhe kathā*). An examination of the different levels of *saññā* referred to under this scheme is useful in understanding the meaning of the term *saññā* as used in the Buddhist tradition. It also throws light on the methods of mind culture adopted by the Buddha from early Indian meditative traditions and the Buddha's own independent innovations and evaluation of such practices.

The first untrained level of human consciousness is referred to in the *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta* as *kāmasaññā*. The transformation of consciousness that occurs in the first level of meditative absorption referred to as *paṭhamajjhāna* is considered as a consequence of the cessation of grosser level of consciousnesses called *kāmasaññā* (sensuous consciousness). The implication here is that a person's consciousness in ordinary circumstances as a living being belonging to the sensuous sphere of existence, interacting with the sense faculties and the sense objects of the external world is determined by the desire for sensuous gratification. Such a person's awareness of the world is as an objective sphere from which sensuous gratification can be derived. This idea of the world ceases with the contemplative training involved in the first *jhāna* absorption, where a person is withdrawn from the objects of sensuous gratification (*vivicceva kāmehi*). According to the Sutta teachings this process can be gradually refined in successively more subtle stages of meditative absorption transforming the experience of the person in such a way that mindfulness and equanimity become the most prominent features of the mind in the fourth level of *jhānic* absorption.

A further transformation of consciousness in four other progressive stages of meditative absorptions is mentioned in the Suttas under the concept of 'formless attainments' (*arūpasamāpatti*). These formless attainments are described as *cattāro āruppā*.[14] The fundamental difference between Buddhism and other systems of meditative culture of the mind is that according to Buddhism any state in which there is the slightest trace of *saññā*, however subtle it may be, produces attachment to it, and consequently one cannot be freed from the cyclic process of becoming (*bhava*) by fixing the mind on such transient states. They may be immensely useful in attaining a high degree of mastery over the mind, as well as experiencing temporary states of mental calm absorbed in the respective mental reconstruction of reality. There is no absolute way in which reality can be mentally conceived. For the final release of the mind every mode of reconstruction should be abandoned. According to the Buddha interminable philosophical disputes about the nature of truth is a product of attempting to consider each person's subjective reconstruction of reality as the absolutely valid. The Buddha makes this point effectively in a context where the diversity and mutually contradictory nature of opinions held about truth and reality are discussed.

In the *Cūlaviyūha Sutta* the Buddha is requested to explain why the conclusion reached about truth by those who claim to be experts and skilled debaters are diverse and mutually contradictory. Is it due to there being a diversity of mutually incompatible truths or is it because they merely go by speculative reason?[15] The Buddha's response to this inquiry is that there indeed are no diverse eternal truths in the world apart from the individual conceptualizations. People determine what is true and false by employing speculative reason in reaching their respective conclusions relating to dogmas.[16] In the enumeration of speculative views, the *Brahmajāla Sutta* refers to certain contemplative experiences under meditative absorption that had the consequence of making some persons absorbed in meditation, experience the world as if it were finite (*antasaññī lokasmiṃ viharati*), and others as if it were infinite (*anantasaññī lokasmiṃ viharati*).[17] The respective theoretical conclusions

drawn by the persons concerned cannot be mutually compatible. The implication of this reference is that neither of these constructions can be considered as revealing the absolute truth about the nature of reality. The attempt to search for such a reality on the foundation of *saññā* is considered by the Buddha as a futile exercise.

Detachment from *saññā* is required to release a person from all ties. Those who cling to *saññā* usually cling to their dogmatic views as well. The Buddha's admonition is to leave aside *saññā* and cultivate insight (*paññā*) that releases the mind putting an end to all delusions.[18] The comprehension of *saññā* is mentioned as a requirement of a person who wishes to cross over the flood of passion.[19] The Buddha's message in the *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* is that the *saññā* mode of cognizing things results in bondage. Such a mode of cognition is characteristic of the uninstructed ordinary worldling's cognitive response towards the empirical world (*assutavā puthujjano*). So long as one interacts with the world, within the confines of the *saññā* mode of conceptualizing it in terms of diverse conceptual categories, there is a tendency to distort reality by the superimposition of the notion of a permanent subject and identifying some element of experience as the reality that is identical with the self. The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* shows that the Buddha and one who attains the status of an *arahanta* transcends the limitations of the *saññā* way of cognizing reality and replaces *saññā* by comprehensive understanding (*pariññā*).[20]

The uninstructed ordinary worldling's inability to deal insightfully with *saññā* has a further consequence of causing conceptual obsession that produces inner and outer conflict. The *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* gives an account of the way in which *saññā* which is produced on the basis of sense perception ultimately overwhelms the individual who becomes a hapless victim to a mechanical psychological process triggered by the contact of the senses with the external stimuli.[21] The Buddha uses the complex term *papañcasaññāsaṅkhā* in order to characterize the role *saññā* assumes in this context. A detailed analysis of the process is provided by Ven. Mahākaccāna as follows:

> Visual consciousness, brethren, arises because of eye and material shapes; the meeting of the three is sensory impingement; because of sensory impingement arises feeling; what one feels one perceives (*sanjānāti*); what one perceives, one reasons about; what one reasons about, one turns into '*papanca*' (*papanceti*); what one turns into *papanca*, due to that *papañcasaññāsaṅkhā* assail him in regard to material shapes cognizable by the eye belonging to the past, the future and the present. And, Brethren, auditory consciousness arises because of ear and sounds... olfactory consciousness arises because of nose and smell.... gustatory consciousness arises because of tongue and tastes.... Bodily consciousness arises because of body and touches... mental consciousness arises because of mind and mental objects... belonging to the past, the future and present.[22]

Reckonings in terms of *papañcasaññā* overwhelm the person who does not respond insightfully to the sensory environment. This is explained in the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* as the cause of all the conflicts in the world. Such reckoning is explained as proceeding from *saññā*.

It becomes evident from the Buddhist use of terms that signify cognition that cognition can take place at different levels. Cognition that operates at the *saññā* level is not considered as conducive to the goal of liberation advocated in Buddhism. By understanding the nature of *saññā* and not getting attached to even the most subtle form of *saññā* that might produce temporary absorption in extremely tranquil and blissful experience, the person who walks the Buddhist Path is expected to attain the peace of Nibbāna. Seeing *saññā* as the hidden eternal soul essence of the person is considered in Buddhism as a mistake. It is only by 'crossing over' (*pārāyana*) by making all craving extinct and by the final destruction of the five aggregates that one ensures that suffering is no more produced. Since *Saññā*, like the other aggregates of personality is transient, one cannot expect to retain even this part of one's psychic personality in some kind of everlasting life.

P.D. Premasiri.

References

1. *Majjhimanikāya (PTS)* Vol. I, p. 53
2. *Ibid.* p. 108
3. *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. II, p. 256
4. *sanjānāti sanjānāti ti kho āvuso tasmā saññā tivuccati. Kiñca āvuso sanjānāti. Nīlakam pi sanjānāti pītakam pi sanjānāti .... Vijānāti vijānātiti kho āvuso viññāṇanti vuccati. Kiñca āvuso vijānāti. Sukhanti pi vijānāti dukkhanti pi vijānāti adukkhamasukhanti pi vijānāti (Majjhimanikāya* Vol.I, p239)
5. *Atthasālinī* p. 110
6. *Tassā vaḍḍhakissa dārumhi abhisaññāṇaṃ katvā pana abhisaññāṇena taṃ paccābhijānanakāle .. ibid*
7. *Visuddhimagga* Vol. 2. p. 437
8. *Saṃyuttanikāya* Vol. 2, p. 27 & 28
9. *Dīghanikāya (PTS)* Vol. 3. p.242
10. *Ibid.* p. 251
11. *Ibid.* p. 266
12. *Ibid.* p. 289;291
13. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 180
14. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. 3, p. 224
15. *Kasmā nu saccāni vadanti nānā- pavādiyāse kusalā vadānā saccāni su tāni bahūni nānā- udāhu te takkamanussaranti (Suttanipāta* 885)
16. *Na heva saccāni bahūni nānā-aññatra saññāya niccāni loke Takkañca diṭṭhīsu pakappayitā- saccaṃ musāti dvayadhammamāhu (ibid.* 886)
17. *Dīghanikāya* Vol. I p. 23
18. *Saññā virattassā na santi ganthā- paññā vimuttassa na santi mohā Saññāñca diṭṭhiñca ye aggahesuṃ- te ghaṭṭayantā vicaranti loke (ibid,* 847)
19. *Saññaṃ pariññā vitareyya oghaṃ (Ibid.* 779)
20. *Majjhimanikāya* Vol. I, p. 1f.
21. *Ibid.* p. 111 f.
22. Translated by Ñāṇananda in *Concept and Reality*, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Sri Lanka. 1986, p. 3

SAÑÑĀVEDAYITA NIRODHA. *Saññāvedayita nirodha* "the cessation of perception and feeling" also known as *nirodha samāpatti* or "the attainment of cessation" plays a key role in the mainstream Buddhist soteriology where it appears to function both as a means in which case the contemplator after rising from it destroys cankers (*asavakkhaya*) or achieves the highest fruition (*arahattaphala*) by seeing through his wisdom and as a goal in which case the contemplator experiences *nibbāna* physically for a predetermined period. It is a goal in the sense it is a deliverance (*vimo(k)kha*) the last and the highest of a series of eight deliverances: (1) perception of forms (*rupi rupāni passati*) (2) perception of forms not internally but externally (*ajjhattam rupasaññibahiddha rūpāni passati*), (3) intending only on beauty (*subhant eva adhimutto hoti*), (4) sphere of boundless space (*akāsānañcāyatanam upasampajja viharati*), (5) sphere of boundless consciousness (*viññānañcāyatanam*), (6) sphere of nothingness (*ākiñcaññāyatanam*), (7) sphere of neither perception nor non-perception (*nevasaññānāsaññāyatanam*), and (8) the cessation of perception and feeling (*D.* II, 70-1; 112; *M.* II, 12-3; *A.* IV, 306); the last and highest among seven elements (*dhātu*), the concentration states of mind (1) radiance (*ābhādhātu*), (2) beauty (*subhādhātu*), and (3) – (7) = (4) – (8) of the deliverances. (*S.* II, 150); and more commonly the culminating experience after a series of eight forms (*rūpajhāna*) and formless-attainments (*arūpajhāna*): (1) first *Jhāna* (2) second *jhāna* (3) third *Jhāna* (4) fourth *jhāna*, and (5)-(9) = (4)-(8) of the deliverances (*S.* V, 307; *D.* II, 71; *M.* I, 203-4).

The cessation and eight attainments are also a topic of modern scholarly conjecture. Some view them as number of originally independent schemes of meditation that have been put together. They view the coupling of serenity (*samatha*) and insight (*vipassanā*) meditation and the coupling of the cessation experience and the destruction of cankers (*āsavakkhaya*) implied in the cessation stock passage as an unsuccessful attempt made to blend two differing emphases in the path to *nibbāna* the yogic states of consciousness and the acquisition of wisdom. They also point out an incompatibility of intellectual exercise in the cessation state by talking the Pāli canonical stock passage of the cessation to state that the adept exercises his wisdom to destroy cankers (*āsavā*) while remaining in the cessation.

The Pāli canon defines the cessation as a state of complete reduction, rather stoppage or cessation of perception (*nirodha*) to a point that a human being could survive without harming his life, heat and sense faculties. However, when someone attains it, his outer

appearance is similar to that of a dead person. A story in the *Majjhima Nikaya* (*M*. I. 333-4) illustrates this:

Venerable Sanjiva was such a monk that he forest gone, gone to the roots of trees, and gone to empty places, with no trouble could attain the cessation. One day he, sitting under a tree, attained the cessation. Then cowherds, goatherds, farmers and travellers saw him sitting and said to each other: "Indeed it is wonderful indeed it is marvelous, that this recluse is just sitting dead. Come, we will cremate him. Then they collected grass, sticks and cow-dung, heaped them over the Venerable Sanjīva's body, lit the fire, and departed. Towards the end of that night, Venerable Sanjiva emerged from the cessation, shook his robes, dressed, took his bowl and robe, and entered the village for alms food in the morning. The people who burnt him the previous night saw the monk walking for alms food and said to each other "Indeed it is wonderful, indeed it is marvelous, that this recluse who was just sitting dead-that he has come back to life."

In the *Mahāvedallasutta* (*M*, I. 296) the reason for the difficulty in identifying the dead person from the cessation-attained is explained. The text states, when vitality, heat and consciousness are absent in a body, it is a dead body. Unlike the dead person, the cessation-attained has vitality and heat. And has clarified sense faculties. The difference is that the dead person's physical, verbal and mental function (*citta sankhāra*) have ceased and subsided; his vitality is destroyed, his heat is extinguished, and his sense organs are scattered. But although the physical, verbal and mental functions of the cessation-attained have ceased and subsided, his heat is not extinguished, and his sense organs are purified (*indriyāni vippasaññāni*) his sense, organs are unbroken (*indriyāni aparibhiññāni*).

The cessation is to be attained gradually by progressively reducing one's verbal, physical and mental activities (*saṅkhārānaṃ nirodho*) in nine meditative stages from the first *jhāna* (*paṭhamajjhāna*) to the cessation. In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S*. 217-8) the activities that disappear gradually in the nine meditative stages are listed: with the attainment of the first *jhāna*, speech ceases; with the second, the applied and discursive thoughts; with the fifth, the perception of Corporeality; with the sixth, the perception of boundless space; with the seventh, the perception of boundless consciousness; with the eighth, the perception of nothingness; with the ninth, that is, with the cessation, both the perception and the feeling (*saññāvedayitanirodhaṃ samāpannassa saññā ca vedanā ca niruddhā honti*); and the next text states, for the arahat, lust, hatred, and delusion have ceased. The activities that cease with the cessation and the manner they cease are also presented in the *Majjhima Nikaya* (*M*, I. 301 -2). The bodily activities are inhalation and exhalation; the verbal activities are discursive thought (reasoning) and sustained thought (deliberating); the mental activities are perception and feeling. The respiration belongs to the body and is connected with the body; hence, the in breathing and out-breathing are bodily activities. Having thought one speaks; hence, the discursive thought and sustained thought are verbal activities. Having thought one speaks; hence, they are mental activities. When someone attains the cessation, his verbal activities disappear first, then the bodily activities and finally the mental activities. With the gradual suspension of these activities, the contemplator enters the cessation and when he emerges from it, the functioning of these activities gradually emerge. In the latter case, his mental activities arise first, then the bodily activities, and finally the verbal activities.

Both perception and feeling are introduced as mental activities (*S*. V, 293). The factor of feeling is a complex phenomenon and it ranges from gross to subtle. As such the contemplator has to abandon it step by step. This process of gradual cessation of the factor of feeling is discussed. (*S*. V, 213-6). As stated there, when the contemplator enters the first *jhāna*, his arisen faculty of physical discomfort ceases completely (*uppannaṃ dukkhindriyaṃ aparisesaṃ nirujjhati*); with the attainment of the second, his mental discomfort (*domanassaindriyaṃ*) ceases; with the third, his physical (*sukhindriyaṃ*); with the fourth, his mental comfort (*Somanassindriyaṃ*); and finally with the cessation, all other remaining subtle feelings termed in the text as the faculty of indifference (*upekkhindriyaṃ*) cease completely. In this context the text, after identifying the fourth *jhāna*, goes directly to the cessation state while identifying the latter as that arises by transcending the last formless state of neither perception nor non-perception. This indicates the continuation of the faculty of indifference through the formless attainments (*arūpasamāpatti*).

The factor of perception is also a complexity. All form and formless attainments, elements and deliverances except the cessation consist of perception. Perception is an essential element throughout the eight attainments. How the contemplator attains the cessation by overcoming various states of perception is explained. (*D*. I, 184-5). He touches the cessation after reaching and passing beyond the highest of the perceptions, that is, the last of the eight attainments known as the sphere of neither-perception nor non-perception. He arrives at the cessation by ceasing his all forms of perception, as the text states, through out deliberating and not conditioning. The text states further: "When one does not deliberate and does not form, his perceptions cease; and in him other types of perceptions do not occur. Thus he touches the cessation." Since "unto him who is detached from perceptions, there are no fetters." (*Sn*. 847) the cessation of perception must necessarily represent the *nibbānic* experience of the arahat-s as they are the ones who have no fetters.

The Theravāda Buddhist tradition, as preserved in the *Mahaviharian Visuddhimagga* (The Path of Purity, pp. 868-872) and the *Abhayagirian Vimuttimagga* (The Path of Freedom, pp. 323-324), insists on the necessity of fulfilling some pre-requisites by the contemplator prior to his attainment of the cessation. As stated in these texts, the contemplator enters upon the cessation as he emerges from the meditative state of neither perception nor non-perception as a result of practising both serenity and insight. The state of neither perception is the highest state that could by achieved by those who practise serenity alone, and to go beyond that state is possible only for those who have thoroughly practised both serenity and insight by coupling them. According to the traditional account, the contemplator who aspires to attain *jhāna* -s starts his meditation after lunch in a secluded place. As part of his preparation, he washes his hands and feet and sits down cross-legged on a well-prepared seat, while keeping his body erect and setting up his mindfulness. In this preliminary meditation, he enters upon the firs *jhāna*. Then, after emerging from it he views with insight his *jhānic* experience as impermanent, unsatisfactory, and not-self, and then passing it he enters upon the second *jhāna*. And after emerging from it, in the same way he views the activities there. Then he enters upon the third *jhāna* and in this manner he enters upon the sphere of the infinity of consciousness (*vinnā nañcā yatana*) and emerges from it and in the same way he views the activities there. Likewise having entered upon the sphere of nothingness he emerges from it. This is a turning point, and at this important stage, he resolves not to let such items as bowls, robes, beds or benches pertaining to others and which are in his car be damaged or perished by fire, water, wind, thieves or even rats. It is said that no special resolution is necessary for the safekeeping of the contemplator's inner or outer garments or his own seat; they will be protected by means of the cessation itself, which is also evident from the story of Venerable Sanjiva narrated above. When the contemplator resolves, such and such an article may not be burnt by fire within this week, nor be carried off by water, nor be destroyed by the wind, nor stolen by thieves, nor eaten by rats, it is said that no danger comes for that particular article during the meditative week. If he were to make no resolution, the article may get perished in case of a danger such as fire or flood. According to a traditional story, once a monk visited a lay disciple for alms, and when he was asked to sit down in the hall with others, he sat down and entered the cessation. While he was in the cessation, the hall caught fire and all the other monks fled taking their seats. The villagers gathered there found the fire that burnt the thatch, bamboo and timber has now encircled the sitting monk but he was unharmed. Seeing this, people put out the fire, removed the ashes, plastered the place with cow-dung, spread flowers there and stood bowing to him. At the end of his pre-determined time, the monk emerged from the cessation, and saw the people gathered there. He rose up in the sky, saying "I am discovered," and he went to Piyangu Island. The traditional account also has it that, as a preparation, prior to the attainment of neither perception nor non-perception, the contemplator must also determine to emerge from the cessation when the community of monks (*sangha*) requires his presence for the performance of ecclesiatic acts or when the Teacher calls him. He must also consider his span of life in order to prevent his passing away while in the cessation, more correctly after suddenly emerging from the cessation unexpectedly. After these resolutions, the contemplator enters the state of neither perception nor non-perception and then passing beyond it within one or two turns of mind he becomes mindless and touches the cessation.

Who could attain the cessation? In brief, the attainment of cessation is only possible for those who have achieved both the power of serenity (*samatha*) and the power of insight (*vipassana-*) (*Ps.* I, pp. 97-98). The *Vimuttimagga* (p. 323) confirms this by stating that the cessation is entered upon through two kinds of strength: serenity and insight. Here serenity means mastery gained in the eight attainments (*aṭṭhasamāpatti*); insight means mastery gained in the seven insights, namely the reviewing of impermanence, un-satisfactoriness, non-self, repulsion, dispassion, cessation, and abandonment. To answer our question more specifically, it requires also a brief identification of the four noble persons who are on the supra-mundane path: the stream-enterer has entered the stream and has only seven more births; the once-returner returns once to this world; the non-returner never returns to this world; and the arahat has no more rebirths. Among these four, the arahat is the highest and he has achieved the supreme goal, *nibbāna* by perfecting morality, concentration and wisdom. He requires no further instruction. Not all these noble persons are capable of achieving all of the eight attainments because not all of them have practised the serenity meditation in its completeness. For the attainments of the cessation, in addition to making progress in the insight path, a higher level of concentration through the practice of serenity meditation is required. The Theravāda Buddhist tradition's view is that the cessation state can be attained only by those non-returners and arathat-s who have the mastery over the eight attainments. (*ke tam samā-pajjanti, Ke na samā-pajjanti ti. Sabbe pi puthujjanā, Sotā-pannā, sakadā-gāmino, sukkhavipassakā ca anāgāmi arahato na samā pajjanti. Aṭṭhasamāpattilābhino pana anaāgāmino, khināsavāca samāpajjanthi* (PsA. 1, 319) and that its attainment is not essential for obtaining the arahatship or the realization of *nibbāna* (Nyanatiloka, *Path to Deliverance*, Kandy, BPS, 1983, p. 190; JamesBoyd, "*The Theravada View of Samsāra,*" Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula, ed. by S. Balasooriya etal, London, 1980, p. 37). Buddhaghosa, the greatest authority of the Theravāda, summarizes this view in his *Visuddhimagga* (702) :

All average persons, stream-enteres, once-returners and non-reterners and arahat-s with dry insight do not enter upon it. But those non-retumers and arahat-s who have obtained the eight attainments enter upon it... And this attainment is not within the reach of those other than non-returners and arahat-s who have reached the eight attainments; it is they, not others, who enter upon it.

The *Vimuttimagga* (The Path of Freedom, p. 323) agrees with the *Visuddhimagga* in establishing the view that the cessation could be attained by arahat-s and non-returners. However, it does not specify them to be those who have masterd the eight attainments, though the context implies it. Moreover, in the listing of those who cannot attain the cessation, the *Vimuttimagga* names the commoner, the stream-enterer, the once-reurner and the one who is born in the formless element, and it avoids naming the dry insight arahat-s. An early view attributed to Venerable *Sāripiutta* and approved by the Buddha, but debated by Venerable *Udāyī*, is presented in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (*A.* III, 194). The view is that the attaining and rising from the cessation is possible only for those who are endowed with morality, concentration, and wisdom. In case they were not to win the liberating insight (*aññam*) in this life, the possibility for them is to achieve and emerge from the cessation again and again after being born with mind-made bodies into gods who are above those who eat material food. The meaning is that the arahat-s and the non-returners could achieve the cessation because they are the noble persons who have perfected the morality, concentration and wisdom to the highest level.

The ancient view that the cessation could be attained only by those arahat-s and non-returners who have the mastery over the eight attainments is also the basis for the commonly employed cessation stock passage of the Pāli canon. The stock passage reads:

Nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ samatikkamma saññāvedayita nirodhaṃ upasamppajjaviharati, paññāya cassa disvā āsavā parikkhīna honti (*M.* III. 28). By entirely transcending the sphere of neither-perception-nor non-perception, having attained the cessation of perception and feeling, he remains therein. And after seeing by means of wisdom, his mental corruptions had been exhausted (*parikkhīnā honti*).

The past participle (*Parikkhīna*) + historical present *honti* may express the pluperfect in Pāli: what had happened at that time, what had been done. Taken

parkkhī ṇā honti as a pluperfect, we might interpret the stock passage to mean, when the person attained the cessation, he had already destroyed the mental corruptions and now his attainment of the cessation state is undisturbed by cankers. Understood in this way, the stock passage points out that the cessation must be reached by transcending the meditative state of neither-perception-nor-non-perception and that the contemplator concerned here is an arahat who, by seeing through his wisdom, has already destroyed mental corruptions completely or to the point that is required for its attainments. Taken in this way, we could support the Theravāda view that the contemplator who could experience the cessation must be an arahat or a non-returner who have the mastery over all the form and formless states.

It is also important to note that the phrase *paññā - ya cassa disvā āsavā parikkhī ṇā honti* (and after seeing by means of wisdom, his cankers had been exhausted) has only been added to the cessation stock passage only, not to those of other form and formless attainments. This is a clear indication that those who could attain the cessation by passing beyond the last of the formless states are the arathat-s or the non-returners who have the mastery over all eight attainments. In the *Cūlasāropama sutta* (*M.* I, 203-4) the phrase is added only for the cessation and there the person who has attained the cessation is shown to be an arahat and is compared to a man who has found the pith and now could use it as he wishes because it is the pith. The attained state is specified as the unshakable freedom, and the goal of Buddhist practice (*yā ca kho ayaṃ brāhamaṇa akuppācetovimutti, etadatthamidaṃbrāhmana brahmacariyametaṃsāram etaṃ pariyosānan ti.*)

In the *Nivāpasutta* (*M.* I, 159-60) the referent of the stock passage is also defined as one who has crossed the entanglements in the world. The text states that while experiencing each of the eight attainments, the contemplator goes beyond the sight of Māra (Evil One, death personified) making him confused. When he attains the last of the eight attainments, he, by so attaining puts darkness round Māra, and he, having blotted out Māra's vision so that it has no range, goes unseen by him. Māra's realm is the realm of sensual pleasure. The contemplator transcends this realm temporarily only when he experiences one of the eight attainments, either form or formless. When he returns to the normality, he is again within the realm of sensual pleasure. However, as stated in the cessation stock passage, when a person experiences the cessation and also has his cankers destroyed by means of wisdom, possibly prior to or after the attainment, he has not only gone beyond the sight of Māra but also overcome craving and attachment in the world. Arahat who attains the cessation, the *sutta* states, in addition to putting darkness round Māra and blotting out his vision and going unseen by him, has also crossed over the entanglement in the world (*puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu sabbaso ...saññā vedayitanirodhaṃ upasampajja viharati, paññāya cassa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave bhikkhu andhaṃ akāsi māraṃ, apadaṃ vadhitvā māracakkhuṃ adassanaṃ gato pāpimato, tiṇṇo loke visattikan ti*). This means that by experiencing the eight attainments one could transcend the sensual realm-death and temptation- for a temporary period of time, and by the destruction of cankers one transcends the sensual realm (also the form and formless realms) forever. Cessation is a meditative state that goes beyond the sensual, form and formless realms, and as such those who could experience it must be either arahat-s or those who are nearer to be so.

Again in places where the pharse *Paññaya cassa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti* is not linked, that the cessation is to be attained by arahats or similar person is implied. As stated in the *Majjhimanikāya* (I, 455-6) for example, when a monk reaches any of the eight attainments, the Buddha's advice for him is to get rid of them: "But I again say, 'this is not enough', I say, 'get rid of it', I say, 'transcend it' Finally, when one attains the cessation, the Buddha says to him; "as to this, a monk, by wholly trancending the last of the eight attainments, enters and abides in the cessation. This is its transcending. It is for this that I speak of getting rid of the last of the eight attainments'. After explaining these to a monk called *Udāyī*, the Buddha asks him: Now do you, *Udāyī*, see any fetter, minute or massive, of getting rid of which I have not spoken?" *Udāyī* replies: No, reverend Sir." What is implied here is that the cessation is a meditative state free from fetters (*saṃyojana*) and that by reaching it, one is able to experience the absence of fetters in his own person (*idha Udāyī bhikkhu sabbaso saññāvedayitanirodhaṃ Upasampajja viharati ayaṃ tassa samatikkamo. Iti Kho ahaṃ Udāyī nevasaññā*

nāsaññāyatanassa pi pahānam vadāmi. Passasi no tvaṃ Udāyi taṃ saṃyojanaṃ anum vā thūlam vā yassāham no pahānam vadāmiti. No hetam bhante ti). This clarifies two things. One is that the eight attainments and the cessation are ways of experiencing temporarily the progressive releases from fetters that bind people to the three realms: sensual, form and formless. The other is that one attains all of the eight not necessarily in one meditative sitting. Where the last sentence of the stock passage reads: *Paññā-ya ca me disvā āsavā parikkhayaṃ agamaṃsu*, the Buddha was talking about a past experience where he achieved the cessation for the first time. (*A.* IV, 448). This is further evident from his statement there that he claimed to be a Buddha only after he could achieve all these nine states. The context also implies that he came to attain all the nine and the canker-free state not in one uninterrupted sitting. This is supported by the commentary to the *Paṭisambhidā-magga* (*Ps.* I. 321) when it speaks of an interval between the *ākiñcaññāyatana* and the *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* in which occasion the person gets ready to stay in the cessation for seven days while enabling him to emerge from it any time when some external factors require him to do so (*so ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ vuṭṭhāya imaṃ pubbakiccaṃ katvā nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ samāpajjati*).

In the *Aṅguttaranikāya* the body-witness (*kayasakkhi*) who is elsewhere described as a type of non- returner, the wisdom-liberated (*paññā vimutto*) and the both-ways-liberated (*ubhatobhāgavimutto*) who are two types of arahat-s, are recognized as those who could attain the cessation. In this context, there is a clear indication that they attain the cessation and even the preceding eight states, not in one uninterrupted meditation sitting but over a period of time, after contemplating again and again the perils of the previously attained state and then progressively re-entering into the next. Moreover, naming only these three types of noble persons, not others, shows that when one attains the cessation, in his spiritual maturity, he is either an arahat or closer to be an arahat because in the cessation, more correctly after emerging from it, one experiences the absence of fetters. Therefore, the Theravāda view of the cessation is to be attained by only those non -returners and arahat-s who have the mastery over the eight attainments is well supported.

The stock passage which has clear reference to the cessation well as to "the extinction of cankers" is frequently employed in Pāli canonical texts to describe an arahat's experiencing of *nibbāna* here and now. In the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (*A.* IV, 453-6), for instance, the achiever of the content of this passage is described as one who finds the opportunity in the obstructions (*Sambādhe okāsādhigama*): who becomes a body witness (*kāyasakkhi*); a wisdom-liberated one (*paññā vimutta*); a both ways-liberated person (*ubhatobhāga vimutta*); who attains the visible *dhamma* in this very life (*sandiṭṭhika dhamma*); the visible quenching here and now (*sandiṭṭhika nibbāna*); the quenching (*nibbāna*); the final quenching (*Parinibbāna*); the categorical quenching (*tadaṅga nibbāna*); the quenching here and now (*diṭṭhadhammanibbāna*); the safety (*Khema*); a safety-attained (*Khemappatta*); the deathless (*amata*); a deathless-attained (*amatappatta*); the fearless (*abhaya*); a fearless attained (*abhayappatta*); the tranquility (*passaddhi*); the gradual tranquility (*anupubba-passaddhi*); the cessation (*nirodha*); and the gradual cessation (*anupubbanirodha*), all of which are often used elsewhere in the canon to define *nibbāna* or arahat-ship

Since there are several types of arahat-s, what exactly is the type of arahat described in the stock passage? The *Cūlasāropamasutta* (*M.* I, 204-5) suggest that the cessation when attained by an arahat denotes the highest unshakable freedom or the unshakable concentration freedom (*akuppāceto-vimutti*). It also introduces the cessation when conjoined with the knowledge in the destruction of mental corruptions (arahat-ship) as synonymous to the unshakable concentration-freedom. It also identifies the unshakable concentration -freedom as " the goal, the purpose of the holy life, the essence, and the culmination." There is no doubt that the unshakable concentration-freedom in this context refers to the freedom experienced by an arahat because the passage clearly contains the phrase, "the destruction of cankers." It is evident that the unshakable concentration-freedom consists of both the concentration freedom and the wisdom-freedom (*paññā vimutti*). A popular arahat formula in the canon (*M.* I. 490) introduces arahat-s as those who could here and now experience these two types of freedom. It suggests that these arahat-s have attained *nibbāna*, that is that they have achieved wisdom-freedom and now could experience *nibbāna* physically here and

now by attaining the cessation, that is, the highest form of concentration-freedom.

The wisdom-freedom (*paññāvimutti*) and the knowledge of destruction of cankers (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*) seem to mean the same. The statement that one becomes an arahat with the attainment of wisdom freedom equals to the saying that one becomes an arahat with the destruction of cankers or the knowledge in the destruction of cankers, except the fact that the latter phrase is often combined to describe the types of arahat-s who are known as *tevijjā* and *chalabhiññā*. The cessation always means the highest form of concentration-freedom. Therefore, in the cessation stock passage, the cessation means the highest form of concentration-freedom; the knowledge in the destruction of cankers denotes the wisdom-freedom. Thus it refers to an arahat who could be identified as the both-ways-liberated person (*ubhatobhāgavimutto*). This arahat has the knowledge in the destruction of cankers, which means that he has the wisdom-freedom. He could attain the cessation transcending the eight attainments, which means that he has the highest form of concentration-freedom by which he experiences *nibbāna* here and now.

Not all arahat-s and non-returners could attain the cessation. An example is also found in the *Kīṭāgirisutta* (*M.* I, 477-9) where seven types of noble persons are named. Among them, only the both-ways- liberated arahat and the body-witness non-returner are named as those who could experience the peaceful deliverances (*santā vimokkhā*) of which the highest is the cessation. Here it is clearly ruled out the possibility of its attainment for the wisdom-liberated arahat and the one who has seen the point (*diṭṭhippatto*) who is a non-returner, not to mention those who are lower in the ladder: the one who is released by faith (*saddhāvimutto*), the follower of the teaching (*dhammānusāri*) and the follower through faith (*saddhānusāri*). Again, in the *Mahānidānasutta* (*D.* II. 71) where the eight deliverances (*aṭṭha vimokkhā*) of which the cessation appearing as the highest are listed, the both-ways-liberated person (*ubhatobhāgavimutto*) is introduced as the arahat who is capable of attaining these deliverances in ascending (*anuloma*) as well as in descending order (*paṭiloma*). No other arahat-s or holy persons are named so. Then it is clear that the both-ways-liberated person is the type of arahat referred to in the stock passage.

In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (*A*, IV, 452-3) a classification of nine types of wisdom-liberated persons is found. There the ninth type of the wisdom-liberated who is an arahat is described as "one who has attained the cessation and whose cankers had been/were destroyed after seeing through wisdom," and also understands it through wisdom. In this classification, it seems, the ninth wisdom-liberated is so named because in the *Susimasutta* (*S.* II. 121-128) the wisdom-liberated arahat is identified in its usual sense as one who has neither super-knowledge (*abhiññā*) nor peaceful deliverances (*santā vimokkhā*). The cessation is one of the peaceful deliverances and as such, the wisdom-liberated is not the type of arahat who could be the referent of the cessation stock passage. The both-ways-liberated arahat-s on the other hand could experience the peaceful deliverances; they could quickly attain, abide, penetrate, and experience them physically.

The both-ways-liberated arahat-s have always been a minority, perhaps, it is because of the difficulty of attaining the cessation that requires the transcending of all attainments. In the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (*S.* I. 412) for example, among a group of five hundred arahat-s, only sixty monks have been recognized as both-ways liberated while three hundred and sixty monks were wisdom-liberated.

The Pāli Buddhist tradition holds the view that the attainment of the "cessation" is not essential for the realization of *nibbāna*. If this is the case, why did non-returners, arahat-s and even the Buddha himself attain it? Pāli canonical texts suggest that some non- returners attained the cessation not only as a temporary experience of *nibbāna* but also as a foundation for attaining it (*M.* I. 303). It is also possible to think that some attained the "Cessation" to test themselves, to see whether they are really arathat-s or at least non-returners because, it seems, if they could achieve the "cessation" they are either arahat-s or non-returners. This could also be seen in the *Anupadasutta* (*M.* II. 28-9) where *Sāriputta* comprehends that "There is no further escape; there is no zealous practice for him concerning that."

The non-returners, because they are still "non-returners", provided they die before reaching arahatship, they will be born in a higher formless brahma-

world and will achieve complete *nibbāna* (*parinibbāna*) in that world without ever returning to the sensual-relam. It seems then, the cessation is the highest form of freedom-experience that non-returners could have. The *Anguttara Nikāya* (*A.* III, 194) for example, states that those who have morality, concentration and wisdom could attain and rise from the cessation again and again. In this context, the text clearly agrees with the view that one could even have this experience before having the liberating insight (*aññā*).

Some non-returners who attain and emerge from the cessation not only experience it but also, after emerging from it, consider and realize its conditionality. According to *Cūlavedallasutta* (*M.* I. 302) for the person who comes out of the cessation three types of impressions occur: void (*suññato*), signless (*animitto*), and desireless (*appanihito*). The three denote three aspects of concentration-freedom (*cetovimutti*). It is stated that the mind (*citta*) of the person who comes out of the cessation inclines towards detachment, aims at detachment, and is directed to detachment (*vivekaninnamcittam hoti vivekaponamvivekapabbhā ran ti*). The term detachment (*viveka*) is often used in referring to *nibbāna*. A discourse in the *Samyutta Nikāya* (*S.* I. 3-4) for instance uses *vimokkha*, *pamokkha* and *viveka* to mean *nibbāna*. Its commentary takes the three terms to be synonymous to *nibbāna*, or that they refer to the path, the fruition, and *nibbāna* respectively. In either case, *viveka* means *nibbāna*. The person who comes out of the cessation inclines towards *nibbāna* because he has experienced it fully while he was in that state.

The attainment of the cessation seems to serve the cessation attained arahat as a sense of temporary comfort or a temporary here and now experience of *nibbāna* because its attainment is described as "happy dwelling" (*phāsuvihāra*), the highest happiness as far as the eight attainments are concerned (*M.* I. 400) *Saññā vedayitanirodhaṃ upasampajja viharati idaṃ kho Ānanda etamhā sukhā aññaṃ sukhaṃ abhikkhantatarañca panī-tataraṅ ca*). The *paṭisambhidā-magga* Commentary by explaining why arahat-s and non-returners attain the cessation states that after being dissatisfied in the breaking of the conditioned things they consider to dwell happily having attained *nibbāna* here and now (*sankhārānam pavattibhede ukkanṭhitvā diṭṭh eva dhamme nibbānam patvāsukhaṃ viharissāmāti samāpajjanti*). If the cessation were to be achieved by eliminating all sorts of feeling, how could it be recognized as the highest happiness? This is a question discussed even in the Pāli canon. The Buddhist reply is that the absence of feeling itself constitutes the highest happiness. In the cessation, happiness (*sukha*) means not the pleasant feelings (*sukha-vedanā*). In embracing the "happiness" of the cessation experience: "The Buddha does not lay down that it is only a pleasant feeling that belongs to happiness; for he lays down that whenever, wherever, whatever happiness is found it belongs to happiness" (*na kho āvuso bhagavā sukhaṃ yeva vedanaṃ sandhāya sukhasmiṃ paññapeti api c āvuso yattha yattha sukhaṃ upalabhati yahim yahim tam tathāgato sukhasmiṃ paññāpeti ti* (*M.* I. 400). It is in this sense of the term "happiness" that the Buddhist tradition says that arahats attain the cessation to experience *nibbāna* here and now and to have a spiritually happy life. The *Cūlagosinga sutta* (*M.* I. 209) states that there is no other happy dwelling sweeter than that of the cessation that is attained by an arahat. The cessation which is attained by an arahat is the highest comfortable dwelling (*phāsuvihāra*) and it is an extraordinary condition (*idha mayaṃ bhante yāvad ev' ākaṅkhāma sabbaso... Saññāve dayitanirodhaṃupasampajjavihārāna paññāya ca no disvā āsavā parikkhīnā honti etassa bhante vihārassa samatikkamāya etassa vihārassa paṭippassaddiyā ayaṃ añño uttarim manussadhammā alamariyañā ṇadassanaviseso adhigato phāsuvihāro imasmā ca mayaṃ bhante phāsuvihārā aññaṃ phāsuvihāraṃ uttaritaraṃva paṇītataraṃvā na samanupassāmā ti. Sādhu sādhu sādhu Anurudhā etasmā Anuruddhā phāsuvihārā añño phāsuvihāro uttarītaro vāpaṇītataro vā n ' atthiti*).

The Buddha too, attained cessation and it seems this was to avoid his physical pain or to be peaceful in mind and body. This is more clearly visible at the time of his death. Just before his demise, he experienced all of the eight attainments and the cessation one after the other in sequence. Although the cessation is the highest experience one could have here and now, the Buddha did not pass away in that state or soon after emerging from it. In his meditation, he returned from the cessation to the first form-state in descending order and then re-attained to the fourth form-state in the ascending order. Finally, he passed away after rising from the fourth *jhāna* (*D.* II. 156). The Buddha's

manner of passing away implies even the cessation must be given up prior to the attainment of complete *nibbāna* (*parinibbāna*) because cessation is a conditioned state in which one could be in the unconditioned *nibbāna* to a pre-determined period. Theravāda Buddhism also has the view that the contemplator cannot pass away while he is in the cessation and if his life span were to be over when in cessation, he has to emerge from it and pass away. What happened to the Buddha just before his complete *nibbāna* is also in agreement with this view.

The cessation is an "experience of *nibbāna* here and now". What does this mean? It is in the cessation that both ways-liberated arahat-s and body-witness non- returners experience *nibbāna* here and now in its completeness, in the manner that arahat-s would have it with their physical death. The cessation is the means of experiencing complete *nibbāna* while one is alive by entering into a mindless, that is perception-less and feeling-less state. Such an experience may give non-returners and arahat -s an understanding of the nature of *nibbāna* after the arahat's death. Although the complete *nibbāna* experience with the arahat's death is a natural one, the complete *nibbāna* experience in the cessation is a conditioned one. It must be noted here that both the *Visuddhimagga* and the *Vimuttivagga* consider the attainment of cessation as neither conditioned nor unconditioned because, as the *Vism.* (p. 709) states, it does not exist in its own nature and is spoken of as being entered on by virtue of the monk who has entered upon it, or because as the *Vimuttivagga* has it, there is no put-together state in this attainment and also the entry into and exit from the unconditioned state cannot be known. Further, with arahat's death, there is no one to experience *nibbāna*; therefore, the cessation could be regarded as the one and only way one is able to experience *nibbāna* physically here and now in its completeness. One could realize *nibbāna* and become an arahat without having any physical experience of it, but for the experience of *nibbāna* in this very life, one must attain the cessation. It is true that this *nibbāna* experience in the cessation is temporary.

G. A. Somaratna.

ŚAṄS-PA BKAḤ-BRGYUD-PA. The Śaṅs-pa bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect is an important Buddhist sect in Tibet. Śaṅs-pa is the name of a place, while Bkaḥ -brgyud means the transmission of teachings. As this sect was first founded at Śaṅs-pa at, it was thus called the Śaṅs-pa bkah-brguyud-pa sect.

The founder of this sect was Khyuṅ-po-rnal-ḥbyor. Tradition says that he lived up to the age of one hundred and fifty (cir., 990-1140 A.C.). He was born in a "Tiger" year at Sñe-mo. When he was ten years old he could read Sanskrit and Tibetan, and at the age of thirteen he studied the Bon doctrine under Gyuṅ-druṅrgyal-ba. He preached on the doctrines of that religion and had an audience of seven hundred people. Being not satisfied with what he had learned so far, he went to Ḥbyuṅ-gnas seṅ-ge and studied from him the teachings of Rdsogs-pa' chen-po, and preached on them to an audience also of more than seven hundred persons. He again went to Nepal to study translations under the guidance of Sāstri Vasumati (this is according to the *Blue Annals*., but according to Thuhu-bkwan's Grub-mthah the Sāstri's name is given as Sumati.) He also learned from the Sāstri about fifty methods of performance. With the help of Atulyavajra, he met Rdo-rje-gdan-pa, from whom he received the Śrāmaṇera ordination and studied many different kinds of *Dharmas*. He also learned many kinds of *Tantric Dharmas* from Śri-bhadra-sajjāna, as well as from, Shiṅ-gi-rdo-rje, Mi-mñam rdo-rje and Rin-chen rdo-rje (known as the three rdo-rje brothers), who were the disciples of Maitri-pa . After that he returned to Tibet and obtained a large amount of wealth, with which he went to Nepal again and learned the Bde-mchog rtsa-rgyud from Pham-thiṅ -pa, who was a disciple of Nāropa.

As he knew that Buddhism originated in India, he went to India personally to study the *Dharma*, and learned Buddhism under such great masters as Rdo-rje-Gdan-pa, Dā chen-po, Sumati-kīrti, Maitrī-pa, and some others at different times. Afterwards he visited Ni-gu-ma who had seen "Vajra-dhara" with his own eyes and received from him the baptism of "Sgyu-lus rmi-lam-gyi dbaṅ", and also learned from him the teachings of Rdo-rje tshig-rkaṅ and Sgyu-ma lam-rim, as well as many other *sūtras* and methods of performance. He again learned under the instruction of Sbaspaḥi rnal-ḥbyor-pa the Dharmas of Bde-mchog lha-lṅa, Mkhaḥ -spyod dkar-dmar, Rim-lṅa stan-thog gcig-ma, Sbyor drug, etc. Owing to his teacher's instructions he was able to see Sukha-siddhi Ḍākinī, who upheld him with her spiritual powers and taught him many teachings. Also learned the *Dharma* of

Gśin-rje gśed from Śāstri Bde-baḥi rdo-rje and the *Dharma* of Lha-mo from Rol-paḥi rdo-rje. After having studied many other teachings from Advayavajra and some other teachers, he returned to Tibet. It happened that gold was produced from many gold-mines in Tibet at that time, and at Sñe-mo he received a large quantify of gold offered to him by the Buddhist followers. Then he once again went to India and offered a large quantity of gold to one hundred and fifty teachers, including Ni-gu-ma,Sukha-siddhi, Rdo-rje-gdan-pa and the three Rdo-rje brothers, from whom he learned many teachings. Then he returned to Mṅaḥ-ris, where he met Dīpaṅkara (i.e. the Ven Atiśa), from whom he studied the *Dharma* of Dsaṅ–ḥdus and many other *Dharmas*. He also made use of Dīpaṅkara's books to complete the defective passages in the Sanskrit texts collected by himself. These texts were translated into Tibetan by Rin-chen. bzaṅ-po and Dharma blo-gros. In short, during a period of fifty years he travelled more than once to India and Nepal from Tibet in pursuit of studies under more than one hundred and fifty great masters of both India and Nepal (of whom the chief ones were Rdo-rje-gdan-pa, Maitrī-pa, Sbas-paḥi rnal-ḥbyor-pa, Rāhula, Ni-gu Ḍākini, and Sukha-siddhi Ḍākini,), and thus learned a large number of esoteric and exoteric doctrines.

After returning to Tibet he received his Bhikṣu ordination from Glaṅ-ri-thaṅ-pa (1054-1123 A.C.) and began to propagate the *Dharma* in the Hchad-dkar dgon-pa Monastery at the Hjog-po Mountain in Hphan yul. At that time Rāhula–gupta-vajra, a great Tantric master of the Black Mountain Cave in India, came to him and taught him the baptism of Rgyud-sde lnaḥi dhaṅ and the *Dharma* of Mgon-poḥi skor. Within a period of three years he constructed one hundred and eight monasteries at Saṅs-pa, e.g., the Shoṅ-shoṅ (this is according to the *Blue Annals*, but according to Thuhu-bkwan's *Grub-mthaḥ* the name is given as Shaṅ-shaṅ), etc. where he carried out his preaching activities for more than thirty years and brought together a congregation of more than 80,000 monks. Thus the Saṅs-pa Bkaḥ-brgyyud-pa sect was formed.

The Spread and Propagation of the Saṅs-pa bkaḥ-brgyyud-pa Sect. Khyuṅ-po rnal-ḥbyor lived up to a venerable age and had many disciples, of whom the chief ones were Rmeḥu ston-pa (according to *Blue Annals*, or Smaḥu ston-pa according to *Thuḥu bkwan*), Rdul-ston Rin-dban, La-stod Dkon-mchog mkhar, Rmog-cog-pa (according to *Blue Annals*, or Rmog lcogs-po accprdomg tp *Thuḥu bkwan*), and Shan-sgom Chos-sen. Among them Rmog cog-pa was the unitary successor to the teachings of Khyuṅ-po rnal-ḥbyor.

Rmog cog-pa's personal name was Rin-chen brston-ḥgrus and his surname, Shi-śe. He was a native of Lha-thu spaṅ-rtsa, and the date of his birth is unknown. At the age of seventeen he entered the Shoṅ-shoṅ monastery to study the *Dharma*, where Bla-ma Śans taught him the baptism for Kye-rdor, but advised him that he should carry on doctrinal studies extensively at his early stage of cultivation, and that if he put the *Dharma* into practice too early he would easily incur the influence of Māra upon himself. Although he learned several teachings from La-chins-pa (a disciple of Bla-ma Śans), he did not obtain any realization by practising them. Bla-ma Śans also taught him the teachings of Mgon-poḥi skor and Ñikhros (i.e. Ñi-ma khros–pa). At the age of twenty one when he was going out in search of the *Dharma* he heard on his way that there was a certain Khams-pa A-seṅ, who was an erudite teacher in possession of various teachings. Thus he went to him to study the *Dharma*. He just came in time when the master was conducting the ceremony of baptism. Among the assembly there were Dge-bśes chen-po Phywa-pa, Bla-ma Shaṅ, etc., over sixty persons, who were soliciting the master's instructions and learned the Bde-mchog and other *Dharmas*. He also learned the teaching of the Ras-chuṅ liugs baptism from Bur sgom, and saw Rnal-ḥbyor-ma. Then he was able to uphold himself even in dreams. At Gyor-po he stayed for five years and studied *Pharphyin* (i.e., *Abhisamayālaṁkārakārika*) and *Spyod-pa bsdus-pa*. Afterwards he learned the *Sbyor drug*, the *Rdo-rje tshig-rkaṅ* and various other teachings from Ggya Grags-bsod, and also learned many other *Dharmas* from Dge-bśes Shu. From Slob-dpon Shan he learned *Ḥdul-ba ḥod-ldan* and other works. When he saw his teacher (i.e., Khyuṅ –po at a later time, he informed him that he had seen Rnal-ḥbyor –ma and was able to uphold himself in dreams. In that same night his teacher taught him all the teachings of baptism. In a period of one year and seven months, he learned all the profound *Dharmas* from his teacher. His teacher advised him, saying, "Continue your studies and practice them with a concentrated mind." After saying these words, the teacher passed away.

After finishing his teacher's funeral obsequies, Rmog cog-pa lived in seclusion to practice the *dharma* for two years at Sdiṅs-ma and obtained many realizations. After the death of Khyuṅ-po rnal-ḥbyor, he had nowhere to get instructions, and so he tried to approach Sgam-po-ba (i.e., Dwags-po lha-rje). On his way he met Phag.mo gru-pa and they learned some teachings from each other. Then he came to Sgam-po-ba and requested him to impart the Six Doctrines, and he acquired some definite understanding about the theory of Phyag-rgya chen-po views. After that he returned to Rmog—cog and engaged himself in practising the *Dharma* for twelve years, living on vegetable leaves alone. His fame spread far and wide and the number of disciples who came to study under him was so great that his place could not accommodate them all, and thus the Lkugs-luṅs Monastery was constructed. Besides those disciples under his direct instruction, many people who had come to study under him with a mind of faith and devotion also had realizations in a natural way. Afterwards he bade Dbon-ston Skyer-sgaṅ-pa to succeed to his tradition. After Dbon-ston Skyer-sgaṅ-pa the tradition was to be carried on by Saṅs-rgyas snan-ston (also known as Sans-rgyas gnas-ston), and after Sans-rgyas snan-ston, by Sans-rgyas ston-pa.

Rmog cog-pa's doctrinal successor was Skyer-sgaṅ-pa Dharma seṅge, who transmitted the Law to Gñan-ston Chos-kyi śes-rab,. who in turn to Saṅs-rgyas ston-pa Brtson-ḥgrus seṅge. So far the Doctrine of Great Perfection of Bla-ma Śans was carried on in a line of direct succession. Saṅs-rgyas stion–pa began to transmit the *Dharma* to more than one disciple. While he himself was succeeded by his chief disciple Aḥi seṅge, he had another disciple, Śaṅs-ston Tshul-khrims mgon-po (1234-1309 A.C.) who constructed a monastery at Ḥjag for the propagation of the *Dharma*, and still another disciple, Mkhas-btsum Gshon-nu grub (1319 A.C.), who constructed the Bsam-sdiṅs Monastery at Myaṅ-smad. Thus the two sub-sects of Ḥjag and Bsam were established. Śaṅs-ston's disciple Ḥjag-pa Rgyal-mtshan ḥbum (1261-1334 A.C.) realized the wonderful *Dhyāna* after receiving the teachings of his teacher, and benefited living beings extensively. He transmitted the *Dharma* to his Nephew Ḥjag chen Byams-pa dpal (1310-1391 A.C.) , who after receiving the *Dharma of Nigu* and some other *Dharmas*, taught the Ven. Tsoṅ-kha-pa the teachings of Śaṅs-pa. Mkha-grub rje had also learned the *dharma* of Mgon –po phyag drug-pa from Mus-chen Bam-mkhaḥi rnal-ḥbyor-pa of the sub sect of Ḥjag. Therefore, the teachings of the Śaṅs-pa bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect were also prevalent in the Yellow Sect.

Mkhas-btsun Gshon-nu grub's disciple was Gser gliṅ-pa Bkra-śis dpal (1292-1265 A.C.), who at the beginning studied extensively the various esoteric and exoteric *Dharmas*. Afterwards he thoroughly learned all the teachings of the Śaṅs-pa bkaḥ-brgyud-pa sect from Mkhas-btsun Gshon-nu grub. He also learned the *Dharma* of Good as transmitted by Saṅs-rgyas ston-pa. With these two categories of *Dharma* he benefited living beings for a long time. His Chief disciple was Brag-bo che-ba Rdo-rje dpal, who had a disciple Chos dpal Śes-rab, and Chos dpal Śes –rab transmitted all his *Dharma* to Rgod rug ras-pa, who practiced it himself and also taught others for the benefit of all.

The Principal Teachings, views and Practices of the Śaṅs-pa bkaḥ-brgyud-pa Sect. Khyuṅ –po rnal-ḥbyor visited India seven times to seek for the *Dharma* and pursued his studies under one hundred and fifty teachers. The teachings he had learned were innumerable. The principal ones were the five tantric baptisms of Bde-mchog, Kye-rdor, Mahā-Māyā, Gsaṅ-ḥdus and Rdo-rje ḥgigs-byed, and Sdom-paḥi dbaṅ, Sgyu –lus dbaṅ-mo che, Mkhaḥ-spyod Bkaḥ lṅa, Niguḥi chos-drug, Sgyu-ma lam-rim, Ḥchi-med ḥphrul-ḥkhor.Lam-khyer sukhaḥi skor, Phyag-chen Gaḥu-ma Ye-śes Mgon-poḥi chos-skor, Bde-mchog lha lṅa, Phag-mo gaeṅ-sgrub, spyan-ras-gzigs., Rnam-hjoms, Phvag-rdor, Mi-gyo-ba, and other teachings of baptism. He also introduced the *Dharmas* of Avalokiteśvara and Hayagriva of the Skyer-sgan sect which were practised by different sects as later times, and the *Dharma* of Ye-śes mgon-pohi chos-skor which became a common practice of all sects.

As khyuṅ-po rnal-ḥbyor did not write many books, we do not know much of his views. But we know that the *Dharma* of Great Symbol (Phyag-rgya chen-po) which he propagated was obtained from Maitrī-pa. That he termed as the "Box of Great Symbol: (*Phyag-chen gaḥu-ma*) denoted the combination of Bliss and Voidness just like a container and its lid. When the practitioner attains this state of perfect harmony, he will achieve the realization of the

clear light (Hod-gsal). This is of equal importance with the Great Symbol of Dwags-po bkaḥ-brgyud-pa. Again, in his *Bla mgon dbyer-med,* he said, it is like cutting a tree. If you cut off its root, then everything is cut off." Again he said, "Everything is liberated by itself. "fix the mind on nothing", etc., which ideas are similar to the maxims of the Great Symbol sect. Therefore, the views of Śan-pa bkḥ-brgyud-pa sect appear to be the Mādhyamika views of the system of Chandrakīrti. Concerning the method of cultivation, although not very much has been said about the exoteric side, they seem to have abided by the established rules of contemplating, first of all, on the rarity of the chance of being born as a human being, the impermanence of life, the detestability of transmigration, and the merits of Nirvāna, as well as the importance of cherishing the Bodhi-mind. As for the exoteric side of the teaching, they usually begin from the cultivation of the initiating stages (*Utpatti-krama*) of the chief object of worship according to the specific group, under which they receive their baptism, and then proceed to the cultivation of the perfect stages (*Utpanna-krama*) of all objects of worship. In the meantime, other teachings, such as of Rigu, etc., are also resorted to as a means to expedite their complete achievement.

Bibliography:

Gshon-nu dpal: *Deb-ther sṅon-po* (the *Blue Annals*), Case mark "Ta", Lhasa edition

Lhun-grub: *Dam-paḥi chos-kyi byuṅ-tshul bstan-paḥi rgya-mishor ḥjug-paḥi gru chen*, Sde edition, p. 148

Rgyal-baḥi bkaḥ-ḥgyur rin-po-cheḥi dkar-chag legs-bśad ḥphrul-gyi lde-mig, Lhasa edition.

Thuḥu-bkwan: *Grub-mthaḥ thams-cad kyi khuṅs daṅ ḥdod-tshul ston-pa legs -bśad śel gyi me-loṅ*, Sde-dge edition, pp. 46b -69a.

Fa-tsun

SANTHĀGĀRA. The words Santhāgāra, Santāghara (Sk. Sansthāgāra) mean a council hall, a mote hall or an assembly hall. It is a spacious hall where many persons could gather at one time for discussions, delivery of sermons etc. In Buddhist literature there are numerous instances where the word has been used. In the *Ambaṭṭha sutta*, the brahamin youngster tells the Buddha that once he went to the council hall (Santhāgāra)of Kapilavatthu on an errand of the brahamin Pokkarasādi. At that time the Sākyans and the Sākyan princes had gathered at their Santhāghāra and were seated in high and comfortable seats engaging themselves in free conversation. Ambaṭṭha tells the Buddha that he was fully ignored by the Sākyans and was not even offered a seat to sit (*D.*1.91). In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, too, there is a reference to a Santhāgāra. The Mallas of Kusinārā had assembled in their assembly hall (Santhāgāra) for some special purpose and bhikkhu Ananda goes there to report to them that the Buddha would pass away in Kusinārā late in the night that day (*D.* II. 147). The *Mahāvagga* of the *Anguttara nikāya* (*A.* II 207) reports of a newly built Santhāgāra (assembly hall) of a newly anointed king for the dedication of which a sacrifice involving the slaughter of many animals was prepared (*A.* II. 207).

In the Sinhala exegetical work named the *Dhampiya-Aṭuvā Gāṭapada, Santhāgāra* is explained as an audience hall where all persons assemble (*hāmadenā muḷuvana santhāgārehi-Gangārohaṇa kathā,* p. 247)

Among the numerous architectural remains in Sri Lanka, particularly in Anuradhapura, it may be possible to trace buildings which were put up to function as assembly halls for the *Saṅgha*. These may be called public buildings which were erected for the community of bhikkhus. They were naturally designed on a grander scale and were lavishly ornamented than those meant for the lay individuals.

The term Sannipātasālā may be translated into English as "convocation hall". This is a type of building which can be identified with a certain degree of certainty. This type of building has sometimes been called 'Bhojanasālāva' also. Probably monks assembled in such a place as Sannipātasālā not only for discussions of ecclesiastical interest but also for partaking of meals as well (refectory). The position of the Sannipātasālā of the Mahāvihāra in relation to the Lohapāsāda (as recorded by the *Mahābodhivamsa*) would indicate that the ruin known today as Raṃsimāligāva at Anuradhapura represents a building

of this class. Similar in architectural design, but of larger size is the ruin popularly called Bhojanasālāva at Mihintale. This building is 62 feet square on plan. "It had a low heavy revetment (a plain single block rising from a rectangular scole topped by an ovolo parapet kerb (I ft. 10 ins. in height) for the western half of the basement. To the east, the upward slope of the ground rendered the lower block member superfluous. The building is open to the air all round and was roofed on forty eight pillars...." (*ASCAR*. 1910 p. 22). In the centre of the building was a raised platform which served no doubt as the seat of the Saṅgha thera when the community assembled. It is necessary to state that when matters concerned with the affairs of the *sāsana* are in progress not only the community of bhikkhus but also laymen who were concerned with such affairs also participated.

In view of the fore going information it is apparent that the terms Santhāgāra, Santāghara, Sannipātasālā, Bhojanasālā, Ramsimālaka are terms which have a common meaning.

Nandasena Mudiyanse

References

1. *ASCAR*.1910-11. p. 22
2. *ASCAR*. 948, p.82
3. *History of Ceylon*, (Ceylon University) Vol. I p. 400

ŚĀNTIDEVA. The most outstanding among the later exponents of Mahayāna Buddhism, who lived most probably in the late seventh century or early eighth century A.C. He was an adherent of the Prāsaṅgika branch of the Mādhyamika School. Tārānātha, the Tibetan Lāmā who wrote a history of Buddhism in the 17th century, ascribes to him three works, namely, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Sūtrasamuccaya* and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. The last-named is the most popular work of Śāntideva, in which he describes the career of him who seeks to attain the Buddhahood as opposed to the narrow Hīnayāna ideal of Arahantship. Here he recapitulates the development of the Prāsaṅgika School from Nāgārjuna to his own day. Herein Śāntideva uses his poetic skills for the exposition of complex philosophical and moral themes.

The *Śikṣāsamuccaya* on the other hand lacks originality and, as its title suggests, is a compendium of doctrinal matters in support of which he copiously quotes portions from various Mahayanist works (some of which now exist only in name.). In a way it is a kind of sympathetic commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. We are not certain whether Śāntideva wrote a third book called *Sūtrasamuccaya*, for we only know of a work bearing that title written by Nagarjuna in the 3rd century A.C. Some scholars believe that the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Sūtrasamuccaya* are one and the same work, for the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is a veritable compendium of *sūtras* (*Sūtra-samuccaya*) culled out from various Mahayānist *sūtras* (For further details see **Śikṣāsamuccaya**). When Śāntideva wrote, the *Prajñāpāramita sūtras*, the Mādhyamika School and the Vijñanavāda had existed for several centuries, but Tantric Buddhism although known to have been in existence had not yet become an important force.

For a life sketch of Śāntideva we have to depend entirely on the authority of Tārānātha. The latter describes him as one who possessed miraculous power, but it is doubtful whether all the feats attributed to him by Tārānātha did actually happen. According to Tārānātha, Śāntideva was born as a son of a king in Saurāṣṭra (modern Gujarat). By the power of his past merit both Bodhisattva Mañjusri and Goddess Tārā appeared to him in a dream and persuaded him to renounce the throne. So the night before the day of his coronation, he ran away from the palace. He walked for twenty-one days until he reached a forest where he met Mañjuśri and Tārā again, this time in the guise of a *yogī* and an ordinary woman respectively, and the *yogī* initiated him into the *śāstras* all of which he received through meditation.

From there he travelled eastward and reached the court of King Pañcashimha who had brought under his rule the territory extending from Bhangala upto Tibet. Skilled in all arts and sciences and extremely intelligent as he was, he was offered a ministerial post which he accepted for the time being. There he performed a number of miraculous feats including the destruction of the king's left eye with the lustre of his wooden sword. Despite the king's request to remain in his service, he advised the king to rule the kingdom according to the Doctrine and himself went to the Madhyadeśa. There he received ordination under

Jayadeva who had succeeded Dharmapāla as *upādhyāya* of Nālandā and took the name Śāntideva.

It appears that his *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Śikṣāsamuccaya* were written during his stay at Nālandā. He then left Nālandā and lived in Srī Dakṣiṇa, in the city of Kālinga in Triliṅga. Certain scholars from Nālandā went to request him to return to Nālandā but he did not agree. He devoted his entire life to the service of mankind with the noble and ultimate aim of seeing them across the ocean of *Saṃsāra*. Mahayāna sources mention Śāntideva along with other great teachers like Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Candrakīrti, Bhāvaviveka and Bodhibhadra.

Bibliography:

1. Tārānātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, tr. from Tibetan into English by Lama Chimpa & Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Delhi, 1970
2. S.K. Nariman: *A History of Sanskrit Buddhism*
3. The *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, tr. by C. Bendall, London, 1922
4. *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, ed. by P.L. Vaidya, Darbhangā

E.W. Marasinghe

SANTUṬṬHI can be derived from the verb *tussati*, 'to be satisfied', and the prefix *saṃ*, and thus stand for 'contentment'. Standard expositions of the gradual path of training regularly treat the need for a monk or a nun to develop such contentment in regard to robes and food (*D*. I, 71). Contentment with these two requisites leads to a degree of material independence comparable to a bird, who uses its two wings to fly here and there, but is not burdened by anything else apart from these two wings (*ibid*.). The importance of developing contentment in regard to robes, in regard to food and also in regard to one's dwelling place has caused these three to be included among the four 'noble lineages' (*D*. III, 224 and *A*. II, 27: *cattāro ariyavaṃsa*), qualities held in high esteem among monks and laity alike.

In addition to contentment in regard to robes, food and dwelling place, the same quality needs also be developed in regard to medicines. These four constitute the basic requisites of a monk or a nun and form the topic of the *Santuṭṭhi Sutta* (*A*. II, 26), the 'discourse on contentment', in which the Buddha praised the blamelessness and easy gain of rag robes, begged alms food, the root of a tree for lodging and cow's urine as medicine, If contentment in regard to these four requisites has been developed, so the Buddha explained on another occasion to *Anuruddha*, such rag robes will seem to a contented monk just like a chest full of garments, alms food like choice curries, the root of a tree like a gabled house equipped with comfortable furniture and cow's urine like butter and honey (*A*. IV, 231).

The *Sabbāsava Sutta* describes a standard reflection in regard to these four requisites as a way of abandoning the influxes through 'using' (*M*. I, 10: *paṭisevanāpahātabba*). This reflection explains in more detail the implications of contentment in these four instances. Extrapolating from this reelection, contentment in regard to robes is to use them merely to protect one's body from the vicissitudes of climate and insects and for the sake of decency. Contentment in regard to food is to eat only for physical maintenance and not for pleasure. Contentment in regard to one's resting place entails using it merely for the sake of seclusion and to protect oneself from climate and insects. Finally contentment in regard to medicine consists in taking medication just to mitigate painful feelings and to ensure bodily health.

To be contented with these four requisites as one's basic necessities of life requires a considerable degree of mental maturity and detachment. Hence it is no wonder that on numerous occasions the Buddha had to restrain monks or nuns who had not yet developed such maturity. This caused the promulgation of numerous *Vinaya* rules and regulations in regard to food and other requisites, a central purpose of which is none other than to inculcate a sense of contentment.

The same purpose features also prominent in a set of special practices known as the *dhutāṅgas*. These 'ascetic practices' cover such activities as to wear only rag robes, to subsist by begging one's food and by eating only once a day, and to live under a tree, or out in the open, or in a cemetery (e.g. at *M*. III, 41). As the *Puggala-paññatti* explains, out of the various motivations for undertaking such ascetic practices, the development of contentment stands out as the supreme type of motivation (*Pug*. 69).

The Buddha's emphasis on the development of contentment did not always meet with the approval of his disciples. The *Bhaddāli Sutta* and the *Kīṭāgiri Sutta* report monks refusing to follow the Buddha's commandment to eat only once a day (*M.* I, 437 and *M.* I, 474). Yet, as the monk *Udāyi* reported in the *Laṭukikopama Sutta* (*M.* I, 448), even though such instructions can at first seem disagreeable, once put into practice they lead to the development of wholesome qualities and thereby to increasing happiness. The development of contentment yields much happiness indeed, a happiness due to blamelessness (*M.* I, 180: *anavajjasukha*).

For a monk intent on gaining such happiness, the proper attitude in regard to food should be perfect equanimity, even if he did not receive any (*Sn.* 712). As a verse in the *Dhammapada* proclaims, a monk or a nun who feels displeasure at the type of food received will not be able to gain concentration (*Dhp.* 249). This last statement indicates why contentment has received so much emphasis in early Buddhism. This emphasis is not merely because contentment is a praiseworthy quality for a renunciate, but also because contentment forms an indispensable foundation for the development of concentration and therewith for the meditative path. In order to be able to gain deeper levels of concentration contentment and detachment in regard to worldly pleasures are of crucial importance. The happiness gained through contentment is the happiness of renunciation a type of happiness that easily leads over to the deeper stages of happiness achieved through the development of concentration.

Therefore a monk without contentment is not fit to withdraw into seclusion and will lead the celibate life with dissatisfaction (*A.* III, 145). But a contented monk will come to growth in the dispensation of the Buddha (*A.* V, 154) and will moreover be regarded by other monks with respect and affection (*A.* V, 91).

'The Buddha's teaching is for one who is contented and not for one who is without contentment'. This reflection forms part of the eight thoughts of a great man (*A.* IV, 229: *mahāpurisavitakka*). Thus it is no wonder that the Buddha proclaimed to his foster mother Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī that whatever leads to contentment can without any hesitation be considered to be his teaching and instruction (*A.* IV, 280).

The discourses explicitly mention the Buddha (*M.* II, 6 and *A.* V, 67) and the monks Kassapa (*S.* II, 194), Piṇḍolabhāradvāja (*Ud.* 43), Puṇṇa Mantāṇiputta (*M.* I, 145) and Sāriputta (*S.* I, 63 and *Ud.* 43) as examples for contentment. Such passages often extol the fact that these monks were not only themselves contented, but also encouraged others to develop the same quality. The importance of encouraging the development of this quality in others may well also underlie the inclusion of 'talk on contentment' (*santuṭṭhikathā*) among the range of topics recommendable for conversation (e.g. *M.* III, 113).

Though the discourses treat the topic of contentment mostly in regard to monks and nuns, the same quality is of equal importance to the lay disciple. From among the five precepts that form the foundation of Buddhist lay practice, to abstain from taking what is not given and from sexual misconduct directly relate to this topic, namely to the development of contentment with one's possessions and marital relationship.

The principle of contentment could in fact have far reaching consequences on the political, economical and ecological level, if thoroughly applied. This rather unobtrusive quality may hold an answer to many of the ills of modern society. Yet the first steps to implementing contentment have to be undertaken by each one on the personal level. These steps are nothing else but the ever recurring little decisions taken in every day life between either yielding to the manifold wishes arising in the mind, or else following the sober voice of reason and practise frugality and renunciation. The key to stirring safely through this dilemma is the experiential realisation that true happiness cannot be gained through desire satisfaction, but only through letting go of desires and thereby gaining the happiness of contentment. Once this is understood, the development of contentment becomes increasingly easy and one comes to appreciate ever more why the Buddha spoke of contentment as the highest wealth (*Dhp.* 204) and as a supreme blessing (*Sn.* 265).

Anālayo

SAPTAPAṆṆIGUHĀ, a cave in Rājagaha, located on the slope of Mt. Vebhāra. When the Buddha sojourned at Saptapaṇṇiguhā, he is said to have offered Ānanda the opportunity of requesting him to live for an aeon. But due to lack of his presence of mind, Ānanda failed to make use of it (*D*. II, p.116). The cave sometimes used to provide lodging for visiting monks (*Vin*. II, p. 76; III, p. 159).

Though the Commentaries and the chronicles mention that the First Council was held in a hall erected by Ajātasatthu outside this cave (*S*. I. p. 9; *Mhv*. III, p. 19; *Dipv*. IV, p. 14), it is not mentioned in the *Vinaya* account of the council in the *Cullavagga*. A group of natural caves discovered at recent excavations on the northern scarp of the Vebhāra hill are identified with the Saptapaṇṇiguhā (Debla Mitra *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 72).

C. S. Ranasighe

SARAṆAṄKARA : Välivita Saraṇaṅkara, the last Sangharāja of Sri Lanka (1698- 1778), was the foremost personality responsible for the religious and cultural revival of the eighteenth century that has an immense impact on the Sri Lankan culture of the subsequent times. By this time, Sri Lanka had been under the colonial domination for two centuries during which the whole seaboard had become Christianized so that the national faith of Buddhism had fallen into disuse. Buddhist monks were corrupt and were involved in lay pursuits that they were referred to by the derogatory term "*gaṇinnānse*". By the end of the 17th century, there were no Theras who were competent enough to conduct the *upasampadā* Higher Ordination, so that monks remained as *sāmaṇeras* or novices. Kotagama Vācissara cites eight reasons for this state of affairs: Loss of royal support for the *sāsana*, *Christian* expansionism, Political upheaval, Instability in the society leading to the absorption of Indo-Dravidian cults and practices, Economic instability, Predominance of caste (in the Order), Kin-pupil system or *gñātiśisya kramaya* and the Higher ordination introduced from the Rakkhanga country. By this time, the glories of the cultural achievements that prospered up to the Kotte period (15th Century) had reached the lowest ebb and the fame of the *Sīhala saṅgha* that illumined the *sāsana* of the South and South East Asia was a thing of the past.

It is from this sordid condition that Saraṇaṅkara was able to rescue the *sāsana as* well as the entire culture to something reminiscent of its former glory by the mid 18th century. His achievements were so great that he is credited with several contemporary works that deal with his life and activities. *The Syāmopasampadavata (SYMP)* by his pupil Tibboṭuvāve Sri Siddhārtha Buddharakṣita, the *Sangharāja sādhu Cariyāva (SSC)* by Āyittāliyadde Muhandiram (?) and the *Sangarājavata (SRV.)* by Munkoṭuve Abesinha are totally devoted to him. Besides, there are numerous other documents in Pāli, Sinhala, Thai and Dutch that are very useful in reconstructing the life and activities of him. He lived during the time of four kings, of whom he could get the help of Narēndrasiṃha, Sri Vijaya Rājasiṃha and Kirti Sri Rājasiṃha for his revivalist activities.

He was born on the 19th of June 1698 at Välivita in Tumpane, into the family of Kulatungas who traditionally held the post of Mudaliyār of Tumpane and Vellassa. After his early education, he was at the royal court as an adopted son of the king. In time, his parents wished him also to be a mudaliyār, but he insisted to be a monk. At the age of sixteen he obtained ordination under Sūriyagoḍa Sāmaṇera at the Sūriyagoḍa Narendrārāmaya under the name Saraṇaṅkara. When he was 23 years old, his teacher Sūriyagoḍa was put to death by the king for some crime, and the temple and its properties too were handed over to another party. By this time, Saraṇaṅkara had realized the appalling condition of the *sāsana* and was determined to purify it. After his teacher's death he had to leave the Sūriyagoḍa temple. Undeterred by this traumatic experience, he resolved to improve his learning and become an ideal monk of the *Araṇyavāsi* tradition that he espoused throughout his long career. As a prerequisite for mastering the 'Words of the Buddha' he intended to learn the Pāli language, but there was none among the Buddhist clergy who could help him, so that, he had to learn rudiments of Pāli grammar from Levuke Rāla who was a prisoner living at Mākehelvala in his banishment. Saraṇaṃkara secretly met Leuke in a cave when the latter made daily visits to the temple at Alagalla. From him he learnt the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta* and a section of the *Bālāvatāra*, an elementary Pāli grammar. The other section of the grammar he leant from Vaṭabuluve Atthadassi, who had in fact forgotten much of it. Whatever he learnt, he also taught to his friend

Siṭināmaluve who later became one of the luminaries of learning in the Low Country. From the numerous works he wrote soon after, it is clear that he had mastered Pāli, Sinhala as well as Sanskrit languages.

With a view to transforming the Buddhist Order he started the *'Silvat'* (Moralist) movement that deviated from the immoral practices of the *gaṇinnānses.* The movement started with the novices, Siṭināmaluve, Ilipängamuvē and Kadirāgoda who were his disciples and friends. Begging for alms or *'piṇḍapātikaṅga'* was one of the austere practices insisted by Saraṇaṃkara for the group, and this practice alone brought much recognition and respect to it as a genuine Buddhist movement. Saraṇaṃkara himself came to be called *'asaraṇa-saraṇa piṇḍapātika'* Saraṇaṃkara. The epithet *'asaraṇa saraṇa'* meant the 'provider of refuge to refuge-less ones'. Besides Hanguranketa, the capital, the silvat group traversed Sat-korale and Satara-korale areas arousing much religious fervor among the laity so that many young-men joined the movement. The group was derogatorily identified as the' *Välivita Samāgama* ' (Välivita Company) by the orthodoxy or, *Silvat tän'* in general. When the movement progressed Saraṇaṃkara started to educate the laity by introducing the *Hōdiya* and *Äṇavum Sakaskaḍa,* (elementary readers) and the monks with the *Sekhiyā* (Rules of Conduct) and the *Dina-cariyā* (Daily Routine) in addition to the above. This new effort was so effective that some of the young *gaṇinnānses* too came to study under Saraṇaṃkara. The *gaṇinnānse* establishment was shaken to the roots by these activities that it plotted against the *Silvat movement.* Saraṇaṃkara ' s disregard for caste and kin-pupil succession as well as not venerating the *gaṇinnānses* led the latter to complain to the king Narēndrasiṃha against Saraṇaṃkara and the movement. As the *gaṇinnānses* wielded much political power in the prevailing feudal setup, the king had no alternative but to support them at the inquiry held on the matter. The king ordered that the *silvat* group should venerate the *gaṇinnānses,* and, in order to avoid any confrontation, the *silvat* group was ordered not to operate in the capital and restricted them to the Laggala area. They too were ordered to tie a piece of white cloth on the head for easy identification. For some time, Saraṇaṃkara was thus forced to confine his activities to the suburbs. Shortly after, it is alleged that a certain *Sanyāsin* came from India to meet the king and in order to converse with him the king had to invite Saraṇaṃkara because none of the *gaṇinnānses* was able to talk in Sanskrit. Saraṇaṃkara took this opportunity to preach to the gathering in all the three languages, Pāli, Sanskrit and Sinhala. Thus Saraṇaṃkara gained the respect and recognition of the king and was able to establish his authority in religious and cultural matters. After this event, the *gaṇinnānses* were somewhat relegated to the background.

Some of Saraṇaṃkara's major works fall into the period of King Narēndrasiṃha (1707-39) when he was still in his thirties. He wrote in Pali the *Muniguṇālankāraya* and the *Abhisambodhialaṅkāraya,* both extolling the virtues of the Buddha. His interest in popularizing Buddhism met further success when he, on the invitation of Narēndrasiṃha, wrote the *Sārārtha-saṅgrahaya* in Sinhala, an encyclopedic work on the Nine Virtues of the Buddha. In order to highlight the importance of the *dhutāṅga* practices he included in this work the story of the Elder Maha Kāśyapa who excelled in austere practices. Saraṇaṅkara emulated him and wanted his disciples also to do so. The Story of Mahā Kappina is included here to show the consequences of sinful practices. Elaborate exegeses on the *Maṅgala sutta* and *Brahmacariyā* contained here are also of great contemporary relevance. This work, both thematically and stylistically, is in line with the classical Sinhala prose works like the *Butsaraṇa* the *Amāvatura* and the *Pūjāvaliya.* He also wrote the *Bhēsajja Mañjūsā Sannaya,* a Sinhala commentary on the Pāli medical treatise, the *Bhēsajja Mañjūsā* at the request of Narēndrasiṃha, for which he got help from some of his pupils. Another work by him is the *Ratanatraya Pranāma Gāthā Sannaya* a detailed exposition of the, prayer verses in Pāli. In order to promote Pāli learning he wrote the *Rūpa Mālāva* Pāli conjugational system, a work still used for the purpose in *pirivenas.*

One of the crowning achievements of Saraṇaṃkara at this time was the establishment the Niyamakanda pirivena for which he got the consent and support of Narēndrasiṃha. Situated near a forest, this center of learning for monks was ideal for *āranyavāsi* practices and is undoubtedly the first such Sri Lankan educational institution to appear during the colonial period. Inspired by this, many such centers sprang up subsequently. It appears that the syllabi for the pirivena education that still persists too evolved during

this time by the efforts of Saraṇaṃkara and supplemented by his line of pupils. With all these activities, he became the sole authority of religious affairs that by 1732 he was able to issue the *Anusāsanā-vaṭṭoruva*, a set of admonitions to the *silvat* group. This document records his determination to inculcate discipline in the Order. The members of the *silvat* group should accordingly direct their efforts to attain *nibbāna* by proper practice of morals and regular confession of offences. They are also to avoid making derogatory caste references that target their co-religionists and avoid association with the laity. They were to make individual copies of the *vaṭṭoruva* and read it at the end of regular *Upōsatha* rituals. The ideal was to evolve a monk of the humble and contended *(appiccha-santuṭṭha)* type.

By this time he was so close to the royal court that Narendrasiṃha entrusted him to teach the brother of his wife from Madurai. When Narēndrasiṃha died in 1739, this pupil of his became king as Sri Vijaya Rājasiṃha, under the sponsorship of Saraṇaṃkara. Some are critical of Saraṇaṃkara for thus promoting the Nayakkars of South Indian origin to the throne of Sri Lanka that later led to some political unrest. However, the ulterior motive of Saraṇaṃkara seems to be to have his pupil as the king so that he would be able to manipulate him to get his life-mission of obtaining monks from abroad to perform the *Upasampadā* fulfilled. Though he previously urged Narēndrasiṃha to help him in this venture, he was unsuccessful. His priority to restitute the *upasampadā* was so great that at the age of thirty he wrote the *Sāmaṇera Sandesa* in Pāli to the former king expressing his willingness to cross the ocean facing all dangers to obtain monks. He- included a Sinhala translation also to the text for the king's benefit and also instructed as to how changes in the Sandesa should be made with respect to the date, country and the name of the king, etc., in case he dies before any future mission was sent. Narēndrasiṃha maintained cordial relationship with the Catholics at the time, especially with Father Jacome Gonsalvez, the 'father of Sinhalese Catholic Literature,' who was not keen to help Saraṇaṃkara. In fact, there was some confrontation on the question of erecting a Catholic church in the capital and an alleged attempt on Saraṇaṃkara ' s life by the Catholics (*SSC*).

Sri Vijaya Rājasiṃha, as expected, was very supportive of Saraṇaṃkara. He conferred the title of *Rājaguru'* on him, and on his request, restored the properties of the Sūriyagoḍa temple to its former owners. The temple itself, Saraṇaṃkara entrusted to his nephew Sūriyagoḍa sāmaṇera. The *Sārārthadīpanī* (*Satara Banavara Sannaya*) and the *Madhurārtha-prakāsinī*, (Commentary on the *Bodhivaṃsa*), were written by Saraṇaṃkara on Sri Vijaya's request. The former is by far the most important work of Saraṇaṃkara. It inspired his pupils to write over a score of *Sūtra Sannes*. This led to the revival of the older tradition of writing of *sannes* or *vyākhyānas*, the mainstay of Sinhala literary tradition. As many of them were based on earlier *sannes* that used Sinhala or Sanskrit words, a media of mixed-Sinhala emerged in place of the colloquial dialect hitherto used in writing.

During this time Saraṇaṃkara succeeded in sending missions to several South East Asian countries to get monks (SAS.1-10; *Siyam Sri Lanka āgamika sambandhatā* 1-12). The *Sirisandesa-kathā* probably written by Saraṇaṃkara, is one of the Pāli messages addressed to the king of Siam for this purpose. Datable to 1745/6, this appears to be the Sandesa sent with the last mission by Sri Vijaya Rājasiṃha in 1747. The king Sri Vijaya died before the mission reached Siam and the mission had to return without success on the advice of the Dutch authorities in Batavia. This failed mission consisted of three royal messengers, and five representatives of Saraṇaṃkara who were from the *silvat* group, disrobed to undertake the task.

During the time of Kirti Sri Rājasiṃha (1742-82) another mission was sent to Siam in 1750.Before it returned with the monks, Saraṇaṃkara got an opportunity to invite a monk from Pegu who came here and ordained about thousand persons according to the *Kusalakriyanu Sandesa (KKS.)*._ The Siamese monks came in 1753 and a group of monks headed by Saraṇaṃkara received them at Godapola where the latter were given some training about the *upasampadā* proceedings. On the 20th Saturday 1753 six Sri Lankan monks received higher ordination at Malvatta temple (for details see *Syamōpali Nikāya*). This epoch making event vouched the continuation of the Buddha *sāsana* in Sri Lanka from its near extinction. This, as can be, seen, is mainly due to Saraṇaṃkara ' s enduring efforts, fully supported by the king. Although the higher

ordination introduced on earlier occasions failed due to the haphazard manner in which it was held this time. Saraṇaṃkara had educated and trained the recipients so that they were worthy of receiving it. Moreover, the *gaṇinnānses* too had changed their stance and made use of this opportunity so that *'silvat'* group along with Saraṇaṃkara got absorbed into the newly established *nikāya* that came to be known as the *Syāmopāli Nikāya* which is the oldest and the foremost of the present day *nikāyas* of Sri Lanka. According to seniority, Saraṇaṃkara who was 55 at the time was the third (or second?) to be conferred the *upasampadā (SSP* p.181). Altogether 97 received *upasampadā* during that year.

As Elder Upali was the chief of the Siamese mission, the order restored by him came to be known as *Syāmopāli nikāya (syāma+upāli> syāmopāli)*. However, the main personality behind this success is Saraṇaṃkara. According to the *Sangarājavata*, Saraṇaṃkara knew all the procedures and the texts pertaining to the *upasampadā ritual* but lacked 'conventional monks' *(sammuti sangun)* to conduct it. Although a new tradition has been introduced, from Saraṇaṃkara ' s point of view it was only a revival of the older Lankan tradition that was introduced to Siam earlier. After the *upasampadā*, the *Upōsatha* ritual and the *Kaṭhina* ritual after rainy retreat *(vas)* too were introduced. In the same year the king requested all the monks to meet at the Poyage of Malvatuvihāraya and declared that on consideration of all the great services rendered by "Saraṇaṃkara for the perpetuation of the *sāsana* he would be appointed as the *Sangharāja*, a position that was never held by anyone after the Elder Vīdāgama during the kotte period. (*SSC*. dates this event to the first year of *upasampadā* while *SYMP*. dates it to 1760. The latter may be the date of restoration of the title after Saraṇaṃkara completed his period of imprisonment after his alleged involvement in the coup.).On this occasion, Tibboṭuvāve Siddhārtha, Saraṇaṃkara's pupil and-Urulävatte Dhammasiddhi, were appointed as *Upasangharājas* as well as *Mahānāyakas* of Malvatte and Asgiriya Chapters, respectively. As a climax to these events, king Kirti Sri made a *Katikāvata*, known as the *Kirti Sri Rājasimha Katikāvata*, a document that contains monastic rules and regulations beneficial to the proper maintenance of the Order, based on earlier *Katikāvatas* that were usually set up after such revivals of the *sāsana*. The injunctions of this document clearly show that they were by Saraṇaṃkara.

Saraṇaṃkara continued with his religious activities zealously and he was greatly supported by the king. He worked with Upali and other Elders for three years and after them with Elders *Visuddhācārya* and *Varajñānamuni*, the leaders of the second mission. The latter were both, specialists in meditation and started meditation practice here (*SSAS*. Ch. 3): In 1759 another mission was sent here. This is not mentioned in major sources but the *Kusalakriyānusandesaya* refers to it. In fact, according to Siamese sources, the Emperor Boromkot of Siam, in consultation with the Sangharāja decided that three missions be sent to Sri Lanka each lasting for three years, so that by the end of ten years of training and scrutiny under the Siamese monks, the Sri Lankan monks would have completed their *nissaya* (probation) period and would be fully qualified to conduct the *Upasampadā* by themselves (*SSAS*.82): The third mission is important only as regards the attempted coup against Kirti Sri and the imprisonment of Saraṇaṃkara and some other monks, and execution of some lay accomplices to the coup. As the attempt was to enthrone a Siamese prince who came with the 3rd mission, some Siamese monks too were punished or banished. The reason for the coup against the king was that Kirti Sri though worked for the cause of Buddhism was still keeping to his Hindu practices and favoring his Nayakkar relatives. It is also alleged that the Dutch had a hand in getting this prince and plotting him to be crowned (*SSAS*. 111 ff.) It should also be noted that by the time the third mission was sent, the Emperor Boromkot (Sri Lankan sources refer to him as Dhārmika) was dead.

After a short time, Saraṇaṃkara and Tibboṭuvāve were released and Kirti Sri too made amends to his mistakes. By 1764, the Sinhala monks who had completed their probation performed their first *upasampadā* headed by Saraṇaṃkara. The king too supported the event and advised the monks to live according to the *vinaya* rules.

Saraṇaṃkara spent his last few years in his forest hermitage at Hantāne keeping himself away from main institutions of Malvatta and Asgiriya. Throughout his career his main interest was to resurrect Buddhism to its former glory .In this attempt he sometimes had to disagree with some Siamese practices. In his letters

of admonition to his pupils such as the *Sangharājānusāsanāva* and the letter to Vehälle Dhammadinna Thera, he stresses that they should keep to the ancient traditions of forest dwelling sect and serve the world by writing or copying down of books with the assistance of the laity. He did not approve of the Siamese tradition of Temporary Ordination, the Siamese system of recitation that disregards the word division and the worship of crowned images as approved in the *Jambupati-vatthu*: When a controversy arose between (Sri Lankan monks and Siamese monks) as to the manner of recitation of texts, it was referred to the Siamese Sangharāja who approved that Saraṇaṃkara was correct in his decision. These instances show that Saraṇaṃkara was able to discriminate between what was relevant for his revivalist endeavour and what was not.

After rendering a great service to the country in manifold ways, Saraṇaṃkara Sangharāja passed away in 1778. While his services for the revival of education, literature and culture as well as Buddhist institutions are of great significance, the order of monks reverted to some older practices that ultimately led to the subsequent emergence of other *nikāyas*. Although disagreement between the two chapters of Malvatta and Asgiriya, both acknowledge their indebtedness to Saraṇaṃkara

The literary tradition of the Colonial and pre-modern period is directly traceable to him. His training of preachers *(Dhamma-kathikas)* contributed to the survival and spread of religion during the turbulent times of religious controversies. There were eighteen pupils of renown of him, whose pupils number around fifty. They carried on the light of religion and learning in all parts of the country, glittering the intellectual atmosphere of the times.

Bibliography

Buddhist Literature and Textual Practice in the Eighteenth Century Lankan Monastic Culture: Anne M. Blackburn, Princeton University Press, 2000.

Mātara Yugaye Sāhityadharayan hā Sāhitya Nibandhana: P.B.G.Hewawasam. Sri Lanka Government Press, 1966.

Sangarājavata: Ed. Sri Charles de Silva, Gunasena, 1955.

Sangharāja-Sadhu-cariyāwa Ed. N. Pannasena Thera & P.B. Sannasgala, Lakehouse, 1947.

Saraṇamkara Sangharāja samaya: Kotagama Vachissara Thera, 3rd Print Visidunu, 2004.

Saraṇaṃkara, the last Sangha Rāja of Ceylon: Sir D.B.Jayatilaka, 2nd Ed. Visidunu, 2004.

Siam Sri Lanka Āgamika Sambandhatā, G. Hemapala Wijayawardhana & P.B. Meegaskumbura ,Pradeepa Press, 1993.

Siri Sandesa kathā Ed. Telikada Jinananda Thera, Vidyodava, 1907

Syāmopasampadāvata: Ed. *M.* Pragnatisya, Broadway Press, 1948.

P.B. Meegaskumbura.

SĀRASAṄGAHA. "A collection of Essence" is a Pāli treatise written in Sri Lanka during the latter part of the Polonnaruwa period. In spite of the fact that the treatise itself identifies itself as "*Sārasangaha*" *(Dassayissaṃ Samāsena Pavaraṃ Sārasaṅgahaṃ)* in its prologue, both *The Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (Vol. II. p. 1106) and the *Pāli Literature of Ceylon* by Malalasekera (p. 224) have named it *Sāratthasaṅgaha* which leads to confusion with a Sinhala treatise by the same name, written by Sranaṅkara Saṅgaharāja of the 18[th] century during the Kandyan period.

According to its colophon Sārasaṅgaha was written by Ven. Siddhattha the last among the pupils of Buddhappiya Thera, the chief incumbent of Dakkhinārāma, apparently of Polonnaruwa, built by Parakramabahu I (1153-1186)

Dakkhinārāmapatino Piṭakattayadhārino
Buddhappiyavha therassa yo sissānantimo yati
Tena siddhattha Nāmena yati dhīmatā Sucivuttinā

The author's reference to his teacher Buddhappiya as residing at the Dakkhinārāma is noteworthy. It is clear that the treatise was written before evacuation to Yāpahuwa, abandoning Polonnaruwa in the face of advancing Malabars led by Māgha.

Ven. Siddhattha referred to here is identified as the author of *Sāratthadīpikā* (q.v.) the Sub-commentary on *Rasavāhini*, a Pāli treatise of the 13[th] century. As seen in the *Sāratthadīpikā* Ven. Siddhattha has a

number of other works to his credit. It is clear that he has been a monk of high erudition.

Sārasaṅgaha consists of forty chapters on forty popular topics and is written in prose interspersed with verses. Among the forty topics are "*Buddhānaṃ Abhinīhārā*", preliminaries necessary to become a Buddha, *Tathāgatassa Acchariyā* Buddha's marvels, *Antaradhānā*, disappearance, *Cakkhavatti*, universal kings, *Cetiyā, Thupas, Sammajjaniyā-phala*, results of sweeping, *Dhamme Acchariyā*, marvels of the *Dhamma*, *Saṅghe Acchariyā*, marvels of the Saṅgha, *Niddā*, sleep, *Supine*, Dreaming, *Ratanadvaya*, Buddha and Dhamma. *Saraṇāgamana* taking of refuge, *Sīla*, morality, *Kammaṭṭhāna* Subject of meditation etc.

The author has drawn materials from the texts, commentaries sub, commentaries and treatises for his discussions on the selected topics. It is said that *Sārasaṅgaha* is of immense use, specially for the preacher, for he need not consult many books in preparing for the sermon, everything is assembled under the relevant topics. The author has cited a large number of incidents of local origin in discussing which are of historical importance. It is evident from the treatise that Ven. Siddhattha has had an encyclopaedic knowledge of the whole Pāli literature.

Sārasaṅgaha is not edited and published by the *PTS*. yet. It has been edited by Ven. Yatamalagala Somananda Thero and is printed and published in the Sinhala script in 1898.

K. Arunasiri

SĀRATTHADĪPANĪ: *Sāratthadīpanī* "the Illustrator of the Essential Meaning" is the sub commentary (*ṭīkā*) written for Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādika*, the Vinaya commentary. The author of the *Sāratthadīpanī* is Ṭikācāri Sāriputta Mahā thera of the Polonnaruwa period. Sāriputta Mahā thera was the first "Mahāsāmi" or Sangharāja of Sri Lanka who lived in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great (1153-86 A.C.). *Sāratthadīpanī* is the second Ṭikā written for the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the first being the *Vajirabuddhi Ṭīkā* and the *Vimativinodani Ṭīkā* reckoned as the *Ṭīkā* on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

Ven. Sāriputta says that he composed the *Sāratthadīpanī* on the invitation of King Parākramabāhu (*ajjhesito narindena so'haṃ Parakkamabāhunā*), while staying in the magnificent mansion put up by the king himself. In addition, Ven. Sāriputta, in his preamble has stated what prompted him to write *Sāratthadipani*. He says that there were "*Līnatthappakāsanā*" (*Ṭikās*) written by the ancients (*Porāṇā*) which are of no use to all the monks. There were several "glossaries" (*ganthipada*) written in the Sinhala language, which are of no use to foreign monks. Some have commenced the work in the Māgadhi language and later changed the media. Further more, those writings are incomplete and have created confusion.[1]

As described in the preamble, it was to remedy the above situation that Ven. Sāriputta intended to write *Sāratthadipani*. Finally he says that he would discard the language (Sinhala), take the essence and write his (new) treatise.

It is seen that Ven. Sāriputta, in his *Sāratthadīpanī* has criticised certain explanations given in the *Vajirabuddhi Ṭīkā*, written earlier by a monk named Vajirabuddhi. In the same way Ven. Sāriputta's views have been criticised by the Coliya Kassapa Thera in his *Vimativinodanī Ṭīkā* written after the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The *Sāratthadīpanī* is divided into two sections *cūla* and *mahā* and he has closely followed the lines laid down by Buddhaghosa and it is said that Ven. Sariputta is tied down too much to the orthodox interpretations, a weakness Buddhaghosa supposed to have had. Ven. Sāriputta has been a veteran Sanskrit scholar as well and his Sanskrit knowledge appears to have influenced his Pali, as seen in the *Sāratthadīpanī*.

Ven Sariputta in the course of his discussion on the *vinaya* rules has cited many episodes supposed to have taken place in the island which are of historical value, according to Prof. Malalasekera[2]. However, it is seen that many of such episodes have been already cited by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries. But his discussion of the eighteen schools into which the Buddhist saṅgha was divided after the Second Buddhist Council, is noteworthy. The discussion found at the beginning of his exegesis of the Third Council is of high historical value for it provides more information not found elsewhere.

Ven. Sariputta's sources spelled out in the *Sāratthadīpanī* are of paramount importance, not only

to the students of history, but also to those interested in Pali Literature. Often he has cited *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās* such as *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccari*, and the *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathās* which shows those *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās* which are not extant today, were still extant, when the Ven. author composed *Sāratthadīpanī*. The three famous glossaries (*ganthipadas*) *Maha-ganthipada*, *Majjhima-ganthipada* and *cūla-ganthipada* which are lost, were available to Ven. Sāriputta. He has often quoted from those glossaries and he appears to have a great respect for them. It has referred to the views of the "*Bhāṇakas*" (Reciters), such as *Dīgha- bhāṇakas*, *Majjhima- bhāṇakas* and *Saṃyutta- bhāṇakas*. It is significant that he has referred to "*khuddhaka-bhāṇakas*" (Reciters of the *khuddhaka (Nikaya?)*. The *Paramatthamañjusā* the sub-commentary of the *Visuddhimagga* by *Dhammapālācāri* too has been among his sources, which shows that the *Sāratthadīpanī* is posterior to the *Paramatthamañjusā*. Thus it should be clear that the *Sāratthadīpanī* is a "Store House of Information for the Students of Pāli Literature".

The *Sāratthadīpanī* is said to contain 30,000 *Granthas* and each *Grantha* is made up of 32 letters. According to the *bhāṇavāra* tradition it has 120 *bhāṇavāras* and each *bhāṇavāra* is said to contain 8000 letters. While evaluating the work and the skill of its author Prof. Malalasekera says :

"Sāriputta's most comprehensive work, however, is the *Sāratthadīpanī*, his masterly Sub-Commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā* on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. The immense amount of information he has collected therein shows that his knowledge was extensive and profound and that he was not second to the great commentator (Buddhaghosa) himself in exegetical ability[3].

However, *Sāratthadīpanī* has not yet been edited and published under the *PTS*. and the students have no access to it. It is said that it has been already published in the Burmese and the Siamese Scripts. In Sri Lanka it has been edited (by Bihalpola Devarakkhita Nayaka Thero) and published in the Sinhala Script up to the end of the fourth *Pārājikā* in 1914, on which the present article has been based.

K. Arunasiri

References

1 *Porāṇehi kataṃyantu līnatthassa pakāsanā*
na tan sabbattha bhikkhūnaṃ atthaṃ sādhenti sabbaso
Duviññeyya sabhāvā sihalāya niruttiyā
Ganthipadesu nekesu likhitaṃ kiñchi Kattaci
Māgadhikāya bhāsāya ārabhitvā pi kenaci
Bhāsantarehi sammissaṃ likhitaṃ kiñci devaca
Asāraganthabhāropi tattheva bahu dissati
Ākūlam ca kataṃ yattha suviññeyyampi atthato
.... (*Saratthadipani preamble* edited by B. Devarakkhita, Colombo 1914 Sinhala script)

2 Malalasekera G.P. *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* Colombo 1958 p. 192

3 . Malalasekera op.cit.

SĀRATTHAMAÑJUSĀ : *Sāratthamañjusā*, "The Receptacle of the Essential Meaning", is the sub commentary (*Ṭīkā*) written for *Manorathapūraṇi*, Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, the fourth section of the *Suttapiṭaka* of the Theravāda School of Buddhism. As per its colophon, it was composed by Ven. Sariputta the eminent scholar of the Polonnaruwa period known as Ṭikācari Sāriputta. The author Sāriputta Thera was also the first Sangharāja or Mahāsāmy of Sri Lanka.

The authorship of the sub commentaries (*Ṭīkā*) to the commentaries of the first three Nikāyas (sections) of the *Suttapiṭaka*, i.e. the *Sumangalavilāsini* of the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Papañcasūdani* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Sāratthappakāsini* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, are attributed to the eminent commentator Dhammapālācāri of Badaratittha Vihāra (of South India) . Polwatte Buddhadatta Thero thinks that Dhammapala's intention was to write *Ṭīkās* to the commentaries of all the first four nikāyas of the *Suttapiṭaka*. But he could not do it. He died soon after he wrote the *Ṭīkā* to *Sāratthappakāsini*, the *Samyutta* commentary. He argues that the absence of a colophon in the *Samyutta Ṭīkā* is probably due to his sudden death. He seems to presume that Dhammapala was unable to write even its colophon. Thus Ven. Sāriputta in the 12th century was called upon to write the *Ṭīkā* to the *Manorathapūraṇi*, the *Anguttara* Commentary which Dhammapālācāri could not fulfil, though he wanted to as stated above.

In his preface to the *Saratthamañjusā* Ven. Sariputta states that he composed it in compliance with an invitation made by King Parakramabahu.

Tenāhamaccantam anuggahito
Anaññasādhārana samgahena
Yasmā parakkanti bhujavhayena
Ajjhesito bhikkhuganassa majjhe

Tasmā anuttānapadānam attham
Setthāya Anguttaravannanāyam
Sandassayissam sakalam subhodhum
Nissāya pubbācariyāppabhāvam

"Since I was invited, in the mids of the monks by the king Parākramabahu who patronized me in an unprecedented way, I will explain the meaning of all the obscure words of the great *Anguttara Nikāya* commentary with the strength of the teachers of yore, so that the meaning would be easily understood".

Further the preface confirms the king Parakramabahu's services to the Buddhasāsana such as uniting of the divided saṅgha, the construction of magnificent vihāras and his encouragement to the monks to take up *ganthadhura* or *vipassanādhura*, provision of the four requisites to thousands of monks regularly etc. and that makes the preface historically important as well.

The *DPPN*. (Vol. II p 1118) says that Sāriputta wrote the *Sāratthamañjusā* on the *Atthasālini* which should be considered as an oversight, because the *DPPN*. (Vol.II, p.1106) itself has recorded the correct position, that it is written on *Manorathapūraṇi* the commentary on *Aṅguttaranikāya*. Polwatte Buddhadatta thero has observed a similarity between the stanzas No. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 of the prologue of the *Saratthadīpani* and the stanzas No.4, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of the *Sāratthamañjusā* prologue and it further confirms the view that both books were composed by the same author. *Gandhavamsa* (*JPTS*. 1896 p. 81) too, attributes its authorship to Ven. Sāriputta and calls it *Nava ṭikā* written on the *Aṅguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakathā* on the request of Parākramabāhu, king of Lanka. It is said that it contains twenty thousand *Granthas* (one *Grantha* is comprised of thirty two letters).

Sāratthamañjusā is yet to be edited and published by the *PTS*. It is said that it is edited and published in Burma (Myanmar) and Siam (Thailand) in their respective scripts.

K. Arunasiri

SĀRATTHAPPAKĀSINĪ: The *Sāratthappakāsini*, the "Illustrator of the Most Excellent meaning" is the name given to the Pali Commentary written to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, the third volume of the *Sutta piṭaka* of the Theravāda School of Buddhism. There exists no controversy as regards its authorship. As per the colophon, the *Sāratthappakāsini* is written by the great commentator Buddhaghosa. The prologue of the commentary is almost the same as the prologues of the commentaries written by Buddhaghosa for the other three *Nikāyas* of the *Suttapiṭaka* i.e. *Dīghanikāya*, *Majjhima Nikāya* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.

The *Sāratthappakāsini* is not an original work, but a Pali translation of the commentaries brought to the island by the Elder Mahinda and kept in the *Sīhala* Language for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Island (Lanka) which Buddhaghosa admits at the very beginning of the commentary, as he has done in the case of his other *Āgama* commentaries already mentioned. Further, as usual here too Buddhaghosa assures that he would not go against the expert decisions of the Elders of the Mahāvihāra, who are the lamps into the lineage of Theras[1].

In addition, Buddhaghosa says that he would not repeat what he has already discussed in the *Visuddhimagga* and expects the readership to consult the *Visuddhimagga* in the relevant instance.[2] It is in the above context that Buddhaghosa declares that the *Visuddhimagga* stands in the middle of the four *Āgamas* and explain the meaning :

Majjhe Visuddhimaggo esa catunnampi āgamānam hi ṭhatvā pakāsayissati tattha tattha yathā bhāsitam attham (loc. Cit.)

Further to the above, what Buddhaghosa says in his colophon too is relevant here. There he says that the *Sāratthappakāsini* consists of seventy-eight *Bhānavāras* while the *Visuddhimagga* which has to be

consulted in understanding the text, (*Saṃyuttanikāya*) has fifty nine *Bhāṇavāras*. Under the circumstances, he says the number of *Bhāṇavāras* in the commentary should be taken as one hundred and thirty seven.

As per its colophon, Buddhaghosa has composed the *Sāratthappakāsini* on an invitation made by a Thera named Jōtipala. E.W. Adikaram (*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* p. 6) tries to identify him with Jōtipala Thera mentioned in the colophon of the *Manōrathapūraṇi*, the *Aṅguttara* commentary, who is stated to have been a co-resident with him (Buddhaghosa) at Kañcipura, South India. The *Manōrathapūraṇi* colophon further says that Jotipala Thera concerned invited Buddhaghosa to compose it (the *Manōrathapūrani*) along with another Thera named Jīvaka. Often Buddhaghosa records the place where he was residing at the time of the composition of a particular book, but in the case of the *Sāratthappakāsini* he has not recorded the place where he was residing during the composition of the *Sāratthappakāsini*. Buddhaghosa finally concludes that his exegesis on the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* with the comments that he composed the *Sāratthappakāsini* taking the essence of the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* (*Mūlaaṭṭhakathā sāram ādāyā imam karontena* ... *SA.* III. p. 110).

Compared to the other Commentaries of Buddhaghosa it is observed that, less episodes of local origin were cited as examples in the course commenting in the *Sāratthappakāsini*. But there are a few which are of historical importance. While discussing the *Dhajagga Sutta* (*SA* I. p. 341 f) it is said that while the plastering of the Dighavāpi cetiya was in progress, a novice working slipped his foot and was falling from the top of the Cetiya . Those monks at the foot of the Cetiya shouted at the falling novice to reflect upon the Dhajagga sutta (*Dhajaggaṃ parittaṃ āvuso āvajjhi*). It is said that he did so and his life was saved. Whatever may be the authenticity of the episode it should be presumed that the monks themselves have laboured in the construction of the *thūpas* in ancient Sri Lanka.

According to another story (*SA*. II. p. 252) a certain arahant, whose name is not given and who was a resident at Cittalapabbata in South Sri Lanka, was walking with a monk who was ordained in his old age. The monk ordained in his old age was following the arahant carrying his robes and bowl. The latter while following the arahant told him: "Sir! What are the characteristic features of arahants (*āriyānāna kīdisā*). The arahant replied that an old person walking with an arahant, and attending on the arahant, taking his robes and the bowl may not understand who an arahant is.

The episode of the Cakkana Upāsaka relates (*SA*. II. 150) how Cakkana was ordered by his elder brother to fetch flesh of a hare to cure his critically ill mother. Though he was able to catch a hare, he did not want to kill it and came empty handed. However he resolved that, as a result of his good act of saving the life of the hare his mother may be relieved of her illness. Consequently, it is said that the woman concerned was cured. This shows that the physicians of ancient Sri Lanka used the meat of certain animals to cure certain types of diseases.

In addition to the main sources the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā* particularly the *Mahāaṭṭhakathā* and the *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa has referred to his other commentaries such as the *Papañcasūdani* and the *Sumangalavilāsini* while composing the *Sāratthappakāsini*. It is important to note that Buddhaghosa has referred to the *Milindapañhā* a post-canonical work in the *Sāratthappakāsini* (*SA*. II. 294). He has also quoted a source called *Porāṇas*, the "ancients".

The *Sāratthappakāsini* is published by the *PTS*. edited by F.L. Woodward in three volumes.

K. Arunasiri

References

1. *Samayaṃ avilomento therānaṃ theravaṃ sappadipānaṃ Sunipuna vinicchayānam mahāvihārādhivāsinam* (*SA*. I. p.1)

2. *Itipana sabbaṃ yasmā visuddhimagge mayā suparisuddhaṃ vuttaṃ tasma bhiyyo na taṃ idha vicārissāmi (loc cit)*

SĀRATTHASAMUCCAYA: is the name given for the commentary written for *Catubhānavāra* (*Catubhānavāra pāli*), a collection of *Suttas* meant for chanting of Paritta (*Paritta desanā*). It is also known as *Catubhānavāra Aṭṭhakathā*. It's author has not left his name recorded. But in the preamble it is stated that it was composed on the orders of Ven. Anomadassi (*Anomadassi vikkhātha mahāsāminiyogato*). But in the colophon this anonymous author has identified himself as a pupil of Ananda Vanaratana (*soyam dāyālu me garu jayatiha pañño Ānanda Raññarathāndi Mahā yatindo.....*)

Some scholars think that Anomadassi Mahāsāmi under whose direction *Sāratthasamuccaya* is said to have been composed as the Anomadassi Mahāsāmi a contemporary of Parakramabahu II. (1236- 1272 A.C.). The above reference too calls him Mahāsāmi. Ven.Doranegoda Ñānasena who has edited *Sāratthasamuccaya* for the Simon Hewavithārana Bequest Edition in his preface to the edition, quoting from *Padasādhanavyākhyā* points out that Ananda Vanaratana too was a pupil of Medhankara Mahāsāmi, predecessor of Anomadassi Mahāsāmi. He further thinks that the author of the *Padasādhanavyākhyā* referred to as Ananda is the same as Ananda Vanaratana. Thus he too is among those who consider *Sāratthasamuccaya* as being written during the reign of the king Parakramabāhu II (1236-1272).

However Ven. Polwatte Buddhadatta does not like to identify Ven. Anomadassi, whose pupil composed *Sāratthasamuccaya* and who was a contemporary of Parakramabahu II (1236-1272 AC.) [Pali Literature (Sinhala Script) 1966 p. 2]. Ven. Buddhadatta further says (*ibid*. p. 237) that there has been two Ānandācāryas in Sri Lanka. Ananda Vanaratana who lived before the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153-86) who wrote *Abhidhammamūla Ṭikā* was the first. The second Ānandācārya was a pupil of Dimbulāgala Medhaṅkara Mahāsāmi who was a contemporary of Parakramabahu II (1236-72A.C.). Out of the Ānandācāris above referred to Ven. Buddhadatta thinks that it was Ānandācāri the author of *Abhidhammamūla Ṭikā* who is referred to in the *Sāratthasamuccaya* . Thus according to his argument *Sāratthasamuccaya* should be assigned to a period prior to Parakramabahu I (1153-86 A.C.)

As all the *Suttas* contained in the *Catubhānavāra* have been already commented upon under the original compilation from where the Suttas have been drawn, the author of *Sāratthasamuccaya* had no difficulty in compiling his commentary. He has drawn materials from original commentaries and there is no originality in his work.

Sāratthasamuccaya the *Catubhānavāra* commentary is yet to be edited and published under the *PTS*. But it has been edited (by Doranagoda Ñnasena Thera) and published (in Sinhala script) under Simon Hewavitarana Bequest in 1929.

K. Arunasiri.

ŚĀRIPUTRA. *Śāriputra* is the popular title of a Sri Lankan *śilpa* text known as *Bimbamāna* (iconometry) belonging to the 11th century. More than fifteen palm leaf manuscripts of this work which contains over 130 stanzas in Sanskrit have been found from a number of places in Sri Lanka. The abrupt opening of the text with the words *'Athedānīṃ pravākṣyāmi bimbamānavidhiṃ śṛṇu'* (Listen! I shall now describe the econometric system (pertaining to the Buddha image) suggest that it is a detached chapter of a larger work dealing with image craft. The original work appears to have been lost forever and the present text has survived probably because it has been used throughout as a manual by Sri Lankan temple artists. Certain manuscripts carry the colophon *'Iti gautamīye śāriputraśrute bimbamānaṃ samāptam'* (Here ends the Bimbamāna of the *Gautamīya* (*śāstra*) as heard by *Śāriputra*), which would mean that the mother work was probably known as *Gautamīya śāstra* and ascribed to Gautama the Buddha from whose mouth it was heard by *Śāriputra* who in turn proclaimed it for the benefit of the world.

The work as the title suggests deals with the subject of Buddhist iconometry and lays down in minute detail specifications for standing, seated and recumbent Buddha images in accordance with the superior Ten-tāla system (*Uttama-daśa-tāla-māna*) which consists of 124 units into which the vertical height of a standing Buddha image was divided. Hindu *śilpa* texts of Indian origin set apart the *Uttama-daśa-tāla-māna* for the highest of Hindu gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The measurements, to wit, *māna* (vertical height), *pramāna* (horizontal measurements), *parimāna* (measurements of the girth), *unmāna* (elevation/

depth), *upamāna* (interspace measurements) and *lambamāna* (plumb-line measurements). Nonetheless, with the decline of Sanskrit education in Sri Lanka after the Polonnaruwa Period, the artists' ability to comprehend fully the technical details given therein appears to have gradually diminished resulting in the creation of distort and out of proportion images as amply illustrated by the Buddha images that have been built particularly during the Kandy period.

Ananda Coomaraswamy (in his Mediaeval Sinhalese Art) is inclined to believe the *Śāriputra* to be a work of Indian origin. This view not substantiated by any solid reasoning has to be rejected for a number of reasons. Although its Indian influence is not to be doubted, that it has been compiled in Sri Lanka is beyond any reasonable doubt. The main arguments for its Sri Lankan origin may be cited as follows:

1. The *Uttama-daśa-tāla-* measure consisting of 124 units (or *dehāṅgulas*) is used here for the standing Buddha image, whereas all Indian *śilpa* texts reserve it for the highest of Hindu deities.

2. The sedent image described here is in the *vīrāsana* or *sattvaparyaṅka* (with the right leg resting on the left) which is peculiar to Sri Lankan image, and not in cross-legged position (*padmāsana* or *vajrāsana*) favourite among Indian artists.

3. It is difficult to justify any reasons for the compilation of a *śilpa* text on Buddhist iconometry in India during the 11[th] century when Buddhism had completely disappeared from the mainland.

4. The non-availability of any copies of the work in India. All the copies numbering more than fifteen which have so far been found are from Sri Lanka.

5. The attempt made in the colophon of some manuscripts to give the work a touch of Theravāda (*gautamīye sāriputraśrute*) further strengthens its Sri Lankan affiliations. One may even conjecture this as a move to undermine the importance and popularity of the *Mañjuśribhāṣita-citrakarmaśāstra*, a seventh century Sri Lankan *śilpa* text, which is boldly Mahayanic in character.

Three editions of this work have so far appeared. The first published in 1924 by M. Sirivimala Thera is, as the editor himself confesses, the reproduction of a single manuscript with only a few illegible letters here and there being supplied by him. Fifty years later, Hans Ruelius produced a critical edition of the *Sāriputra* together with another shorter Sanskrit *śilpa* text called *Ālekhyalakṣaṇa* (a manual for artists) accompanied by a German translation of both works, for his Ph.D. degree of the University of Gottingen. This edition was based on twelve manuscripts including one hand written copy and contains 139 stanzas. The present writer brought out another edition of the *Śāriputra* in 1994, based on two manuscripts not seen by Ruelius and using the latter's edition as a third copy. This edition contains 131 stanzas. The bibliographical details of the three editions are as follows:

1. *Śariputrasravaṇo bimbaparamānam*, ed. By M. Sirivimala Thera, Colombo, 1924.

2. *Śāriputra* und *Ālekhyalakṣaṇa*: Zwei Texte zur Porportionslehre in der indischen und ceylonesischen Kunst, Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen vorgelegot von Hans Ruelirs aus Hecheimam Main, Göttingen, 1974.

3. The *Bimbamāna* of *Gautamīyaśāstra* as heard by *Śāriputra*, edited and translated into English by E.W. Marasinghe, Bibliotheca Indo-Budhica Series, No 138, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1991.

E.W. Marasinghe

SĀRIPUTTA (1). Arahant Sāriputta was the first chief disciple of the Buddha. In Buddhist Sanskrit he is known by several versions of this name; Śāriputra, Śārisuta, Śālīputra and Sāradvatīputra. No equivalent of the last name is attested to in Pāli. The version Sāli could result from the change of 'r' to 'l' as in some Prakrits. The name Sāriputta is interpreted to mean 'the son of Sārī' indicating that his mother's name was Sārī. In Buddhist Sanskrit too the name of Sāriputra's mother is Śārī or Śārikā (eg. *Mhvu.* III 569f). But in

later Pāli works the Elder's mother is called Rūpasārī (*DhA.* II. 84). In one place in Pāli literature Sariputta himself tells Puṇṇa Mantāniputta that his personal name is Upatissa but among the members of the Order he is known as Sāriputta (*M.*I. 150). In Buddhist Sanskrit also we find this name as Upatiṣya (*Mhvu.* III. 56 ff), and once he is also called Tiṣya.

In Pāli canonical literature there is hardly any information regarding Sāriputta's home life prior to adopting an ascetic life. This however, is compensated by the Buddhist Sanskrit *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*, the *Mahāvastu* and Pāli commentaries. According to Pāli commentaries he was the son of the Brahamin named Vanganta, the chief of the Village Upatissa where he was born (*DhA.* II. 84). But according to the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V. 161) Sāriputta's native village, where he passed away, was called Nāḷagāmaka. According to the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*GM.* III. IV p. 20) this village is called Nāladagrāmaka, but in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 56) it is called Nālandagrāmaka. The name Vanganta is seen in the name Upasena Vangantaputta ('Son of Vaṅganta') who is said to have been a brother of Sāriputta in Pali sources. If so, while the eldest Upatissa came to be known by their mother's name, one of the younger sons has come to be identified by their father's name.

Sāriputta, according to Pāli sources, had three younger brothers named Canda, Upasena and Revata (later called Kadiravanīya Revata), and three younger sisters named Cālā, Upacālā and Sisūpacālā. All the seven were ordained in the *Saṅgha* and won arahantship (*DhA.* II. 188f). However Buddhist Sanskrit sources give a different version. Sāriputra was the youngest (not the eldest) in a family of seven brothers, viz. Dharma (or Sudharma), Upadharma, Satadharma, Sahaśradharma, Tiṣya, and Upatiṣya. The name Sudharma is sometimes omitted from the text (*Mhvu.* III. 56) . Śāriputra was named Upatiṣya after his father, the Brahamin Tiṣya, says the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*. The name Śāriputra was given to him as his mother was Śārikā (*GM* III. Pt. iv. 23 ff). This work also carries an account of how Śāriputra came to be born as the son of Tiṣya and Śārika.

In Magadha lived a distinguished Brahamin teacher named Maṭhara, author of the *Maṭharaśāstra*. He defeated in debate a brahamin teacher from the Dakṣiṇāpatha and received from the king as endowement (*vādibhoga*) the village Nāladagrāmaka, where he lived. Later he, in turn, was defeated in debate by another brahamin teacher from the Dak ṣiṇāpatha, named Tiṣya. (It is not clear what the Dakṣiṇāpatha here referred to was. Was it the same as the Avanti Dakṣiṇāpatha of the Pāli Cullavagga in the *Vinaya piṭaka* or a place further to the south of that?) . The king now wanted to transfer the village Nālalda to Tiṣya and, therefore, Māṭhara wished to leave the place. But Tiṣya offered to share the village with Māṭhara, who, out of gratitude, gave his daughter Śārikā in marriage to Tiṣya. But his son Kauṣṭhila disagreed with this arrangement and himself in disgust left for the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Both Kauṣṭhila and Śārikā also were well educated and even debated with each other. Śārikā also, at times, entered into debate with her husband but was defeated by him. Later, however, when she conceived Śāriputra to be in her womb, she was able to defeat her husband. Grandfather Māṭhara gave the name Upatiṣya to his daughter's son. But Tiṣya named him Śāriputra after his wife. By the age of sixteen Śāriputra had become well-versed in the *Vedas* and other branches of learning. Mastering the *Aindravyākaraṇa* he worsted all opponents in debate. Even his father could not dispute with him. He became the teacher of five hundred brahamin youth.

Renunciation and Ordination as a Buddhist Monk

Pāli commentaries and the *Mahāvastu* present somewhat similar accounts on the events leading to the renunciation of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. According to the Pāli commentaries Sāriputta had formed a close friendship with another brahamin youth named Moggallāna, the son of the brahamin chief of the village named Kolita. Both of them were born on the same day and were named Upatissa and Kolita after the names of their two villages. The two families had a longstanding friendship between them and the two youth were also thick pals from very young days. Wherever they went, whether it was to the river or to the pleasance Sāriputta had a retinue of five hundred in golden palanquins and Kolita also had a retinue of five hundred in chariots yoked with thoroughbreds. They went to enjoy the annual Giraggasamajja festival together. But soon both were disillusioned with the fun at the festival and decided to renounce home life to look for a teacher who could show them the way to total emancipation. Sending home five hundred of their thousand fold retinue with the palanquins and chariots,

they, with five hundred others, were ordained disciples of the teacher Sañjaya, the wandering ascetic (*paribbājaka*).

Both mastered Sañjaya's teachings in a short time but found them not leading to the desired goal. The two then went to any teacher whom they thought could show them the real path to emancipation. Finding that too did not bring any results they decided to part company and go in quest of their goal alone. However, before parting, they pledged that, anyone discovering the true path, would come back to the other with the happy messge. It was on this solitary quest that Sāriputta met Arahant Assaji (*DhA*. I. pt. 1.73 ff).

The account of the event leading to Sāriputta's renunciation and subsequent events in the *Mahāvastu* is the same in essence but with variations in detail. The riches of the two families of Upatissa and Kolita are given in greater detail in the *Mahāvastu*. The two went to enjoy the Giraggasamajja festival together, and a sense of disenchantment overcome both at the place. In both the Pāli and the Buddhist Sanskrit versions is found the same expression of Sāriputta, that "within or under a hundred years all these will cease to exist". They decided to become followers of Sañjaya Vairāṭiputra (*Mhvu*. III. p. 56 ff). This name Vairāṭiputra helps us to identify Sañjaya of the Pāli version with Sañjaya Bellaṭṭiputta, the agnostic and one of the Buddha's six senior contemporary religious teachers.

Sāriputta's meeting with the Arahant Assaji and the events that followed form the first piece of information about the first chief disciple found in Pāli canonical literature. Unfortunately the section dealing with Śāriputra's conversion is missing from the Gilgit Manuscripts. After parting from Moggallāna to engage in a solitary quest for a teacher of the path to emancipation, Sāriputta, one day saw the Arahant Assaji who was on his alms round on the streets of Rājagaha. On his very first sight of the Arahant, one of the first five disciples of the Buddha, Sāriputta was well impressed with his calm demeanour, clear features and pleasant looks. "This must be either an Arahant or one on the path to Arahantship", thought he. Following him until he finished his alms round, he attended on him as he took his forenoon meal. Then he started to question him. Coming to know that he was a disciple of the Buddha, the Sakya sage, Sāriputta queried about his teachers. Assaji was modest enough to admit that he was newly ordained and that his knowledge is meagre. However, he could, if the interrogator was willing, give the gist of the Buddha's teachings. That is what I need but not details was his reply. Arahant Assaji, in one single verse presented to Sāriputta the principle of dependent origination comprising the very essence of the Buddha's teachings.

"Of things that arise from a cause, the Tathāgata declared the cause and their cessation too (he declared); the great Recluse has such a teaching".

On listening to his presentation of the *Dhamma*, there arose in Sāriputta the dustless and stainless *dhamma* –vision (*dhamma-cakkhu*) that, "whichever is of the nature of arising, all that has the nature of cease to be". (*yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ sabaṃ taṃ nirodhadhammam*). This is normally interpreted to mean the realization by Sāriputta of the first stage on the Path to Nibbāna, namely the *Sotāpatti* stage. He declared to Assaji, "If this indeed is the Dhamma, you havepenetrated as far as this sorrowless state (*padaṃ asokaṃ*). Later Sāriputta repeats this verse to his friend Moggallāna who also had a similar realization as Sāriputta.

This episode is given in a slightly different form in the Buddhist Sanskrit *Mahāvastu* (III.56f). Accordingly Śāriputra was converted by an Elder named Upasena and not by Assaji. But Hiuen Thsiang says Śāriputra was converted by Arahant Aśvajita. He does not recite a verse as in the Pāli account, but explains that "the Master enjoins renunciation buy illustrating the arising of things from a cause" (*pratītyasamutpannāṃ dharmāṃ ..... Śāstā pratinihsargaṃ vigñapeti*). Later when Śāriputra met his friend Maudgalyāna he recited the whole stanza, in its Buddhist Sanskrit form, giving the gist of the whole principle of *pratityasamutpāda*.

It is curious to see how the *Mahāvastu* has changed the manner of Śāriputra's conversion. In the Pāli *Vinaya* Sāriputta gains the *Dhamma* vision on hearing the full verse comprising both the arising from a cause and also the cessation. The *Mahāvastu* omits the full verse at this point. This is apt as Upasena speaks to Śāriputra only of arising from a cause and not of its cessation. But how did Śāriputra get the full impact of the principle without knowing both aspects of arising and cessation?

This may have been a later development and a possible influence of this is seen in the Pāli commentaries as well. Completely ignoring the *Vinaya* account of the conversion of Sāriputta after listening to the full stanza, presenting the complete principle, by Assaji, the *Dhammapada* commentary (*DhA*. I. 77) states that he was established in the fruit of Stream Winning on hearing the first two lines of the stanza, and heard the rest of the verse as a Stream-winner. It also adds that he was satisfied, for the time being, with what he had gained and requested Arahant Assaji not to continue his sermon any further. It is also interesting to note that Buddhaghosa leaves uncommented the realization of Dhamma-vision by Sāriputta. He seems to indicate that Sāriputta thought that "even if there is nothing further to be realized, the realization of this *Sotāpatti* state itself is sufficient" (*VinA*. p. 975). It is difficult to assess the significance of these changes. Probably there was an attempt to show a difference in maturity between Sariputta and Moggallāna.

With his conversion Moggallāna was in a hurry to see the Master. But Sāriputta, who was always a great respector of teachers, persuaded him first to see Sañ jaya and convey the good news to him. "If his mind is awakened he will comprehend. Even if he does not comprehend he will have faith in us and go to the Buddha, and realize the paths and fruits on listening to him", said Sāriputta. But the two could not convince him. They went to the Buddha with two hundred and fifty of Sañjaya's five hundred pupils. They all received ordination from the Buddha but only the two hundred and fifty pupils attained arahantship on that occasion (*DhA*.I. 77 ff). The *Mahāvastu* also confirms that it was on the insistence of Śāriputra that Maudgalyāyana agreed to go to Sañjaya before leaving for the Buddha. They however failed to win him over but took with them all his five hundred pupils.

As Sāriputta and Moggallāna were approaching Veluvana where the Buddha was residing at the time, the Buddha saw them from a distance and commented to the monks, "these two friends, Kolita and Upatissa now approaching will be my pair of chief disciples, the lucky pair" (*aggaṃ bhaddayugaṃ Vin*. I. 42). The same statement is found in the *Dhammapada* commentary and the *Mahāvastu*.

Sāriputta attained Arahantship by eradicating all intoxicants (*āsavā*) on listening to a discourse delivered by the Buddha to a wandering ascetic named Dīghanakha. This happened in the cave called Sūkarakhata on the Gijjhakūṭa Mountain close to Rājagaha. Sāriputta who was, at the time, standing behind the Buddha fanning him, reflected on the factors mentioned by the Buddha to Dīghanakha and purified his mind from all cankers to reach Arahantship. Dīghanakha, however, could only realize the Dhamma-vision (*M*.I.497 ff). Commentaries tell us that this happened on the fifteenth day after Sāriputta's ordination, while Moggallāna realized on the seventh day after ordination. They also add that Dīghanakha, who was a nephew of Sāriputta came to the Buddha on this day to inquire why Sāriputta, with whom it had become the pattern not to stay with any religious teacher for more than two weeks, was still with the Buddha even on the fifteenth day. Buddhaghosa gives an alternative name for the *Dīghanakha Sutta* as *Vedanāpariggaha Sutta* (*MA*. III. 203 ff; *DA*. II 418;*DhA*. I. pt. I 79f). The *Mahāvastu* (III. 65ff.) however, states that after his ordination Sāriputta asked a series of questions from the Buddha. Although the indication is that this followed immediately after ordination, it is not very clearly stated. This series of questions and answers ends with an exposition on the principle of dependent origination. As a result, says the text, both Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and hundreds of other monks became completely rid of *āśravas*. But the text adds that, fourteen days after being ordained a monk, venerable Śāriputra attained control over the super knowledges (*abhiññā*) and realized the four branches of logical analysis (*pratisaṃvidā*). The text also states that seven days after ordination venerable Mahā-Maudgalyāyana attained power and control over magic and realized the four branches of logical analysis. It also adds that, not long after his ordination Mahā Maudgalyāyana realized the three knowledges (*vidyā*) including the decay of *āśravas*. At the end it is added that the Sūtra of the Wanderer Dīghanakha should be supplied (or inserted) here. No doubt it is a confusing account.

Although the Pāli commentarial sources call Dīghanakha a nephew of Sāriputta the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* calls him an uncle of Śāriputra, his mother's elder brother Koṣṭhila. Earlier we saw how he left home in disgust when his father gave his sister in marriage to Tiṣya. He went to Dakṣiṇāpatha and started to study *lokāyata* from a teacher who demanded him to renounce worldly life and become a

recluse before starting his study. Koṣṭhila became a recluse and vowed not to clip his nails until he mastered the *lokāyata*. Thus, with long nails, he came to be known as the Paribrājaka Dīghanakha. (*GM*. III pt. iv. 21 f.).

Śāriputra's realization of the four branches of logical analysis also finds confirmation in the Pāli discourses (*A*. II. 160). Here Sāriputta himself states that when he had been half a month ordained he realized specifically and in letter (*odhiso vyañjanaso*) the four forms of logical analysis (*paṭisambhidā*) and could explain it in various ways, teach it, expound it, proclaim it, lay it down, open it up, analyze it and make it clear. This acquisition is usually said to accompany the realization of arahantship by the very well educated disciples of the Buddha. There is also some interesting confirmation of Sāriputta's realization of Arahantship in a Pāli discourse. Here a monk having received Sāriputta's answers to two questions, goes to the Buddha and tells him that Sariputta has declared emancipatory knowledge (*aññ ā vyākatā*). Questioned by the Buddha whether this was true Śāriputra said, "not in these words, Sir, not in this form did I speak of the matter". In whatever way a monk declares emancipation then it should be taken as such, said the Buddha. The Buddha then went on to question him at length to verify his spiritual gain. Sariputta answered all these questions to the satisfaction of the Buddha who approved all his answers. Sāriputta's realization of Arahantship was thus proved beyond doubt by his answers. (*S*. II. 500 ff). This incident must have taken place early in the career of Sariputta as a Buddhist monk, before he became famous.

Sāriputta's Parinibbāna

There is a series of four discourses in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (V. 158 ff.) all of which have something to do with Sāriputta. In the first, queried by Sariputta, the Buddha explains the term *Mahāpuriso* as a person who is emancipated in mind. This should be achieved by the development of the fourfold establishment of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhāna*) "Without this emancipation of the mind there is no Superman" declared the Buddha. Thus not only the Buddha but all Arahants including Sariputta are categorized as Superman (*Mahāpurisa*). The second discourse refers to Sāriputta's 'lion's roar' made when he met the Buddha at Nālanda. In it Sāriputta declares his absolute faith and confidence that there never was, nor shall be, nor is their now a recluse or brahamin who is greater or more accomplished with regard to the highest enlightenment or awakening than the Buddha. He adds that, although he has no power of direct knowledge of penetrating the minds of all the Buddhas of the past, present or future, he infers it from his knowledge which is in accord with the Dhamma. This lion's roar of Sāriputta is also given in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (*D*.II. 81 ff) as having been made by Sāriputta when he met the Buddha at Nālanda in the course of his last journey to Kusinārā. If Nālanda, as suggested above, was identical with Nāla or Nālakagrāmaka, the native village of Sariputta where he passed away, then this must have been his last meeting with his master. Both of them passed away not very far distant in time from each other.

The third discourse in the series (s.v. 161 ff) is the reporting to the Buddha of Sāriputta's passing away. Ven. Cunda who was attending upon Sāriputta at the time of his passing away, after being stricken with a grave illness, at Nālakagrāmaka in Magadha, taking the bowl and the robe of the great elder, came to report the matter to the Buddha. But he broke the news to Ven. Ananda first and the two of them met the Buddha with the news and presented the bowl and the robe to him. A Burmese manuscript consulted by the editor has that Cunda also brought with him the bodily relics of the Elder in his water strainer (*dhātuparibhāvanam*). This undoubtedly must have been influenced by the commentary which says that Cunda brought the water strainer containing the relics (*dhātu-parissāvanam*). But the commentator carefully adds that the text refers only to the bowl and the robe (*SA*. III. 221). The Buddha had to speak at length to the two monks in his frequent admonition to them on the impermanence of all conditioned things to calm down Ven. Ananda who was highly disturbed by the great loss suffered by the Saṅgha and the religion due to the passing away of Sāriputta.

It is to be added here that neither the discourse nor the commentary refers to the erection of a *stūpa* enshrining the relics of Sariputta. But Hiuen Thsiang, in his *Si-yu-ki* mentions several times of stūpas erected in honour of Śāriputra and Mudgalaputra. In one place he refers to stūpas erected to commemorate their remains. [1] Possibly these were the results of later developments.

In the fourth discourse (s.v. 163 f) Buddha refers to the passing away of both Sāriputta and Moggallāna showing that both the chief disciples pre-deceased the Master. At the time the Buddha was staying at Ukkacelā or Ukkācca (s.v. *DPPN*.) on the Ganges in the Vajji country. There, the Buddha, observing the silent monks surrounding him, remarked that, as both the chief disciples have passed away, the Order appears to be empty "A wonder, a marvel of disciples", says he about the two, "to think how they carried out the master's teachings, how they gave advice accordingly, how dear to the fourfold company, how delightful, how revered and sought after they must be". In both these discourses the Buddha speaks of the impermanence of things. Although the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* does not mention the Buddha having stayed at Ukkacelā on his last journey, one can surmise that he made this statement while he was still on his journey to Kusinārā, since the passing away of the two chief disciples must have taken place during that period. It is also possible to place three events, viz. Sāriputta's lion's roar at Nālanda, the Buddha receiving the news of Sāriputta's passing away and the statement at Ukkacelā, chronologically in that order.

However, there is a problem about the location of the second event said to have taken place at Jetavana in Savatthi. The commentator also seems to have been faced with the problem. To resolve the problem he brings back the Buddha to Savatthi from Beluvagama where he spent his last rains retreat. The Buddha, it is said, returned to Sāvatthi, retracing his footsteps, along the same road he came to Beluvagama. Now Sāriputta too who had met the Buddha at Nālanda is brought back to Sāvatthi. Knowing that he has only seven days more to live, he visits the Buddha to bade him farewell. There he, with the Master's permission, performs many miracles amidst his last sermon. This is, significantly called *Sīha-nikīḷita* or 'lion's play' recalling his 'lion's roar' at Nālanda. He also affirms his faith in the Buddha again and again before taking his final leave (*SA*. III. 213 ff). With the rest of the *Saṅgha* following him for a short distance in farewell, he goes back to Nālagāmaka (Nālanda) to finally pass away.

Except for the fact that the Buddha is said to have received the news of Sāriputta's passing away at Sāvatthi the whole of this episode is unnecessary and illogical. The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* does not say anything of the sort, nor does it speak of Buddha returning to Savatthi from Beluvagama. Instead it speaks of his continuing his journey to Kusinārā. Moreover the Buddha fell precariously ill at Beluvagāma during the rains retreat. He was in fact thinking about the end of his life. But wanted to speak to the Order and his attendants before that and, with effort, suppressed his disease. At the end of the retreat Ananda expressed his concern about the Master's health. His only consolation was that the Buddha would not pass away without leaving some instructions for the Saṅgha. It was probably because of his weak condition that the Buddha tarried in Vesali for some time without continuing his journey. Still at Vesali, three months prior to his passing away, he announced at the Capāla Cetiya that he will pass away in three months (*D*. II.99 ff; 106). From Vesali the Buddha proceeds gradually to Pāvā where he received Cunda's meal of *Sūkara-maddava* (*ib*. 122ff.). With all these there could not have been any return to Sāvatthi by the Buddha. Buddhaghosa did not want to challenge the validity of the *Saṃyutta* discourse. Instead he made the Buddha to return to Sāvatthi and took the opportunity to arrange a grand farewell to Sāriputta, the greatest disciple of the Buddha. But one could conjecture that the Buddha received the news of his passing away between Nālanda in Magadha and Ukkacelā in the Vajjian country in a place unknown to us today. For some reason or other the reciters of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* have inserted the name of Sāvatthi as the place where the Buddha received the news. At Ukkacelā the Buddha expressed his views about the state of the *Saṅgha* after the passing away of the two chief disciples and their invaluable service to the *saṅgha* and the religion. The two chief disciples were said to have passed away within a fortnight from each other. Sāriputta on the full moon day of *Kattika* (October-November) and Mahā Moggallāna, two weeks later, on the new moon Sabbath day (*SA*. III. 225).

According to the *Saṃyutta* commentary, Sāriputta, after taking leave from the Buddha at Savatthi , walked to his native village Nālaka in Magadha, which he reached in seven days. There he spent his last night in the room where he was born. Five hundred monks in his following also were provided with accommodation by his mother. In the night he was taken ill grievously with dysentery (*lohitapakkhandika*) causing acute pain. It is said that many powerful gods like the four

great kings, Sakka and Mahābrahma visited him during the night. He was able to convince his mother of the greatness of the Buddha and the Dhamma and with his sermon she was established in the fruit of Stream Winning. Before day-break he assembled the monks and, sitting up with the help of Cunda, asked them to forgive him if he has offended them in any way during the forty four years of their association with him as a Buddhist Monk. Assuring that he had not offended them in any way, they in their turn begged for any offences they had committed. At the end he wiped his face with the robe and lay down for the last time. Then, entering various absorptions and emerging from them, he passed away at day break. Sāriputta's mother made all arrangements for the funeral which took place amidst a large concourse of both gods and men. (*ib*. 213 ff).

Sāriputta and the Buddha

Even before Sāriputta joined the Order of monks with his bosom friend Moggallāna the Buddha is said to have predicted that the two will become his chief disciples, "the lucky pair" (*bhaddhayugaṃ*) (*Vin*. I. 42). But there is no indication anywhere in canonical texts of their appointment as chief disciples. For such details we have to go to the commentaries. It is said that the Buddha made this appointment on the day Sāriputta attained arahantship. The same evening the Buddha assembled the Order of monks at Veluvana and announced their appointment. However, the sources say that this appointment was criticized by the monks for, they said, that the Buddha overlooked the seniority of others who were ordained before the two. Therefore the Buddha had to explain that this was an appointment that these two monks had aspired to achieve for many aeons in the past from the days of the Buddha Anomadassi (*DhA*. I. 87 ff). Naturally this was a later development. One cannot expect such criticism of the actions of the Buddha at such initial stages of the religion when the members of the Order, according to all records, were Arahants. This was also most probably a part of Buddhological development. For even according to some discourses, a pair of chief disciples, like Sāriputta and Mahā Moggallāna, was an important adjunct in the entourage of any Perfect Buddha. The *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*D*. II. 50) refers to such a pair of disciples, of the Buddha, Vipassi. Just as he has Sāriputta and Moggallāna as his Chief disciples says the Buddha, so did the Buddhas of the past had such a chief pair and, the Buddhas in the future also will each have such a pair. (s.v. 164).

The Buddha declared Sāriputta to be foremost among his disciple monks possessing great wisdom (*mahāpaññānam A*. I. 23). In one place (*Sn* . 554-557) answering the brahamin Sela the Buddha designated him the general of his army (*senāpati*) and the heir apparent who will roll the Dhamma-wheel after him (*sāriputto dhammacakkaṃ, anuvatteti*).Here too we find a Buddhological development where the Buddha calls himself a Peerless Monarch of the Dhamma who rolls the Dhamma-wheel which cannot be rolled back. Basing on this Sāriputta has come to be known in the Buddhist tradition as the Commander in chief of the Dhamma (*Dhamma-senāpati*).

On more than one occasion the Buddha has praised Sariputta profusely for his great wisdom, spiritual maturity and service for his religious brethren. On one such occasion (*M*. III. 248 ff) the Buddha, having referred to the four Noble Truths given in the first sermon, instructs the monks to associate Sāriputta and Moggallāna who are wise men (*paṇḍitā*) and patrons (*ānuggāhakā*) of the Order of monks. Sāriputta is like a mother (*janetti*) to them, says the Buddha and, Moggallāna is like a wet nurse (*āpādetā*). Sāriputta trains them in the fruit of Stream winning (*Sotāpattipahala*) and Moggallāna in the highest gain (*uttamatthe*). Apparently the attainment of Stream-winning, which is the first conversion, was considered to be more difficult. Once it is attained the final awakening (*sambodhi*) is definite. Possibly only a mild push is enough to reach there. Therefore Sāriputta has the more difficult task like giving birth to a baby. Sariputta continued the disquisition to the satisfaction of the monks. The whole *Anupada Sutta* (*ibid*. 25 ff) is an eulogy of Sāriputta by the Buddha. There the Buddha details how Sariputta, for half a month reflected continuously on the mental states in each of the nine attainments (*samāpatti*), from the first *jhāna* to the *saññāvedayita nirodha*. The commentary states that continuing this uninterrupted insight into things for a fortnight Sāriputta realized Arahantship. It adds that, having attained that position Sāriputta knew that, except for Buddhas and Pacceka Buddhas, there is no disciple who can attain what he has realized in wisdom (*MA*. IV. 86). The Buddha eulogized Sāriputta's wisdom in many terms. "a proficient monk is Sāriputta, of great wisdom, of wide wisdom, bright

wisdom, swift wisdom, acute wisdom, and of piercing wisdom is Sāriputta", were the terms used by him. At the end of the discourse the Master says that if any one could say of a person that he is the lord's own son, born of his mouth, born of *dhamma*, formed by *dhamma*, an heir to *dhamma*, not an heir to material things." This could rightly be said of Sāriputta. He rolls on rightly the incomparable wheel of *dhamma* set rolling by the Tathāgata.

Once, discussing with a number of well known colleagues of his on the question as to who could beautify the Gosiṅga Wood, where they were at the time, on a moonlit night, Sāriputta states that one who could dwell with the mind in control and not under the control of the mind and, dwells, as he wills, in any state of the mind, at any time of the day or night, can beautify the Gosiṅga Wood. When they, at the end, took their view to the Buddha he stated that here Sāriputta is speaking out his own nature and his own conduct in the day (*M.* I. 218 f). On another occasion the Buddha praised Sāriputta for dwelling the mental state of emptiness (*suññatā-vihāra*). For said the Buddha, by that Sāriputta was dwelling in full in the abiding of a super-man (*mahāpurisa-vihāra* *M.* III. 294). His passing away was compared by the Buddha to the rotting away of a great limb from a mighty tree standing firm and sturdy. (*S.*IV. 163 f).

On more than one occasion the Buddha has fully endorsed and certified the purity of Sāriputta. At a certain invitation (*pavārana*) ceremony, where five hundred Arahants with Sāriputta were present with the Buddha, the Buddha first invited the *Saṅgha* to point out, if any bodily or verbal action of his which should be condemned. On behalf of the *Saṅgha*, Sāriputta spoke out absolving the Buddha of any such offence. Then Sāriputta invited the *Saṅgha*, to point out any offence done by him. The Buddha, speaking on behalf of the assembly absolved Sariputta of any such offences assuring his purity. He went on to eulogize Sariputta by pointing out his many qualities of wisdom and leadership. (*ibid.* I. 190 f).

Sāriputta and the Dhamma

There are many discourses independently delivered by Sāriputta. There are also others resulting from expansions made by him on brief statements of the Buddha or from discussions with the Buddha or some other fellow member of the Order. One such discourse is the *Anaṅgana Sutta* (*M.* 124 ff). Here he enumerates four persons with and without blemishes and gives a detailed disquisition at Moggallāna's request. Three other discourses of Sariputta are the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* (*ib.* 46 ff) the *Mahāhatthipadopama sutta* (*ib.* 184 ff) and his discourse on internal and external bonds. (*A.* I. 63).

There are many instances where Sāriputta proved his skill in answering queries put to him by the Buddha and also showed his profound knowledge of the Dhamma and spiritual maturity. At the end of one discussion he was asked by the Buddha on what account he has confessed emancipatory knowledge. He answered that it is by the emancipation from within that he makes such a declaration. "By the destruction of all grasping I live with such a clear mind that the intoxicants flow no more and I do not despise myself". The Buddha approves his answer and says that this is the manner in which a monk makes an *aññā* declaration in brief. Later Sāriputta tells his colleagues, that he hesitated at first, but after the Buddha approved his first answer he would have gone answering his questions continuously for even seven days and nights at length. Reporting this statement to the Buddha Kalāra Khattiya called it 'a lion's roar' of Sāriputta, the first such attributed to him (*S.* II. 50 ff).

Often the Buddha, having given a brief statement of the Dhamma, would retire leaving the monks to get a clarification from a senior colleague like Sāriputta or Moggallāna. Sometimes the Buddha himself would instruct them to approach a particular senior disciple for details. Ven. Sāriputta, in this manner, delivered the *Dhammadāyāda Sutta* (*M.* I. 13 ff). The *Sevitabba :–asevitabba Sutta* (*ib.* III. 45) was delivered by Sāriputta in the presence of the Buddha, in detailing each section given in brief by the Buddha. But once, when the Buddha queried him on a *Parāyana* verse, Sariputta at first remained silent, but later led on by the Buddha, he gradually started to explain it with the Buddha himself delivering the final summing up. (*S.* II. 47 ff).

Sāriputta is also credited with participating in a number of interesting discussions with his well known colleagues in the Saṅgha. *Mahavedalla Sutta* (*M.* I. 292 ff) is one such instance where Sariputta answers a series of questions on the Dhamma put to him by

Mahākotthita. Similarly the *RathavinitaSutta* is a dialogue between Sariputta and Punnamantāniputta (ib. 14 ff). Yet in this instance Sariputta is the interrogator and the answers given by Punna. It is interesting to note here that neither of them knew the identity of the other until the conclusion of the discussion. References are also found in texts to discussions Sariputta had with other monks like Yamaka (*S.* III, 109 ff), Samiddhi (*A.* IV 385), Udāyi (*ib* 414 ff) and Candikaputta (*ib.* 403ff). Of special importance here is how Sāriputta corrects a wrong representation of Devadatta's views by Candikāputta. Having put the record straight Sāriputta went on to give a detailed explanation of it. Apparently it must have happened before Devadatta fell out with the Buddha.

According to the *Mahāgosinga Sutta* the expert on *Abhidhamma* was Mahāmoggallāna (*M.* 1.214,218) because the Buddha himself confirms that he is an expert on exposition of the *Dhamma* (*dhammakathiko*). But it was to Sariputta that the later Theravāda tradition attributed the transmission of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* from the Buddha to the Community of Monks. It is said that when the Buddha preached *Abhidhamma* to gods, headed by his mother reborn as Mātudeva in the Tāvatimsa world, he met Sāriputta daily at the lunch time of the human world at the Anotatta lake and passed on to him all what he had preached that day to devas. All this Sāriputta learnt by heart and later transmitted them to his own five hundred pupils. It is stated that the Buddha gave only the method or the sense (*naya*) and Sāriputta understood it in a hundred fold or a thousand fold manner. In transmitting it to his pupils he determined the wording and the textual order of the *Abhidhamma*. Therefore the word order (*vācanāmagga*) and the textual order (*mahāpakaraṇa-gaṇanācāro*) of the Pāli *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* are his. But the Buddha who realized it at the foot of the Bodhi-tree was the first Abhidhammist (*DhsA.* 16 f). The *Abhidhamma*, consisting of the seven texts, was recited by the five hundred Arahants of the First Council. But the Sarvastivāda tradition attributes the authorship of only one of their seven *Abhidharma* texts to Śāriputra. According to Prof. Takakusu it was the *Dharmaskandha* which, was attributed to him.[2] There are, of course, other views on this (s.v. Sarvāstivāda). The attribution of the origin and development of *Abhidhamma* to Sāriputta must be a later development based on his fame as the foremost in wisdom among the Buddha's disciples. Two other well-known discourses attributed to him are the *Saṅgiti* (*D.* III. 194 ff) and the *Dasuttara Suttantas* (*ibid.* 272 ff). Both of them are collections of important doctrinal terms scattered throughout the *Sutta Piṭaka*, arranged in an ascending numerical order. Since the *Abhidhamma* itself was at first designated *Mātikā*, a sort of tabulated summary, and *Abhidhamma* works like the *Dhammasaṅganī* opens with such a summary, it is possible that these discourses were a precursor to the *Abhidhamma*. The association of Sāriputta's name with these two discourses and the *Abhidhamma* may also be related to this fact.

Sāriputta and the Saṅgha

Statements made by the Buddha eulogizing Sāriputta and Moggallāna after their passing away show the great esteem in which they were held by the Master regarding their services to the fourfold Order of his disciples consisting of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. The two elders not only carried out the Buddha's teachings but also instructed others on it. They were always helpful to them and were sought after by them.

Sāriputta's service to the Saṅgha in keeping its integrity and discipline is well known. But in taking appropriate steps in this direction they were always based on fairness and compassion. Once he admonished the monks how one should set about accusing another of an offence. One should, says Sariputta, accuse another at the proper time (*kālena*), based on facts (*bhūtena*), softly (*saṇhena*), having regard to welfare (*atthasaṃhitena*) and with loving kindness at heart (*mettacittena*). One who wishes to accuse another should be careful to keep these five qualities at heart in doing so (*A.* III. 196). The Buddha expected and received necessary assistance from certain senior members of the Order like Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ananda and Mahā Kassapa in keeping the discipline among the members of the Order. In one place he tells Ananda, who accused a pupil of Anuruddha in trying to create dissentions in the Order and found fault with Anuruddha in not speaking a word on it amidst the Sangha, that either he, Ananda, Sariputta or Moggallāna should play a key role in settling such disputes. One cannot expect much from Anuruddha in such matters, says the Master (*ib.* II. 239).

Sāriputta's capability to identify subtle weaknesses in his junior colleagues and helping them out of them to make them advance on their spiritual quest is seen in the manner he helped Anuruddha to realize Arahantship. Sariputta saw his colleague's subtle weaknesses and was forthright in revealing them. You are conceited (*māna*) agitated (*uddhacca*) and worried (*kukkucca*) said the Elder. He should remove these harmful thoughts and without thinking about them should focus his mind on the deathless. Following his instructions Anuruddha was able to finally realize Arahantship (*ib*.1. 281f).

Sāriputta's concern for the integrity of the Order was proverbial. When the troublesome Kosambian monks converged on Sāvatthi he immediately sought the Buddha's advice how to deal with them. "As the Dhamma is, so take your stand", was the master's instruction (*yathādhammo tathā tiṭṭhāhi Vin.* 1, 354). When Devadatta caused dissension in the Order and went to Gayāsisa with a group of breakaway monks, it was Sariputta and Moggallāna who were sent by the Buddha to bring them back. He knew their integrity and capability. The mission was a success and all the five hundred were brought back into the Order. When the two chief disciples were leaving for Gayāsisa, one monk thought that they were also following Devadatta. But the Buddha had the fullest confidence in them. "It is impossible" said the Buddha, "and there is no room for the two of them to be pleased with Devadatta's teachings". It is said that Sāriputta used the 'miracle of reading other's thoughts in instructing Devadatta's following (*ādesanāpāṭihāriyānusāsaniyā*) while Moggallāna used the 'miracle of psychic power' in instructing them (*iddhipāṭihāriya... Vin.* II 199ff). It was to the lot of Sāriputta, on the instructions of the Buddha the Sangha carried out a formal act of information (*pakāsanakamma*) on Devadatta and selected Sāriputta to proclaim it in Rājagaha that for whatever Devadatta does by word or deed he himself should be held responsible and the Buddha, the Dhamma or the Saṅgha should not be held responsible for any of them. Sāriputta, however, was at first reluctant to shoulder this responsibility because earlier he had declared in Rājagaha that Devadatta, Godhi's son, is of great psychic power, and of great majesty. But he had to admit that at the time he said a correct thing and now too, with the change in Devadatta's character, he is not expected to declare an untruth. With the Buddha leading him to see the correct position Sāriputta agreed to carryout the responsibility entrusted to him by the Saṅgha. Earlier we saw how Sāriputta had to correct a misinterpretation by a monk of a view declared by Devadatta. They must have been close friends at the time. Yet as a person of responsibility he may have to perform certain unpleasant tasks, however correct they were, for the sake of the integrity of the Order (*ib*. 188 ff).

Sāriputta's close friendship with Mahā Moggallāna from their early lives was referred to above. This continued throughout their lives as the two chief disciples of the Buddha. The Buddha had the highest regard for their leadership and service. The Buddha once held up the pair to his disciple monks as the ideal and the standard for their lives as monks. If any one of them, should have any aspiration, it must be to emulate the lives of one of them, admonished the Master (*A*. II. 164).

Puṇṇa Mantāniputta was one of Sāriputta's fellow monks for whom he had the greatest regards. When he got the opportunity to meet him the two engaged in a long *dhamma* discussion resulting in the *Ratavinīta Sutta* (*M*. I. 145 ff). All this time the discussion took place without the two participants not knowing each other's identity. This was an important point in early Buddhist history where the personal identity was often disregarded in such conversations. As in this case the identities were revealed at the end of the discussions or from the contents of the discussion However once the identities were revealed the two Elders showered each other with profuse praise complementing each other.

Ananda was another member of the Order who had the highest regard for Sāriputta. Ananda's answer to the query raised by the Buddha, whether he also approves Sāriputta, speaks volumes on the high regard he had for this great chief disciple. "Who, O Lord, who is not a fool, not wicked, not stupid or not of perverted mind, would not approve of Venerable Sāriputta"? In a long list of phrases of appreciation Ananda speaks of Sāriputta's wisdom, thinness of his desires, contentedness, love of seclusion detachment and energy. He is called an exciting preacher, acceptor of advice, critic and one censuring evil (*S*. i. 63 f).

Sāriputta's great concern for his colleagues is shown by his efforts taken to dissuade Channa from

committing suicide. He even offered to keep him supplied with food and medicine and further, if he has no attendant, to take up that duty as well (ib. IV. 55 ff). Sāriputta's compassion and concern for the welfare of his fellow members and his modesty are aptly illustrated by this instance.

Monks often came to Sāriputta seeking his advice on knotty problems on the *dhamma* as well as on ecclesiastical matters. Once when a monk reported to Sāriputta of the disrobing of a pupil, he gave three reasons for such a thing viz. unrestrained senses, not knowing the limits of taking food and the inability to keep awake. Such a person cannot, says Sāriputta, keep to the pure and complete religious life for a full life time (*ib.* 103 f). When on a similar matter, Sāriputta was informed of the disrobing of Moliyaphagguna, he said, that the venerable one would not have found satisfaction in this religious life and philosophy (*ib.* II.50).

Two interesting queries were put to Sāriputta, one by Mahakoṭṭhita and the other by Upavana. Mahakoṭṭhita's query was on the state of a person who has reached the passionless ending, without remainder, of the six spheres of contact. Here Sāriputta does not give a positive or a negative answer. Nor does he combine the two opposites or negate the two opposites. By admitting any of these four extremes, says he, one would merely proliferate what is free from proliferation (*appapañcaṃ papañceti*). For both, the six spheres of contact and proliferation are co-extensive. By passionless ending of the former all proliferations cease and are calmed (*papañcanirodha* and *papañca-vūpasama*). It is an instance demonstrating Sāriputta's profound freedom of the mind. Equally significant is his reply to the query raised by Upavana. Upavana queried whether there could be an end-maker (*antakaro*) by knowledge (*vijjāya*). The idea raised seems to be on liberation. "Not in this case" was the reply. He also denied end-making by conduct (*caraṇa*), or both knowledge and conduct, or without any of them (*aññattra vijjācaraṇena*). If the first three cases are accepted then it should be an end-making with grasping (*savupādāno*). If the last one is accepted then there could be an ending for an ordinary man (*puthujjana*) who, devoid of both knowledge and conduct, does not see or know things as they have come to be (*yathābhūtaṃ*). Only with latter qualities could one be an end-maker (*ib.* 163 f.). This is yet another example how Sāriputta tackled subtle problems that came to him.

Sāriputta and the Laity and the non Buddhist Religieux

Among the names associated with Sāriputta are those of a few non-Buddhist religieux. One of them was the wandering ascetic Jambukhādaka. One day he met Sāriputta and got clarifications from him on a number of terms used by the Buddha. The first was the term Nibbāna which the Elder explained as the eradication of attachment, hate and delusion reached by the Noble Eightfold Path. Sāriputta also clarified a number of other Buddhist terms to Jambukhādaka (*S.* IV. 25 ff). Another wandering ascetic named Samaṇḍaka also got clarifications from Sāriputta on the terms Nibbāna and *dukkhara*, ' hard to achieve', in the Buddha's teachings (ib. 261 f). On two other occasions the same person queried on the terms *sukha* and *dukkha* from the Elder (*A.* V. 120 ff). In a post canonical commentary is found the story of how Sāriputta answered a thousand questions put to him by a female ascetic and vanquished her in disputation. She could not answer the single question put to her by the *Thera*. Actually it was only Sāriputta who took up her challenge to debate with her. Later she was ordained by the Buddha and came to be known as the *bhikkhunī* Kuṇḍalakesī (*DhA.* II. 222 ff). This proves the prowess of *Sāriputta* in debate spoken of in Buddhist Sanskrit stories.

Nakula's father (Nakulapitā) and his wife were devout followers of the Buddha. Once the former listened to a sermon by the Buddha and at the end visited the Elder Sāriputta. "Your demeanour is very calm" said the Elder to him, "and the complexion of your skin is clear and pure". Hearing from him of the Buddha's sermon Sāriputta queried whether he did not seek a clarification of certain terms from the Buddha. Knowing that he did not, Sāriputta clarified the terms to him. He explained how both the body and mind of a person could be sick and how there could be a healthy mind in a sick body. (*S.* III. 2ff).

Visiting the sick in the monastery and the lay disciples at their homes, with or without an invitation,

was a duty attended to by the Buddha and his disciples. Twice Sāriputta was invited to the bedside of Anāthapiṇḍika who was grievously ill. Both occasions he went to the sick person with Ven. Ananda. On the first occasion he brought to Anathapiṇdka's mind his qualities as a Stream-winner and helped him to overcome his illness. His recovery was immediate and he could even feed the two monks with food prepared for himself (s.v. 380 ff). On the second occasion he was not so successful. Sāriputta, in fact, was destined to give the final religious talk to the devout layman. His profound talk brought tears to the sick man's eyes. He had never been offered such profound instructions by the Buddha. They are reserved for the ordained ones, was Sāriputta's reply. He requested Sāriputta not to preclude the laity from listening to such profound things. As soon as the two monks left the lay disciple passed away and was reborn in the Tusita world. The discourse adds that the god Anāthapiṇḍika visited the Buddha the same night and expressed to the Buddha his appreciation of Sāriputta's high spiritual qualities. (*M*. III. 258 ff).

Another layman who heard his last Dhamma sermon from Sāriputta was the brahamin Dhanañjani. He had been a close associate of the Elder for a long time. But during a long absence of the Elder from Rājagaha many negative changes had occurred in Dhanañjani's life. His wife who was a faithful devotee of the Buddha had died and another woman from a non-Buddhist family had filled her place. He had started to fleece the king on account of brahamins and householders and fleece the latter on account of the king. Sāriputta heard all this from a monk who had come from Rājagaha. As soon as he returned to Rājagaha he visited Dhanañjani whose excuse for his change for the worse was that he has to maintain his parents, wife and children, and servants and do his duties by friends, kinsmen, guests, ancestors, gods and the king and also has to look after his own welfare. Sāriputta's reply was that none of these will be taken as a valid excuse for his unethical activities by the warders of the hell. There are ways and means of achieving all these righteously and he should try to lead a righteous life. Later Sāriputta was called to the bedside of the dying Dhanañjani. There he instructed him to raise himself up mentally from the level of the hell to that of the world of Brahma. Finally, instructing him to permeate all directions with loving kindness which is the path to the world of Brahma, he left. Soon Dhanañjani passed away to be reborn in the Brahma world. But the Buddha found fault with Sāriputta for leaving the brahamin when he could have done much more to help him. The Elder's reply was that these brahamins loved to be united with Brahma. (*M*. II. 184 ff). Anyhow, the account is a good illustration of Sāriputta's humane qualities.

Sāriputta in Buddhological Developments

Above we referred to the statement attributed to the Buddha in several discourses that, like his pair of chief disciples, Sariputta and Mahā Moggallāna, the Buddhas of the past too possessed and the Buddhas of the future also will possess a similar pair of chief disciples. Thus already at the canonical stage the need of such a pair had been conceived. Further to this also was shown that Sariputta was designated the 'Crown Prince' of the Buddha compared to a Universal Monarch (*cakkavatti*). He will move the Wheel of Dhamma set rolling by the Buddha and, hence, is called the commander in chief of the Dhamma (*dhamma senāpati*). Thus Sariputta had already secured a niche in the developing Buddhological concept.

The late canonical work, *Apadāna*, describes how Sāriputta, in a previous life secured his first firm declaration of his future chief discipleship of a Buddha from Buddha Anomadassi. At that time he was an ascetic named Suruci living in a hermitage situated in beautiful surroundings in the Himalayan forests. He had a following of twenty four thousand brahamin pupils. One day the Buddha Anomadassi, who was at the time on retreat in the same forest, visited Suruci who made an offering of flowers he had collected to the Buddha. At that time, knowing the Buddha's wish, his chief disciple Sarabha also arrived there with a large following of pupil monks. In this assembly the Buddha Anomadassi revealed that innumerable aeons from thence (*aparameyye ito kappe*) Suruci will become chief disciple named Sāriputta of the Buddha Gotama.[1]

However the *Apadāna* commentary (*SHB*. XXIX. p. 175 ff.) and the *Dhammapada* Commentary (DhA. I. p. 87 ff). give a somewhat different version of the story. In it the name of the Brahamin ascetic is Sarada and he had 74,000 pupils. He, with his pupils, offered the Buddha and his disciples, led by the two chief disciples, seats of flowers made by heaping up flowers collected by their psychic power. The Buddha and

the disciples sat on these seats for seven days absorbed in the 'attainment of cessation' (*nirodha samāpatti*). Sarada stood by the Buddha holding a sun-shade of flowers above the Buddha. At the end Sarada declared his resolve to be a chief disciple like Nisabha who, at the request of the Buddha, had given a sermon based on the knowledge of the perfections of a disciple (*sāvaka pāramiñāṇe ṭhatvā*). The Buddha made a firm declaration that this resolution will succeed in the dispensation of the Buddha Gotama after one incalculable and one hundred thousand aeons. The *Apadāna* and the commentarial versions possibly had different origins.

It is said that Mahamoggallana reached the climax of the knowledge of perfections of a disciple (*sāvaka pārami ñāṇa*) one week after ordination and Sariputta did the same two weeks after ordination (*DhA*. I. 796) Arahant Nisabha, chief disciple of the Buddha Anomadassi, delivered his sermon to ascetic Sarada and others, basing on his knowledge of perfections of disciples (*ibid*. 92) which he himself had perfected. Here we see the development of a new concept of perfections of a disciple (*sāvaka-pārami*). Climax of these perfections is reached by Sāriputta by listening to the sermon of the Buddha. (*ibid*. IV. 75).

Another important development is seen in the *Jātaka* commentary where important disciples of the Buddha like Sāriputta and other prominent characters connected with the life of the Buddha were said to have been associated with him in his previous lives as well. Thus the *Jātaka* commentary identifies various individuals in the stories with those associated with the Buddha in his final life. Naturally, however, persons like Sāriputta are always supporters of the chief character of the story, the Bodhisatta, and never in a group of his opponents. (s.v. Sāriputta thera *DPPN*.)

Some personal Qualities of Sāriputta

In the above account reference was made now and again to certain personal qualities of the chief disciple Sāriputta. The Buddha himself has often pointed out his concern for the welfare of his fellow members of the Order. The story of the Brahmin Dhanañjani shows his great care for the spiritual wellbeing of his associates. After receiving the negative report of his friend's conduct, he rushed to see him immediately upon returning to Rājagaha. The brahamin was still milking his cows when Sāriputta visited him. To Channa he offered to look after him personally. His position as the chief disciple and seniority did not deter him when the offer was made. There was no one in the Order to ordain an old man kike the brahamin Rādha. Out of gratitude for a mere spoonful of rice received from him he offered to take up the responsibility and even took him with him on his alms rounds. He admonished him to promote his spiritual wellbeing (*Vin*. I. 55, *ThagA*. III. 101, *DhA*. II. 104 ff). The commentaries have many stories relating to various positive personal qualities of Sariputta. Like the Buddha he is said to have customarily gone round the monastery inquiring about the health and wellbeing of the fellow members. Once he met a monk named Samitagutta in the infirmary suffering from a severe skin ailment. He instructed the monk on the reflection on Feelings (*vedanānupassanā*) following which Samitagutta attained arahantship (*ThgA*. 186).

Sāriputta was quite meticulous about the observation of the rules of discipline set by the Buddha.To him the Buddha explained seven grounds on which a monk could be declared a "praiseworthy monk" (*niddaso bhikkhu*).The first of these is one's keen eagerness to take over the precepts and also the steadfastness in the zeal to continue in observing them (*A*. IV. 36) Sariputta himself once identified seven objects a monk should honour, respect and rely on if he wishes to abandon evil and develop good qualities. The first of these is training (*sikkhā*). Later the Buddha approved them (*ibid*. 120 ff). Thus when Sāriputta was requested to ordain a youngster of a family devoted to his service he refused because, by rule he could keep only one novice. The Buddha had to amend the rule to allow Sariputta to ordain the youngster (*Vin*. I. 83). The Buddha has to change the rule prohibiting eating of garlic to allow *Sariputta* to take it as a medicine (*ibid*. II. 140). Buddhaghosa also relates a story to illustrate Sariputta's strict disciplinary principles. Once Mahā Moggallāna brought to Sāriputta a medicinal porridge he received from a family of devotees. The two elders had discussed beforehand about this medicinal porridge as a cure for a stomach ailment from which Sāriputta used to suffer often. A deva who overheard this informed the particular devotee family to prepare it and serve it to Mahā Moggallāna next day. Reflecting how his

colleague would have got it Sāriputta saw the whole series of events and refused to accept it, for it would be a blot on the purity of his livelihood (*ājiva-pārisuddhi*). He himself had told Moggallāna that his mother used to give him such a preparation. With his refusal Moggallana had no qualms but to throw out the whole thing. It is said Sāriputta's ailment disappeared then and there never to appear again (*Vism*. 335) Sariputta's eagerness to limit his intake of food is illustrated by the story of his vowing not to eat a certain meal cake he was fond of eating (*J*. I.310). Probably his capability in training pupils prompted the Buddha to make him the teacher and mentor of young Rahula. It was Sāriputta who ordained him a novice (*Vin*. I. 82). Rāhula was given the meditation on the subject of mindfulness in and out breathing (*ānāpana sati*) of which Rāhula got a detailed explanation from the Buddha. (*M*. I 420 ff).

Sāriputta had a great respect for his teachers. *Sāmpasādaniya Sutta* (*D*. III. 99 ff.) is a good illustration of his great respect for and faith in the Buddha. When he decided to leave Sañjaya it was he who persuaded Moggallāna to go and inform Sañjaya of their decision and invite him to join them (*Vin*. I 42). The *Mahāvastu* (III. 63) tells that Śāriputra convinced a reluctant Maudgalyāyana to go to Sañjaya as it was under him that they first left worldly life and, because he was of great service to him. Pāli commentaries also speak highly of Sāriputta's respect for Assaji, his first Buddhist teacher. It is said in the *Apadāna*[4] that Sāriputta slept always with his head in the direction where his teacher Assaji was at the time. The *Nava Sutta*, it is said, was delivered by the Buddha with reference to this practice of Sāriputta (*SnA*. I. 325 ff).

Sāriputta is said to have possessed great patience. It is reported that once a brahamin sturck him a blow to test his patience. The Elder did not even take notice of it. Later he pardoned the brahamin and took his mead seated in the brahamin's house (*DhA*. IV 146 f). There is also a story of a Yakkha giving a might blow on his head and falling into hell as a result. The stanza uttered by the Buddha in his context shows that Sariputta did not return anger by anger and that his mind stands unshaken like a rock (*Ud*. IV. 4). Sariputta had the humility and the readiness to admit a fault pointed out by any one, even his junior, and correct it. Once a novice pointed out that the fold of the Elder's lower garment is hanging down and instructed that he should drape the garment round the body. He readily accepted the accusation of the novice "as if on his forehead" and, withdrawing to a little, distance, draped his under robe properly and thanked the novice for his alertness. He said "for those like us even this much is a fault" (*ThgA*. III. 103). The Elder Sariputta was ready to show his gratitude even for the slightest favour shown to him. The story of the brahamin Radha ordained by him in gratitude for a mere spoonful of rice received from him is a good example (*Vin*. I 55 f.; *ThgA*. III. 101).

C. Witanachchi

References

1. *Chinese Accounts of India*, Hieun Thsiang, tr. Samuel Beal, Susil Gupta (India) Limited, Calcutta, 1958 p. 389
2. *ibid* pp. 213; 218; 389
3. *Apadana, ibid*. vv. 173 ff.
4. Ibid. v. 369

SĀRIPUTTA (2): Sāriputta, the *Tīkācāri* is the most erudite Thera of the Polonnaruwa period, who was among the key figures of the religious and literary revival of the period. Being the author of two important ṭīkās (sub commentaries) he is known as *Ṭīkācāri*. He is supposed to have possessed an extraordinary memory and it is said that he was able to remember anything after hearing or reading it once only. Therefore he was called "*Eka 'śrutidhāri'* ". Another epithet which described his erudity is "*Sāgaramati*" the ocean of knowledge[1]. He was second in position only to his teacher Udumbaragiri (Dimbulāgala Kāsyapa).

Early life of Ven. Sāriputta: Nothing is known about the early part of his life. Some say that he was of Cola origin. But it has not been established. He was the chief pupil of Ven. Udumbaragiri (Dimbulāgala) Kāsyapa, president of Parākramabāhu's convocation. He has had another teacher named Sumedha who is referred to by him in his *Sāratthadīpani* preface.

Parākramabāhu I and Ven Sāriputta: He was a contemporary of Parākramabāhu I (1153-86 A.C.). He was the king's advisor. There appear to have had an intimate relationship between them. Ven. Sāriputta

always refers to the king and his great services to the *Sāsana* in his works. The king built a magnificent *vihāra* at Jetavana monastery specially for him, which was adorned with hundreds of palaces, surrounded by various shady trees, endowed with cool waters.

Teneva kārite ramme pāsādasata maṇḍite
Nānāduma gaṇākiṇṇe bhāvanābhiratālaye
Sītalūdaka sampanne....[2]
(*Pali Muttaka Vinaya Vinicchaya* Preface).

In his prologue to his *ṭīkā* on the *Manorathapūraṇī* Ven. Sāriputta says that the king's treatment to him was unprecedented.

Tenāhamaccanta manuggahīto
Anañña sādhārana saṅgahena
Yasmā parakkantibhujavhayena

Ven. Sāriputta's works: There are several Pali works to his credit, among which the *Sāratthadīpanī* his sub commentary (*ṭīkā*) to the *Samantapāsādikā*, the Vinaya commentary is recognized as his outstanding work. Prof. Malalasekera calls it the most comprehensive and a masterpiece. Malalasekera further commends him thus :

"The immense amount of valuable information he has collected therein shows that his knowledge was extensive and profound, and that he was not second to the great commentator (Buddhaghosa) himself in exegetical ability". (Malalasekera, G.P. *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, 1928, p. 192)

Sāriputta's next important treatise is the *Vinayasaṅgaha* or the *Pāli Muttaka-vinaya vinicchaya*, a summary of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. He says that it was composed on an invitation made by King Parākramabāhu (*ajjhesito narindena svāham Parakkamabāhunā*) while residing at Jetavana monastery built by the king himself.

Ven. Sāriputta was also called upon to write the sub commentary to the *Manorathapūraṇī*, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* commentary which Dhammapala, who wrote sub commentaries to the commentaries of the first three *Nikāyas*, could not accomplish, probably due to his failing health. The sub commentary concerned is named the *Sāratthamañjusā*. Ven. Sāriputta has recorded that he composed it on an invitation extended to him by King Parākramabāhu, in the midst of the Saṅgha.

Further he is reported to have written the *Visuddhipātha Saṅgaha*, *Kammaṭṭhāna Saṅgaha*, *Maṅgalasutta Ṭīkā* and a Sinhalese *sanna* for *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha*. However the *Visuddhipātha Saṅgaha*, the *Kammaṭṭhāna Saṅgaha* *Mangalasutta Ṭīkā* are not extant.

Like all the other learned men of the period he was a clever Sanskrit scholar as well and wrote a *Ṭīkā* on Ratnasrijñāna's *Pañjikā* to the *Candragomi-Vyākaraṇa*. This was called the *Ratnamati Pañjikā Ṭīkā* or *Pañjikā- Ṭīkā* or *Pañjikālankāra*. He is also credited with having written a concise grammar in Sanskrit called *Padāvatāra*, which is apparently lost.

Pupils: It is observed that Ven. Sāriputta has produced a number of pupils who were equally erudite and they too have composed several Pali treatises and contributed to the religious and literary revival of the day. Ven. Saṅgharakkhita is reckoned as the chief of his pupils. An expert in grammar Ven. Saṅgharakkhita composed the *Vuttodaya*, a work on Pāli prosody, the *Subodhālaṅkara*, a work on Pali rhetorics the *Susaddasiddhi*, a subsidiary grammatical work on the *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa* and a sub commentary on the *Khuddasikkhā* named the *Sumaṅgalappasādini*. Ven. Saṅgharakkhita was the tutor of King Paṇḍita Parakramabāhu of Jambudroni (Dambadeniya). Ven. Sumaṅgala who was a pupil of Ven. Sāriputta was a master of Abhidhamma. He was the author of *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvini* a sub commentary on Ven. Anuruddha's *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, a handbook on Abhidhamma and the *Abhidhammatthavibhāvini* a sub commentary of the *Abhidhammāvatāra* of Ven. Buddhadatta.

Ven. Vācissara was also another erudite scholar pupil of Ven. Sāriputta. His well-known treatise was *Pāli Thūpavamsa*. He also wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Vinayavinicchaya* and the *Simālaṅkāra Saṅgaha*. He has several sub commentaries to his credit such as the *Līnatthadīpani*, a sub commentary on the *Saddhammapakāskini*, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* commentary. Further he also wrote two glosses on the *Saccasaṅkhepa* and the *Visuddhimagga* in Sinhalese. Ven. Dharmakirti was another distinguished pupil of Sāriputta. He wrote the Pali *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* that

gives the history of the Tooth Relic. Moreover Medhankara or Udumbaragiri Medhankara was also among the distinguished pupils of Ven. Sāriputta. He was the author of the *Vinayārtha Samuccaya*, a handbook of *Vinaya* in Sinhalese.

How Ven. Sāriputta's pupils saw their teacher: It would be interesting to examine how the pupils of Ven. Sāriputta have referred to their celebrated and beloved teacher. In addition, it would facilitate to ascertain the position held by Ven. Sāriputta among the contemporary monks and his erudity. Ven. Dhammakitti, the author of the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* calls him a master of all the sciences and an expert in all the religions.

"Sabbēsu Ācariyataṃ pāramaṃ gatassa
Satthesu sabbasmayantra kovidassa"

Ven. Sangharakkhita in his preamble to his *Khuddasikkhā Ṭīkā* pays his homage to his teacher Ven. Sāriputta thus:

Sāriputtaṃ mahāsāmiṃ nekasattha visāradaṃ
Mahāguṇaṃ mahāpaññaṃ name me sirasāgaruṃ

I salute Sāriputta Mahāsāmi of great virtues and great wisdom, master of various sciences.

Ven. Sumaṅgala in his *Abhidhammāvatāra Ṭīkā* extols him as an expert in the teachings of the Buddha (*sāriputtaṃ mahā theraṃ pariyatti visāradaṃ*).

At the end of Ven. Sāriputta's *Abhidhammattha saṅgahasaṇṇa*, one of his pupils has described his teacher thus:

Yaṃ cande candabhūtaṃ nisitakaramatiṃ pāninim pāninīye
Sabbasmiṃ takkasatthe pātutaramatayo kattubhūtaṃva taṃ taṃ
Maññante kālidāsaṃ kavijanahadayānandabhūtaṃ kavitte
Sāyaṃ lokatthasiddhiṃ vitaratu racanā tassa sāriputtassa.

'Let this work of Ven. Sāriputta, who is comparable to the author Candragomi in respect of *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, Pānini in respect of *Pānini Vyākaraṇa*, the authors of logic books in respect of the logical sciences and the poet Kālidasa in the field of poetry, may benefit to the world."

Ven. Sāriputta appointed to the supreme position of Mahāsāmi: It is significant that Ven. Sāriputta was appointed to the supreme position of Mahāsāmi, when it was created for the first time. The position was created for the first time after the *saṅgha* was unified in 1165 A.C. under the patronage of King Parakramabāhu (1153-86). But Ven. Udumbaragiri (Dimbulagala) -Kāsyapa, the president of Parākramabāhu's convocation and the most senior prelate declined to accept the position, apparently as he was a constant forest dweller (*sadā āraññavāsi*). Consequently the responsibility fell on the next senior prelate, Ven. Sāriputta, his senior pupil. Thus Ven. Sāriputta was appointed to the supreme position of Mahāsāmi and he became the first to hold the position. He appears to have adorned the chair of Mahāsāmi from about 1166- to 1196 A.C.

However there is no record of his death, but he appears to have enjoyed long life. Ven. Mogallāna, the grammarian succeeded him as the second Mahāsāmi.

K. Arunasiri.

References

1 According to the *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya* (14th century A.C.) he was able to remember thousand books after hearing once (*Nikāyasaṅgrahaya*, Colombo 1922 p. 22).

2 *Mahāvaṃsa* (chapter lxxiii verse 34) too confirms Parākramabāhu's building a great palace for Sāriputta Thera. (*Thirasīlassa therassa sāriputtavhayassa hammiyatthala gabbhehi mahāpāsadam ujjalaṃ......*)

SĀRNĀTH: Sārnāth is the modern name for Migadāya or Isipatana. It is situated six miles to the north of Benares, in the United Provinces. As the place where the Buddha delivered his first sermon, Sārnāth is second in importance as a center of Buddhism to Buddhagayā only. Sārnāth and Buddhagayā are known as *Acala-cetiyas* as all Buddhas of all ages utilise these places. There is an excellent tarred road right up to the

excavated area, beautifully shaded with mango, tamarind and *bodhi* trees.

1. The Archaeological Museum is to the right of the road just on reaching the excavated area. It is an attractive building with a spacious lawn.

2. The excavated area. This is to the north of the Bhikkhu Dharmapala Road. It contains the ruins of the ancient monasteries and temples.

3. Dhamek-stūpa. This is the most conspicuous object in the excavated area.

4. Mūlagandhakuṭi-vihāra. About six hundred yards to the east of Dhamek stūpa is the great modern Buddhist temple erected by the Mahā Bodhi Society.

Choukandi: This is the first monument met by the visitor as he proceeds towards Sārnāth. Situated on the left side of the road at a distance of half a mile from Sārnāth station, this mass of bricks with an octagonal tower standing on top is what remains of an ancient stūpa. From the size of the heap and the circumference of the base, it can be concluded that it was a stūpa comparable to the one known as "Dhamek stūpa" at the main site. The present height of this mass of bricks including the tower is 84 feet. Sir Alexander Cunningham, Archaeological Commissioner, who drove a vertical shaft through the center of the stūpa to the foundation in 1836, did not discover any relics or other treasures. Had there been any, they must have been robbed at an early date. The tower on the summit can be reached by climbing the monument from the west. This tower was constructed by Emperor Akbar in 1588 A.C., to commemorate the visit of his father Humayun when he was fleeing from the wrath of his enemies. This fact is mentioned in the Persian inscription on the stone slab fixed at the front of the entrance. But it is not mentioned why he visited this remote spot. Probably it afforded him the safest hiding place from which to send his pursuers on the wrong tract. The visitor may ascend to the flat roof, the tower from where he can obtain a magnificent view of the countryside. There is hardly any information regarding the age of this stūpa or the name of its builder. From the remains of the plinth it can be surmised that the structure had an octagonal base decorated with pilasters. The bricks and the architectural features indicate that it was built about the 2nd or 3rd century A.C.

The site of the stūpa is said to mark the actual spot where the Buddha met His five disciples who had deserted Him at Uruvela when He abandoned the practice of self – mortification. As the spot where the First Sermon was delivered is definitely known by the Asokan Pillar at a distance of half a mile away, they must have walked up to that place from here as it was probably a more suitable place for their conversation. The Buddha's first meeting with his first five disciples is graphically described in literary works.

The Archaeological Museum: This spacious museum building was completed in 1910. It was designed after an ancient monastery by Sir John Marshall himself who was the Director General of Archaeology in India for many years. The well-kept lawns in front of the museum are a pleasing sight to the eyes.

The museum houses all the valuable antiquities found at Sārnāth. A full account of these is given in Rai Bahdur Daya Ram Sahni's *Guide and Catalogue*. The following are some of the chief objects preserved at the museum:

1. Middle Block: Capital of Asoka's Pillar. As the visitor enters the middle block of the building from the main door, the first thing that will arrest his attention is the lion capital of Asoka, placed in the center of the hall with an old railing on two sides. This magnificent production of the ancient stone mason alone is well worth a visit to the museum. It is not an exaggeration to say that no other antiquity discovered in India so far can be compared to this in the mastery of its design and execution. Its perfect proportions, the liveliness of the animal figures and the inimitable polish render it as one of the finest specimens of sculpture of the kind in the world. Dealing on the technique of the figures carved on the capital, Sir John Marshall says that they " are wonderfully vigorous and true to nature and are treated with the simplicity and reserve which is the key–note of all grade master pieces of plastic art. India certainly has produced no other sculpture equal to them."

This capital originally surmounted the pillar which Emperor Asoka set up at the site where the First Sermon was delivered by the Buddha. The capital is about 7 feet high. It consists of four lions sitting back

to back on a circular *abacus* about one foot high. This *abacus* has a *dharmacakra* wheel of 24 spokes below the front legs of each lion. Between these *dharmacakras* are figures of the following animals exquisitely carved: - elephant, bull, horse and lion. The *abacus* is placed on an inverted lotus flower which was fixed on to the actual pillar. Fa-Hien the Chinese Pilgrim, saw a *dharmacakra* surmounting the pillar but this was not discovered intact during excavation work. When the pillar was hurled down by the invaders, the *dharmacakra* must have been broken into small bits and got lost. A few pieces were recently recovered from the site and kept in the museum.

2. The red stone statue of a Bodhisattva: this huge piece of sculpture with a pillar standing at the back placed to the right of the Asokan Capital is made of red sandstone unlike other remains which are almost all in white stone imported from Chunar and Mirzapur, about 30 miles from Sārnāth. The stone of this statue reminds one of the Agra and Delhi Forts which are constructed out of this same granite. There are two inscriptions engraved on the back of the image from which we learn that it was made at Muttra and brought here in the third regal year of Kaniska by a monk named Bala and set up at the place where the Buddha walked. The huge stone umbrella placed against the northern wall originally stood over this image as its sunshade. It is made of one single piece of red sandstone.

3. Buddha image in preaching attitude: This image placed against the south wall of the main hall is perhaps the most perfect image of the Buddha found in India and belongs to the 4th or 5th century A.C. It is made of chunar stone and is in the attitude of preaching the *dhammacakkappavattanasutta*. The sculptor has succeeded to a remarkable degree in depicting the perfect serenity of the Buddha's face. The nose and one of the fingers are unfortunately broken. In this piece of sculpture, the Buddha is shown as covering both the shoulders. On the pedestal below, the figures of the five disciples are also engraved. In the middle of the seat is the *dharmacakra* guarded by two deer. The woman and the child on the left hand corner perhaps represent the donor and her child in whose name the image was dedicated. The deer is the invariable symbol used at Sārnāth and indicated Migadāya or the 'Deer Park'. It always accompanies the *dharmacakra* or the 'Wheel of Law'. The image at the Mūlagandhakuṭi Vihāra has been made after this statue. A replica of the same is available at the newly built *vihāra* in New Delhi.

4. Other objects: There are many other objects of interest in this block. Several fine standing images of the Buddha occupy the eastern corner. In the almirah kept near the north wall, the visitor will see a few small specimens of polished stone objects. The two earthen begging bowls of Buddhist monks as well as fragments of inscriptions may be noted.

The visitor should now pass on to the right wing through the open door leading from the main hall. Immediately to his left he will see an interesting sculpture. In one piece of stone and in one and the same scene the whole of the Buddha's life is sculptured. It is rather confusing to one who is unaccustomed to the old technique but a careful examination of the piece will show the following scenes well illustrated: Māyādevi's dream, birth of the prince, bathing, leaving home on horse back, cutting the hair, meditation at Buddhagayā, attainment of Buddhahood and the preaching of the First Sermon. The only important incident missing is the passing away. This is really not an omission but that part of the stone where the scene was carved has been knocked out of the piece. It is a very old custom in Indian sculpture and painting to depict several scenes in one and the same picture.

After this the visitor may see the exhibits inside the glass cases, particularly the fine heads of the Buddha kept inside the almirah on the left. Going further down this wing, he will also see figures of Bodhisattvas and other persons kept against the same wall. The peculiar head-dresses which look almost like the wigs of English judges may be noticed with interest.

5. South Block: There is a good collection of seals and pottery kept inside the almirah against the south wall. In it are also a heap of small shells (*kawri*) which were used as small coins in ancient days, a practice which is still prevalent in some remote parts of the Gorakhpur District. In one of the glass cases kept in the middle of the room, there is a small piece of sculpture depicting Avalokiteśvara. It is hardly three inches high and is made of white stone which appears almost like ivory. For minute and delicate

workmanship, it has no equal in the museum and is well preserved.

There is a fine stone lintel containing decorative carvings. On this stone doorway are depicted scenes from the famous *Khantivāda Jataka*.

6. North Block: The visitor should now proceed to the north block. Here the exhibits are not so interesting as those in the other two blocks. The images preserved here are very badly mutilated. The huge earthen vessel kept on the left hand corner of the room may be specially noticed. Such vessels are used for storing grains and other foodstuffs in the monasteries. There are a number of specimens of unusually large bricks, small votive stūpas and friezes containing minute figures of the Buddha.

The Excavated Area

(a) Kittoe's Monastery

Only the foundations of the monastery are intact. They measure 107 feet each side from outside the walls. It had in all 28 rooms. The building was evidently destroyed by fire as burnt rice-cakes were found in one of the rooms. Remnants of cooked rice were also discovered by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni while he was in charge of the excavation work at this place. The well in the courtyard from which water is now drawn to sprinkle the museum lawns is actually the original well of the monastery.

(b) Śri Dharmarājika Stūpa

Before passing the two stone pillars set up on two sides of the inspection path close to the main temple, one can see on the left a circular accumulation of earth with a sort of ditch round it. The board reads Śrī Dharmarājika Stūpa'. This mound is all that remains of the stūpa which, in size, equalled the huge Dhamek Stūpa.

(c) Shrine enclosed by Asokan railing:

As one steps into the paved outer courtyard of the temple, one will see a stone door frame standing on the right. The frame is in fact fixed into the wall of the main temple. From the excellent polish of the stone and the design, scholars opine that it is an Asokan railing. It is, however, difficult to say why it is in such an awkward place. Some are of the opinion that it is a part of the Dharmarājika-stūpa *(devatā-koṭuva)* fallen there when it was dismantled. Others think that it is the actual enclosure of a small shrine. Both explanations are probably partially correct, as here, too, as in other places, the main *vihāra* has been rebuilt again and again during the course of centuries.

(d) Asokan pillar:

Under a flat roof and surrounded by an iron railing, the visitor will find the base of this famous pillar erected by Emperor Asoka about the year 250 B.C. It probably stands at the very site where the Buddha delivered the first sermon to his five disciples whom He met at the place already described viz. Choukandi, and who accompanied Him to this place. The inscription on the pillar is unfortunately silent on this point and we are left to make our own guesses. As Asoka set up a similar pillar at Lumbini in which he definitely says that it was the site of the Bodhisattva's nativity, we can reasonably conclude that this pillar too marks the place of the first sermon, though for some reason or other, the fact is not mentioned in the inscription. Some scholars are of opinion that the main shrine is the actual spot where this important event took place while others consider it to be the Dhamek Stūpa and yet others the Dharmarājika Stūpa. As Asoka's pillar is the earliest of the monuments discovered here, we have no reason to think that Asoka had made such a serious mistake or had deliberately chosen a different place.

With regard to the Asoka pillar, as already stated, there is at present only the stump, the height of which is about eight feet. Another seven feet are buried under the ground. The diameter is 2'9". The polish of the pillar is as perfect as that of the capital. Hiuen Tsiang who saw the pillar found it intact and in perfect condition. The original height was about 70 feet and the lion capital preserved in the museum surmounted it. The following account by Huien Tsiang may be read with interest: "To the south west of the *vihāra* is a stone stūpa built by Asoka-rāja. Although the foundations have given way, there are still 100 feet or more of the wall remaining. In front of the building is a stone pillar about 70 feet high. The stone is altogether as bright as jade. It is glistening and sparkles like light; and all those who pray fervently before it sēe from

time to time, according to their petitions, figures with good or bad signs. It was here that the Tathāgata (Julai), having arrived at Enlightenment, began to turn the Wheel of the Law (to preach)'.

At the base there is an inscription of Asoka in Brahmi script which the Chinese pilgrim does not mention. The following is the actual text and its translation:

1. 2.(Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lājā... .. .. Pāṭalipute)
3. ..ye kenapi saṁghe bhetave e cuṁ kho
4. bhikhū vā bhikhuni vā saṁghaṁ bhākhati se odātāni dusānisaṁnaṁdhā payiye ānāvāsasi
5. āvāsiyiyaṁ hevaṁ iyaṁ sāsane bhikhu saṁghasi ea bhikhuni saṁghasi ca viṁnapayitaviye
6. hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye āhā hedisā ca ikā lipi tuphākaṁtikaṁ huvāti saṁsalanasi nikhitā
7. ikaṁ ca lipiṁ hedisameva upāsakānaṁtikaṁ nikhipātha te pi ca upāsakā anuposathaṁ yāvu
8. etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave anuposathaṁ ca dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte posathāye
9. yāni etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave ājānitave ca āvatake ca tuphakaṃ āhale
10. savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena hemeva savesu koṭa viṣavesu etena
11. viyaṁjanena vivāsāpayāthā

"Thus said the beloved of the gods, 'the *saṁgha* is not to be divided. But whosoever monk or nun, shall break up the *saṁgha* shall be made to don the white garments and dwell in a place which is not a residence for the clergy. Thus must this edict be announced in the Order of monks and in the Order of nuns.

Thus saith His Majesty, one such edict hath been inscribed for you in the place of assembly that there it should remain. And even such another ye must inscribe for the laity. The lay people too should attend the fast day in order to be inspired with faith in this edict. Also in each fast day, without fail, every officer should attend the fast day service to be inspired with faith in this edict and to make himself acquainted therewith.

And as far as your district extends, you must everywhere make known the edict according to the letter thereof."

This inscription gives an inkling into certain differences that had arisen among the *saṁgha* during Asoka's time. The party holding wrong views became so dangerous that at the request of Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, Emperor Asoka had a convocation held at which the whole Tripiṭaka was rehearsed and those who held false views were expelled from the Order. There are two other inscriptions on the pillar one dated in the time of Aśvaghośa and the other (circa 300 A.C.) caused to be engraved by the teacher of the Sammitiyā school.

The invading Muslim armies had this pillar hurled down but luckily the beautiful lion capital did not fall under their hammer. It lay buried under the earth till it was recovered by the Archaeological Department. Several broken pieces of the pillar are kept inside the enclosure.

(e) The Main temple:

The main temple as it is now exposed to view cannot be older than the 2nd or 3rd century A.C. Its walls are made of stone and bricks, stones at the base and bricks above them. The use of both these materials points to the fact that the original temple was wholly constructed in stone and that the later construction was in bricks. The walls are ten feet thick, thus indicating the great height of the *vihāra*. To the right of the road leading from the main shrine towards the Dhamek-stūpa, there is the foundation of a small stūpa sheltered with a concrete roof erected by the Archaeological Department. The stūpa is made of burnt bricks containing some fine designs.

The visitor should now return to the main temple courtyard and take the path pointing towards the north. Round about he will see numerous votive stūpas, large and small, in different stages of preservation. On the left hand side of the path among the small stūpas was discovered the lintel containing the *Khantivāda Jātaka*.

Dhamek Stūpa:

The word 'Dhamek' is said to be a vulgar form of *dharma-mukha* or *dhammika*. Scholars are not decided as to the purpose of this stūpa; some maintain that it is meant to mark the spot where the Buddha prophesied the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya. Whatever the purpose, it is the most conspicuous

structure at Sārnāth and can be seen for miles around. Its height is 104 feet and the lower portion is faced completely with stones having beautiful carvings all round. The design consists of a broad band of *svastikas* worked into different geometrical patterns with a finely chiselled lotus wreath running over and below the *svastikas*. The whole design is so well proportioned that one cannot but form a very high opinion of the skill of the sculptors of those days.

There are four well-marked sides of the stūpa in relief with niches in each of them. In ancient days these niches contained images which are no longer there. Some of those discovered from the excavated area close to the stūpa might have belonged to them. But the images seen by Hiuen Tsiang were 'golden' ones which must have been good booty for the invaders. The stūpa has been bored into and some of the stones removed from the south-east side. The opening thus made has been filled up with ordinary blocks of stones. As one notices this massive monument with its stone facing containing the valuable carvings, he feels a sigh of relief that at least this stūpa has escaped the spoliation of invaders and treasure hunters, though of course the valuable images and other treasures have been stolen.

There is inscriptional evidence to show that the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism was in possession of Sārnāth about the 4th century A.C. In the 5th century probably the Sammitiyās were in power. The inscription inscribed by them on the Asokan pillar has already been mentioned.

Hiuen Tsiang's travels- The following is an extract from his account:

"To the north east of the river Varuna, about 10 *li* or so, we come to the *saṁghārāma* of Luye (stag desert). Its precincts are divided into eight portions (sections), connected by a surrounding wall. The storeyed towers with projecting eaves and the balconies are of very superior work. There are fifteen-hundred priests in this convent who study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammitiyā school. In the great enclosure is a *vihāra* about 200 feet high. Above the roof is a golden covered figure of the *amra* (*An-mo-lo*) (mango fruit). The foundations of the building are of stone, and the stairs also, but the towers and niches are of bricks. The niches are arranged on the four sides in a hundred successive lines, and in each niche is a golden figure of the Buddha. In the middle of the *vihāra* is a figure of the Buddha made of *teou-shih* (native copper). It is of life-size and he is represented as turning the Wheel of the Law (preaching).

By the side of the building and not far from it is a stūpa. This is the spot where Annata Kaundinya (O-jo-kio-'in-ju) and the rest, seeing the Bodhisattva giving up his austerities, no longer kept him company, but coming to this place gave themselves up to meditation.

By the side of this is a stūpa where five hundred Pratyeka Buddhas entered at the same time into Nirvāna. There are moreover three stūpas where there are traces of the sitting and the walking of the three former Buddhas.

By the side of this last place is a stūpa. This is the spot where Maitreya Bodhisattva received assurance of his becoming a Buddha. In old days when the Tathāgata was living in Rajagrha (Wangshe), on the Griddhrakuṭa mountain, he spoke thus to the *bhikkhus*: In future in this country of Jambudvipa there shall be a Brahmin called Maitriya (Se-che). His body shall be of the colour of pure gold, bright and glistening and pure. Leaving his home he will become a perfect Buddha, and preach the Threefold Law for the benefit of all creatures. Those who shall be saved are those who live, in whom the roots of merit have been planted through my bequeathed law. These all conceiving in their minds a profound respect for the three precious objects of worship, whether they be obedient to the precepts or not, will all be led by the converting power (of his preaching) to acquire the fruit (of Buddhi) and final deliverance. Whilst declaring the threefold law for the conversion of those who have been influenced by my bequeathed law, by this means also hereafter others will be converted.

At this time, Maitriya Bodhisattva (Mei-ta-li-ye-pusa) hearing this declaration of the Buddha, rose from his seat and addressed the Buddha thus:

'May I indeed become that Lord Called Maitriya'. The Tathāgata spoke thus: 'Be it so! You shall obtain this fruit (condition) and as I have just explained such shall be the power (influence) of your teaching'.

To the west of this place there is a stūpa. This is the spot where Sakya Bodhisattva (Shi-Kia-pn-sa)

received an assurance (of becoming a Buddha). In the midst of the *bhadra-kalpa* when men's years amounted to 20,000, Kasyapa Buddha (Kia-she-po-fo) appeared in the world and moved the wheel of the excellent law (i.e. preached the law), opened out and changed the unclosed mind (of merit), and declared this prediction to Prabhāpāla Bodhisattva (Hu-ming-pu-sa). This Bodhisattva in future ages, when the years of men shall have dwindled to 100 years, shall obtain the condition of a Buddha and be called Sakya Muni.

Not far to the south of this spot are traces of where the four Buddhas of a bygone age walked for exercise. The length of (the promenade) is about 50 paces and the height of the steps (stepping spots) about 7 feet. It is composed of blue stones piled together. Above it is a figure of the Tathāgata in the attitude of walking. It is of a singular dignity and beauty. From the flesh knot on the top of the head, there flows wonderfully, a braid of hair. Spiritual signs are plainly manifested and divine prodigies wrought with power (fineness).

Within the precincts of the enclosure (of the *saṁghārāma*) there are many sacred vestiges, with *vihāras* and stūpas, several hundred in number. We have named only two or three of these, as it would be difficult to enter into details.

To the west of the *saṁghārāma* enclosure is a clear lake of water (about) 200 paces in circuit: here Tathāgata occasionally bathed himself. To the west of this is a great tank about 180 paces round: here Tathāgata used to wash his begging dish.

To the north of this is a lake about 150 paces round: here Tathāgata used to wash his robes. In each of these pools is a dragon who dwells within it. The water is deep and its taste sweet: it is pure and resplendent in appearance, and neither increases nor decreases. When men of a bad character bathe here, (kin-pi-lo) *kumbhīras* come forth and kill many of them: but in case of the reverential who wash here, they need fear nothing.

By the side of the pool where Tathāgata washed his garments is a great square stone, on which are yet to be seen the trace marks of his *kāṣāya* (kia-sha) robe. The bright lines of the tissues are of a minute and distinct character, as if carved on the stone. The faithful and pure frequently come to make their offerings here: but when the heretics and men of evil mind speak lightly of or insult the stone, the dragon king inhabiting the pool causes the winds to rise and rain to fall.

By the side of the lake, and not far off, is a stupa. This is where Bodhisattva, during his preparatory life, was born as a king of elephants provided with six tusks (*chaddanta*). A hunter, desirous of obtaining the tusks, put on a robe in colour like that of a religious ascetic, and taking his bow, awaited the arrival of his prey. The elephant king, from respect to the *kāṣāya* robe, immediately broke off his tusks and gave them to the hunter.

By the side of this spot and not far from it, is a *stūpa*. It was here Bodhisattva, in his preparatory career, grieved to see that there was little politeness (reverence) amongst men, took the form of a bird and joining himself to the company of a monkey and a white elephnut, he asked them in this place, 'which of you first saw this Nigrodha (Ni-ku-liu) tree? Each having answered according to circumstances, he placed them according to their age. The good effects of this conduct spread itself little by little on every side; men were able to distinguish the high from the low, and the religious and lay people followed their example.

Leaving this place, and going two or three *li* to the south west of the *saṁghārāma*, there is a *stūpa* about 300 feet high. The foundations are broad and the building, high and adorned with all sorts of carved work and with precious substances. There are no successive stages (to this building) with niches; and although there is a standing pole erected above the cupola (fan poh), yet it has no encircling bells. By the side of it is a little *stupa*. This is the spot where the Aññāta Kaundinya and other men, five in number, declined to salute the Buddha." See PLATES XXVIII, XXIX

Nandasena Mudiyanse

SARVAJÑA See OMNISCIENCE

SARVĀSTIVĀDA *See* SABBATTIVĀDA

SĀSANA: The word *sāsana* (Skt *śāsana*) according to the *Pali-Englsh Dictionary* of the Pali Text Society (*PED* s.v.*sāsana*) means "Order, message, teaching". But Ven Nyanatiloka (*BD*. s.v. *sāsana*) also adds "the

dispensation of the Buddha, the Buddhist religion, teaching and doctrine" as its meanings. Some of these latter meanings are not attested in the early canonical texts. In a non- religious sense the word is found used in the meaning of a message sent by some person to another (e.g. *J*.I.60). Probably it was the primary sense of the word. But throughout the canonical texts it is found used frequently in the sense of the message or the teaching of the Buddha. In the *Vinaya* texts, discussing how a disciplinary problem should be resolved, it is said that it has to be done according to the *Dhamma* (*dhammena*), according to the rules of discipline (*vinayena*), according to the instruction of the Master (*satthusāsanena*). The last term here may indicate either the some total of the first two items or the additional instructions given by the Master in resolving a particular case (*Vin*.II.95). Sometimes the Buddha himself uses the term *satthusāsana* to describe his teachings comprising the doctrines (*dhamma*) and the disciplinary rules (*vinaya*). Thus he says, "this is the doctrine, these are the rules of discipline, this is the dispensation of the Master"(*eso dhammo eso vinayo etaṃ satthusāsanaṃ* A.IV.143). That these two branches comprise the whole of the Buddha's teachings is seen in the account of the First Buddhist Council (*Vin*.II.285) according to which the council was convened to agree upon the teachings of the Buddha (*dhammañca vinayañca saṅgāyāma*).

A well known stanza of the *Dhammapada*, (183) summing up the teachings of not only the Buddha Gotama but also of all the Buddhas, states, "To refrain from all evil, cultivation of good and to purify one's mind, this is the teaching of all Buddhas (*etaṃ Buddhānasāsanaṃ*). Yet another *Dhammapada* stanza (185) sums up the teaching, (*sāsanaṃ*) of all Buddhas, particularly with reference to the life of the ordained disciples, thus; "Not insulting, not harming, restraint according to *Pātimokkha* code of rules, moderate in food, secluded abode, intent on higher thoughts; this is the teaching (*sāsana*) of all Buddhas"

In expressing the complete conversion of a person after listening to an exposition of the *Dhamma*, especially by the Buddha, the following declaration is often found used in early canonical texts; "Having seen the *Dhamma*, attained the *Dhamma*, known the *Dhamma*, plunged into the Dhamma, crossed over doubt, putting away uncertainty, having attained without another's help to full confidence in the teacher's instruction (*aparapaccayo satthu sāsane*), told thus to the Exalted one"(eg.*M*.I.501). Often in early texts, a monk or nun who has reached the ultimate goal of emancipation through the realization of the three knowledges would declare it in the following words, "the three knowledges have been reached, done is the Buddha's bidding" (*tisso vijjā anuppattā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanaṃ. Thag.* 286;*Thig*.187). The *Dhamma*, it is said, has to be honoured even by the Buddha remembering the word of the Buddhas of the past (*saraṃ Buddhānasāsanaṃ* A.II.21)

Navaṅga Buddha (or Satthu) Sāsana

In a number of discourses of the Buddha is found a ninefold descriptive analysis of all the teachings of the Buddha included in the *Suttanta Piṭaka*, viz *suttaṃ, geyyaṃ, veyyākaraṇaṃ, gāthaṃ udānaṃ, itivuttakaṃ, jātakaṃ, abbhutadhammaṃ, vedallaṃ* (eg.A.III.86). Except calling them Dhamma expounded by the Buddha no other label has been given to them in canonical texts. But the post canonical Pali commentaries and other works have designated them variously as *navaṅga-satthusāsana* (*PugA*.225) or *navaṅga-Buddhasāsana* (*PED* s.v.*nava*) or simply *navaṅga-sāsana* (*PvA* (*SHB*.), 2, *Miln*.344). It has to be noted that the *Vinaya* rules are not included in this analysis.

Threefold Analysis of the Dispensation

In another analysis of the *Dhamma* all the instruction of the Buddha are divided into three as,

i. What has to be thoroughly mastered (*pariyatti*),
ii. Putting into practice of what has been studied (*paṭipatti*),
iii. Penetrative realization of truths through practise (*paṭivedha*).

Of these *pariyatti* (Skt.*paryāpti*) is a commentarial term derived from the verb *pariyāpuṇāti* and its past participle *pariyatta*. *Paṭipatti* and *paṭivedha* are found separately in the discourses (*BD*.s.v.*Pariyatti*). The three terms are, however, never put together in them.

Commenting on the Buddha's statement that for one who indulges in fornication (*methunaṃ anuyuttassa*) the instructions or the teachings (*sāsana*) goes into oblivion (*mussati*). The *Mahāniddesa* (143*f*.) says that the teaching goes into oblivion in respect of

two things, viz. *pariyatti-sāsana* and *paṭipatti- sāsana*. The text here takes the *pariyatti-sāsana* to mean the above ninefold division. The *paṭipatti- sāsana* is interpreted to mean "the right path (*sammā paṭipadā*), the regular path, the positive path, progress to the point (*anāvattha-paṭipadā*), progress according to the dhamma (*dhammānudhamma paṭipadā*), the fulfilment of the wholesome, guarding the senses, knowing the limits of eating, devotion to vigilence, mindfulness and self possession, the four bases of mindfulness, the fourfold right striving, fourfold bases of success, five faculties, five powers, seven factors of enlightenment, and the eightfold Ariyan path. Both the *-pariyatti-sāsana* and *paṭipatti- sāsana* are lost to one indulging in fornication. The term *paṭivedha* is not mentioned here. However the sub- commentary of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[1] refers to the term *paṭivedha-sāsana* in discussing the disappearance of all the divisions of the Buddha's teaching. In some later works all these three aspects are put together as three divisions of the Master's teachings (*satthu sāsana* e.g. *Mhv*.20.30).

Disappearance of the Sāsana

The above *Niddesa* passage speaks of the going into oblivion through forgetfulness (*parimussati*) of the *pariyatti* and *paṭipatti sāsanas* due to indulgence in fornication, obviously, by monks who are the custodians of the teaching of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa (*DA*.III.898*f*), who interprets *pariyatti*, *paṭipatti*, and *paṭivedha* respectively as the three *piṭakas*, the path (*paṭipadā*) and, the penetrative realization of the truths (*sacca-paṭivedho*), also refers to the disappearance (*antaradhāna*) of these three aspects of the teachings. He says that, at times, monks who have attained realization are numerous. So much so one has to point out that a particular monk is a common one without realization (*puthujjano*). Followers of the path are also many at times but only a few at other times. Thus realization and practise could exist or not exist in a certain period. But the existence of *pariyatti* is sufficient for the existence of the dispensation (*sāsana*). An intelligent person can study the three *piṭakas* and accomplish the other two as well. Thus one could say that the *sāsana* stands as long as the *pariyatti* exists. In fact the Sri Lankan monks, after a great drought and famine in the pre-Christian period which shook both the country and Buddhism in the country to its very foundation, debated as to what constitutes the basis of the *sāsana*, whether it is *pariyatti* or *paṭipatti*?(*pariyatti mukho sāsanassa mūlam udāhu paṭipatti*)². At its conclusion those who held *pariyatti* to be the basis of the *sāsana* won the day. Undoubtedly it is this tradition which is reflected in Buddhaghosa's above statements. (see also *MA*.1.87*ff*).

When the *pariyatti* starts disappearing the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is destroyed first. There too it is the *Paṭṭhāna* that goes out first and, in order, other *Abhidhamma* texts would disappear with the *Dhammasaṅgaha* (is it the *Dhammasaṅganī*?) going out last. When the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* disappears the *sāsana* stands with the other two. This is followed by the disappearance of the *Suttanta Piṭaka* starting with the *Anguttara Nikāya* and followed, in order, by the *Saṁyutta*, *Majjhima* and *Dīgha Nikāyas*. With the *Vinaya Piṭaka sāsana* still stands even with the disappearance of the other two. Of the *Vinaya* the first to disappear would be the *Parivāra* and the *Khandhakas*. They are followed by the two *Vibhangas*. Even then the *sāsana* could stand with the *Mātikas*. When it goes the *sāsana* could still go on with the *pātimokkha*, *pabbajjā* and *upasampadā*. Then the characteristic mark of monkhood, the *liṅga* – probably the dress – starts to disappear (*addhānam gacchati*). It is said that, from the time of the Buddha Kassapa, white – clad recluses could not bear up the *sāsana*. The *sāsana* existed for a thousand years with possessors of the four analytical knowledges (*paṭisambhidā*), another thousand years with possessors of the six super knowledges (*chaḷabhiññā*), another thousand years with experts of the three knowledges (*tevijjehi*) , yet another thousand years with those supported by bare insight(*sukkha-vipasska*) and a further thousand years by the *pātimokkha*. With the last to realize the truths and the last to breach morality (*sīlabheda*) the *sāsana* is said to have declined. This part of the commentarial disquisition seems to refer to the dispensation of the Buddha Kassapa and not of the Buddha Gotama, for the observation of the *pātimokkha* still exists in the Buddha Gotama's dispensation.

The complete disappearance of the Buddha Gotama's dispensation is expected to take place on a future date with what is called 'the demise of the bodily relics of the Buddha' (*dhātu - parinibbāna*). When the *sāsana* is declining all the relics of the Buddha, beginning with those in the Tambapanni Dīpa, ie. Sri Lanka, start to move to Buddhagayā where

they all rendezvous on the Buddha seat at the foot of the Bodhi tree. They all lump together like a mass of gold and emanate the six coloured rays, which touch ten- thousand world systems. Then a flame, rising up to the very Brahma world, shoots out of the relics. It lasts as long as even the tiniest speck of relics remain and goes out only when everything is consumed. When all the relics are thus consumed by fire the *sāsana* is also said to have disappeared (*ibid* 899 *f.*)

Extensions of the Use of the Term Sāsana

The word *sāsana,* as seen above, was used in early Buddhism to designate the teachings of the Buddha which was expected to be put into practice with the ultimate aim of realizing the goal of emancipation from all *dukkha.* But in the course of time the use of the word *sāsana* has been extended to cover not only the teachings of the Buddha but the whole of what we today call Buddhism or simply the Buddhist religion. Arahant Mahinda, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* (20.30) established the *sāsana* in Sri Lanka in the first regnal year of King Devanampiyatissa. Queen Leelavathie placed the people and the religion (*loka-sāsana*) in a peaceful state (*EZ.*1.180 *f.*). The history of Buddhist sects and schools from the beginning, written by a monk named Devarakshita Jayabāhu of Sri Lanka, named *Nikāyasaṅgraha* has the alternative name *Śāsanāvatāraya*, lit. "The Descent of the *Śāsana*" or "the Continuity of the *Śāsana*". Thus the word *sāsana* came to include not merely the teaching of the Buddha but the whole culture and civilization which has developed through the centuries in the name of the Buddha. The history of Buddhism with all its philosophical and religious developments, the expansion of Buddhism as well as its progress and decline in various regions of the world is the history of the *sāsana* or the *sāsanavaṃsa*. All symbolic representations of the Buddha, canonical and post-canonical literature comprising the teaching of the Buddha, the *Saṅgha* of all sects and the lay followers, all Buddhist rituals and practices in various forms etc.etc. are all comprised within the term *sāsana* today.

In the past, and even today to some extent, especially in Theravāda Buddhist countries, Buddhist religion was known as *Buddha - sāsana* or simply as *sāsana*. But the more popular term, in Sri Lanka today, to denote religion is *āgama*. But this term was never used in the past to designate Buddhism. In the canonical texts *āgama* was used to denote religious texts traditionally handed down. Thus one expert in such texts was an *āgatāgama*, lit. 'One for whom texts have been handed down' (*A.*II.127). Buddhaghosa calls the four principal *nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka āgama* (*DA.*1.2), the same word used in Buddhist Sanskrit too. After the introduction of Christianity to Sri Lanka, possibly because they did not wish to use a term so much imbued with the spirit of Buddhism as *sāsana*, the word *āgama* came to be used to denote the Christian religion and it became the popularly used term for Christianity among the Singhalese. It was, however, later extended to cover other religions including Buddhism. But, on the other hand, today even Christians have started to use the word *śāsana* or its Sinhala derivation *sasuna* to denote Christianity as, eg. *Kristu Śāsana* or *Kitu Sasuna*. Buddhists of Sri Lanka who share with gods and demi-gods like Nāgas the merit acquired from various religious rituals invoke their protection for the long stability of the teachings of the Buddha (*desanā*) and the *sāsana*. Finally the term *Buddha sāsana* has found a place in the Sri Lankan constitution by which its protection and fostering has become a duty of the Sri Lankan government.

C. Witanachchi

References

[1] *Dighanikāya Aṭṭhakathā Tīkā, Linattha vaṇṇanā* Ed.de Silva, Lily, *PTS*, Luzac and Company, London, 1970, Vol.III.106

[2] Adikaram, E.W., *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Buddhist Centre, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka, 1994, p.78

SĀSANAVAMṢA, or the history of the Buddha's religion was written by a monk named Paññasāmi in Myanmar in 1861 A.C. This text was translated into English by B.C. Law in 1950 in the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* series of the Pali Text Society of England. The readers are requested to read the introduction which may be helpful.

This non-canonical work of historical importance has been known to scholars for many years. Its author was the tutor of the then reigning king Meng- dun-Meng. At the end of the text the author says that the book was completed on the full moon day of the month of *Migasira* (November-December) in the year 1223

of the *Kali* age. A careful study of the text shows the author's intimate acquaintance with the commentaries. The style is similar to that of Buddhaghosa. The text records the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. The text gives us a glimpse into the life of a monastic scholar in the 15th century A.C. named Ariyavamsa.[1] It also gives us a picture of' the relations of state and *Sāsana* in Myanmar from the time of Anuruddha to the time of Meng-dun-Meng. The *Sāsana* had loyalty to the head of the state.

A new chapter in the history of Burmese Buddhism begins in the reign of Siri- Mahāsihasūrasudhammarājā (A.C. 1648). The *Pārupana Ekaṃsika* controversy points out that the king's power to settle a religious question by royal decree is fully recognized by the church. The history of religion in Mramma (Myanmar) is nothing more than the history of the Buddhist Order in Sunāparanta and Tambadīpa.

This text consisting of ten chapters first gives a table of contents and then follows an account of Buddhism in nine places. The table of contents in this book gives a general history of Buddhism drawn from such well-Known works as the *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Dīpavaṃsa*. A brief account of the 1st and 2nd and 3rd councils together with the founding of the religion in nine places, one by one, is given in chapter II. A short account of the succession of elders is also given here. The religion of Sihala is related in chapter II. All parallel allusions are given from the *Thūpavaṃsa*, *Samantapāsādikā*, I; *Majjhima commentary* II. *Mahāvaṃsa*.

There is a reference to Maṇḍalārāma. It was a monastery near the village of Bhokkanta. According to the *Vibhaṅga* commentary it was in the village of Kālakāgāma. The *Sāratthasaṃgaha* quoted by the author was written by Buddhapiya.[2] The eighty sons of king Buddhadāsa were called by the names of the eighty great disciples of the Buddha.[3] Revata mentioned in the text gave Buddhaghosa ordination after he embraced Buddhism.[4] In the chapter III we read the history of Buddhism in Suvaṇṇabhūmi identical with Lower Burma.[5] According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* it is called Sudhammanagara, that is Thaton, at the mouth of the Sittaung river.

In chapter IV we have the history of Buddhism in the Yonaka country. The *Rājavaṃsa* mentioned here contains only brief mention of wars and sieges and allusions to the Burmese kings.[6] In chapter V dealing with the history of Buddhism in the Vanavāsi country, there is a reference to Sirikhetta. It is Prome in Burma.

In chapter VI the detailed history of Buddhism in the Aparanta country in the Maramma circle is very detailed and interesting. Eighty-four thousand beings were converted to the *Dhamma*. The Elder Dhammarakkhita came to the Yonaka country and converted the inhabitants of the country by preaching the *Aggikkhandhopama sutta*.[7] The third founding of the religion in the town of Arimaddana took place in the Tambadīpa country in the Maramma circle. Tambadipa includes the district of Pagan, Ava, Panyā and Myenzain. It is described as the upper portion of the Thaget district on the east bank of the Irrawaddy River.[8]

There are several other geographical references. Mandalay was founded in 1857.[9] The thera Saddhammañāṇa wrote the *Chandosāratthavikāsinī* which is a commentary on the *Vuttodaya*, a Pali work on metres. There is also a mention of several books and commentaries. (See the foot notes in the translation in pp. 104, 105, 109, 112, 116, 117, 118, 122, 131, 134, 135, 155, etc). References to flowers, birds, coins, etc. are also given in the footnotes. An account of the religion in Kasmīra-Gandhāra country is given in brief with cross references wherever necessary. Then comes narration of the history of the religion in the Mahiṃsaka country. The history of the religion in Mahāraṭṭha and Cina may be read with cross references from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. 12; *Dīpavaṃsa*, Ch.8 and *Samantapāsādikā*, I, pp. 64, 67; *Cūḷavaṃsa*, Ch. 99 etc.[10]

B.C. Law

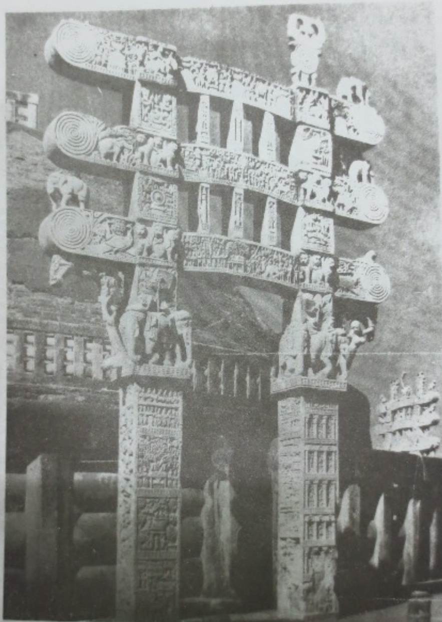
References

1 Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma* p. 41
2 *JPTS*, 1886, p. 72.
3 cf. *Cūḷavaṃsa*, PTS., p. 14. v. 176.
4 *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, JPTS., 1890, pp. 51-52.
5 Pegu and Moulmein districts.
6 Cf. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, pp, 57, 90.
7 *Aṅguttara nikāya*, IV, 128 ff.; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XII, 34.
8 *British Burma Gazetteer*, II, p. 746.
9 Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 92.
10 Vide translation, pp. 169-72.

PLATE XXV



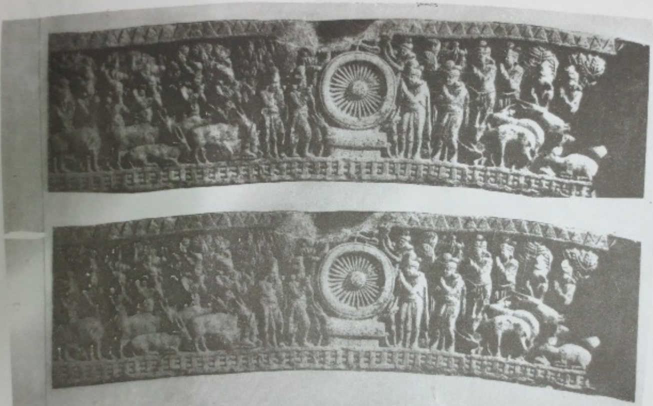
The Great Stūpa in Sānchi surrounded by an Asokan railing with four beautifully carved gateways. It is generally believed that the stūpa as it is now found was the work of Emperor Asoka, but the latest and better informed view is that the original one erected by the Monarch was in bricks and was covered by the present larger structure built subsequently.
Courtesy** : **The Way of the Buddha, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956.



One of the four massive and imposing gateways at the four corners of the Sānchi stūpa depicting elaborate carvings and sculptures. They are fine specimens of Buddhist sculptural work and have no equal anywhere else in India.

***Courtesy* : *The Way of the Buddha*,** Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956.

PLATE XXVII

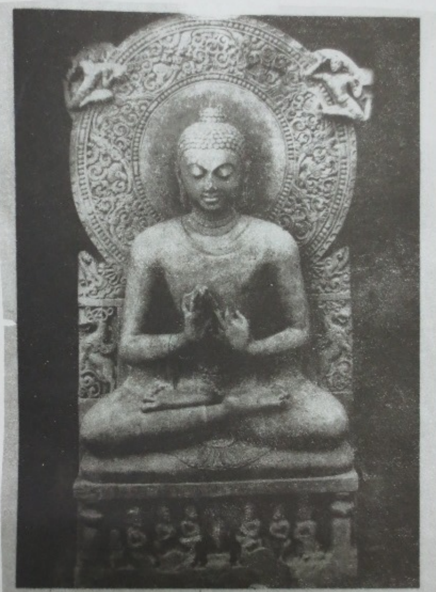


One of the many carved panels of the gateways. This panel depicts the first sermon of the Buddha. The Buddha is symbolically represented by a wheel, the *dharmacakra*.

Courtesy : The Way of the Buddha Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956.



Capital of Emperor Asoka's Pillar set up at the site (Sārnath) where the First Sermon was delivered by the Buddha. The capital is about 7 feet high. It consists of four lions sitting back to back on a circular *abacus* about one foot high. This abacus has a *dharmacakra* wheel of 24 spokes, below the front legs of each lion.
***Courtesy* : *The Way of the Buddha*,** Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956.



Buddha image in the preaching attitude placed against the south wall of the main hall of the museum at Sārnath is perhaps the most perfect image of the Buddha found in India and belongs to the 4th or 5th century A. C. It is made of chunar stone and is in the attitude of preaching the *dhammacakkappavattanasutta.* On the pedestal below, the figures of the five disciples are also engraved. In the middle of the seat is *dharmacakra* guarded by two deer. The woman and the child on the left hand corner perhaps represent the donor and her child in whose name the image was dedicated.

Courtesy : ***The Way of the Buddha,*** Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1956.